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Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

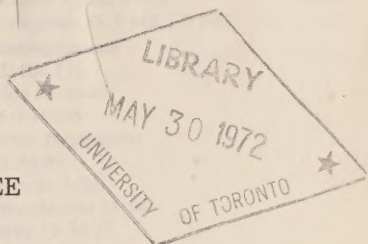
THE SENATE OF CANADA

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*



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1955-56

THE SENATE OF CANADA

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The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, Chairman

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Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament
1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 1

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3rd, 1969

WITNESSES:

The Staff Members and Associates of The Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Mr. Donald F. MacLean, Head of the Conference and Course Section; Mr. Guy Henson, Director; Dr. Donald H. Clairmont, Director Africville Relocation Study; Mr. Byron A. Anthony, Director of Labour and Management Bureau; Mr. John A. Dougall, Industrial Relations and Management Development Associate; Mr. Andrew S. Harvey, Economic Research Associate; and Dr. Harding P. Moffatt, Lecturer and Writer.

The Black United Front: Mr. Carlyle Warner, Chairman; Mr. Jesse Dillard, Secretary-Treasurer; Dr. W. P. Oliver, Regional Representative; and Mrs. Carrie Best.

Class 11-A, Sydney Academy, Sydney, Nova Scotia: Miss Patricia Graham, Spokeswoman for the entire class; Greg O'Neill, Student Chairman; and William Neil MacKenzie, Class 11-A History Teacher.

APPENDICES:

A.—Brief submitted by the Staff Members and Associates of the Institute of Public Affairs of Dalhousie University.

B.—Brief submitted by Class 11-A of Sydney Academy.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Belisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> , <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournment of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Dalhousie University Auditorium,
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Monday, November 3rd, 1969.

(1)

Pursuant to notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.15 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Croll (*Chairman*), Belisle, Connolly (*Halifax North*), Cook, Eudes, Fergusson, Hastings, Inman, McGrand, Pearson and Sparrow.—(11)

In Attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

The Staff Members and Associates of THE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia:

Mr. Guy Henson, Director;

Mr. Donald F. MacLean, Head of the Conference and Course Section;

Dr. Donald H. Clairmont, Director Africville Relocation Study;

Mr. Byron A. Anthony, Director of Labour and Management Bureau;

Mr. John A. Dougall, Industrial Relations and Management Development Associate;

Mr. Andrew S. Harvey, Economic Research Associate; and

Dr. Harding P. Moffatt, Lecturer and Writer.

In Attendance:

Mr. Dennis W. Magill, Co-Director, Africville Relocation Study;

Mr. Kell Antoft, Special Projects Associate;

Mr. John R. Palmer, Economic Research Assistant; and

Mrs. Arlene Dale Duncan, Economic Research Assistant.

(Biographical information respecting the above witnesses follows these Minutes.)

At the conclusion of the Institute of Public Affairs' presentation, the Chairman thanked the Director and his associates.

The following witnesses were then introduced and heard:

THE BLACK UNITED FRONT:

Mr. Carlyle Warner, Chairman;

Mr. Jesse Dillard, Secretary-Treasurer;

Dr. W. P. Oliver, Regional Representative; and

Mrs. Carrie Best.

In Attendance:

Messrs. Jeffrey Delisle and Jules Oliver.

The presentation opened with a videotape submission followed by a brief statement; a question period then ensued.

At the conclusion of the question period, the Chairman thanked the delegation of the Black United Front for a very enjoyable presentation.

At twelve noon the Committee adjourned until two o'clock in the afternoon.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the Committee resumed its hearings.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

CLASS 11-A, SYDNEY ACADEMY, Sydney, Nova Scotia:

Miss Patricia Graham, Spokeswoman for the entire class;

Greg O'Neill, Student Chairman; and

William Neil MacKenzie, Class 11-A History Teacher.

During the question period which followed Miss Patricia Graham's introductory remarks, the following students participated: Misses Beverly Davis Debbie Reid, Judy Canning, Nancy Monroe, Anne Gardner, Sheila Spencer, Mary Smith, and Patsy MacDonald; Messrs. Colin Matheson, Stan Ardelli, Davis Johnston, Richard Crooks, Fred MacLeod, Wayne MacVicker, Tom Manson, Gerry Harris and Richard Hayson.

The Chairman thanked all the students of Class 11-A of Sydney Academy, Miss Graham and Messrs. O'Neill and MacKenzie for their fine presentation.

The brief submitted by the Staff Members and Associates of the Institute of Public Affairs of Dalhousie University, together with the brief submitted by Class 11-A of Sydney Academy, are printed as Appendices A and B, respectively, to these Proceedings.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, November 4th, 1969, at 9.30 a.m.

ATTEST:

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

**Biographical Information Respecting the Staff Members and Associates,
Institute of Public Affairs
Dalhousie University**

Anthony, Byron D., born 1922 at Noel Shore, Hants County, Nova Scotia, is a graduate of Dalhousie University (Bachelor of Commerce). Mr. Anthony served with the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve during the Second World War. After graduation from university, he joined the Nova Scotia Department of Labour, where he began as a Statistical Clerk and progressed through a number of positions to become Chief Executive Officer, Nova Scotia Labour Relations Board. Subsequently he joined the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Ltd. (Coal Operations, and later Halifax Shipyards Division) as Manager, Personnel and Industrial Relations, a position he held later with Hawker Siddeley Canada Ltd. (Halifax Shipyards Division). At the present time, Mr. Anthony is Director of the Labour-Management Bureau, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. Mr. Anthony is a Member, Industrial Relations Committee, Halifax Board of Trade; Member, Education Council, Voluntary Economic Planning; Member, Nova Scotia Joint Labour-Management Study Committee.

Antoft, Kell, born 1923 in Roskilde, Denmark, is a graduate of Dalhousie University (Bachelor of Arts). Mr. Antoft served as a navigator with the Royal Canadian Air Force during the Second World War, and later became Adjutant, 2401 A.C. & W.U., R.C.A.F. Auxiliary; President of Viking Air Services Ltd., Montreal; President of Biochemicals Ltd., Montreal; Assistant Executive Director, National Cancer Institute of Canada, and Canadian Cancer Society, Toronto. At the present time, Mr. Antoft is Special Projects Associate, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. Mr. Antoft is a Member and Acting Secretary of the Medical Research Council of Canada's Committee on Human Pituitary Hormones; National Chairman of the Nancy Green Ski League of the Canadian Amateur Ski Association; a Member of the Worcester Foundation for Biological Research and a Member of the Atlantic Chapter, Institute of Public Administration. Past memberships and offices include: Secretary, Nova Scotia Youth Hostels Association; Executive Member, Local 1, International Union of Shipyard and Marine Workers; various offices in Home & School Associations; Member, Mayor of Beaconsfield's Advisory Committee; Chairman, Beaconsfield Combined Appeal.

Clairmont, Donald H., born 1938 in Hamilton, Ontario, is a graduate of McMaster University (Bachelor of Arts, in History, Master of Arts, in Sociology), and Washington University (Doctor of Philosophy, in Sociology). He was a recipient of the Elmley Scholarship (University of Toronto); fellowships from McMaster University and Washington University; and research awards from the Canada Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Dr. Clairmont was Lecturer for two years at Saint Mary's University, and spent two years as Teaching Assistant, then Lecturer, at Washington University. At the present time, Dr. Clairmont is Professor of Sociology, University of Guelph, and

Co-Director, Africville Relocation Study, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. Dr. Clairmont is the author of a number of published studies on deviance among the Indians and Eskimos of Northern Canada and other groups, and has collaborated in studies of social conditions among the poor of Nova Scotia.

Dougall, John A., born 1932 in Montreal, Quebec, is a graduate of Dalhousie University (Bachelor of Arts, in Psychology), and the University of Western Ontario (Master of Business Administration), and holds a C.D.P. Professional Certificate, Data Processing Management Association. After a six-year career as a commissioned officer in the Royal Canadian Air Force, Mr. Dougall joined the staff of the Nova Scotia Light and Power Co. Ltd., Halifax, where he was initially in charge of the Data Processing Centre; later, he acted as special assistant to a firm of consultants engaged to implement changes in the urban mass-transit facility (a division of the Company) in Halifax. Mr. Dougall has acted as special consultant to Savage Shoes Ltd.; C.J.C.H. Radio, Halifax; the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare; the Construction Association of Nova Scotia; and others. At the present time, Mr. Dougall is Industrial Relations and Management Development Associate, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. He is, also, a lecturer in the Master's Program in Business Administration, Dalhousie University, and is a regular commentator, C.B.C. Radio, on labour and management affairs. Mr. Dougall has been President and Secretary, Atlantic Chapter, Data Processing Management Association; and Member of the Board, Halifax Branch, Canadian Mental Health Association.

Harvey, Andrew, born 1939 in St. Stephen, New Brunswick, is a graduate of the University of Maine (Bachelor of Arts, in Business and Economics), Clark University (Master of Arts, in Economics), and currently is completing requirements in a doctoral program in Economics, at Clark University. Mr. Harvey served two years as a teaching assistant at the University of Maine, and two years as a teaching fellow at Clark University while pursuing graduate studies. He has taught Economics at Ricker College, Houlton, Maine and Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax; and has lectured in Statistics at the Maritime School of Social Work. He has served as a consultant for the Economics and Research Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Labour, the Nova Scotia Programme Development Agency, the Houlton Regional Development Corporation, and others. At the present time, Mr. Harvey is Economic Research Associate, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, having joined the Institute on a full-time basis in 1966 after four consecutive summers association with the Institute. Mr. Harvey is the author of several studies and articles relating to the Nova Scotian economy, and has collaborated in and contributed to several other studies. He is, also, a member of the Halifax-Dartmouth Welfare Council's Housing Committee and Agency Review Committee.

Henson, Guy, born 1910 in Paris, France, of British parents, is a graduate of Acadia University (Bachelor of Arts, Magna Cum Laude), and studied for short periods at the Institute of International Affairs, Geneva; in Paris, and at Columbia University. During his early career, Mr. Henson was in newspaper work; Assistant Commissioner, Maritime Provinces Trade Commission to Ontario; school teacher and principal; Secretary to the Premier of Nova Scotia; 21

years in the Nova Scotia Department of Education, as Secretary and later, Director of Visual Education, and as first Director of the Adult Education Division. He was responsible for the organization of the first regional library in Nova Scotia, and for the engagement of the first provincial and regional library directors. During the Second World War, he was Headquarters Representative in charge of the Atlantic Region and, later, Assistant Director Overseas, with the Canadian Legion Educational Services. In 1957, Mr. Henson was appointed to his present position as Director of the Institute of Public Affairs and Professor of Public Administration, Dalhousie University. Since 1962, he has been chairman of the Nova Scotia Joint Labour-Management Study Committee, whose work has led to the well-known Nova Scotia Labour-Management Agreements. As a citizen, he has been actively concerned since the mid-1930's with voluntary work in labour education, credit union and co-operative promotion (including help in organizing 22 credit unions), and other civic programs, particularly in the arts. Mr. Henson has written a number of published reports and articles in the fields of public administration, adult education, and industrial relations, and has been administratively responsible for some 70 research and conference reports published by the Institute of Public Affairs.

Duncan, Arlene Dale, born 1947 in Winnipeg, Manitoba, is a graduate of McGill University, (Bachelor of Arts, in Economics). Mrs. Duncan is at present an Economic Research Assistant with the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University.

Maclean, Donald F., born 1926 in Halifax, Nova Scotia, is a graduate of Acadia University (Bachelor of Arts, and Bachelor of Education) and Dalhousie University (Master of Arts). Mr. MacLean was a high school teacher in Nova Scotia, Manitoba, and British Columbia; Secretary of the Adult Education Division, Nova Scotia Department of Education; and Assistant to the Director, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. At the present time, Mr. MacLean is Head of the Conference and Course Section, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. His work in consultancy, design, development, presentation, and evaluation of educational programs has brought him into direct association with a variety of organizations and their respective training programs, including departments of the Governments of Canada and Nova Scotia; the Canadian Labour Congress; the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour; the Labour College of Canada; the Halifax-Dartmouth District Labour Council; the Nova Scotia Federation of Agriculture; the Nova Scotia Federation of Home and School Associations; the Nova Scotia Teachers Union; the Nova Scotia Union of Urban and Municipal School Boards; and the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. Mr. MacLean is, also, Secretary of the Nova Scotia Human Rights Federation. Mr. MacLean has had editorial association with most of the 73 research and conference reports published by the Institute of Public Affairs. He has written a number of book reviews and is co-author of *Feasibility Study of Centres for Residential Adult Education in the Maritime Provinces*, commissioned by ARDA (1965).

Magill, Dennis W., born 1939 in Sudbury, Ontario, is a graduate of Acadia University (Bachelor of Arts) and McGill University (Master of Arts), and is a doctoral candidate at Washington University. From 1964 to 1967, Mr. Magill was

a Lecturer at Saint Francis Xavier University. At the present time Mr. Magill is Co-Director of the Africville Relocation Study, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University.

Moffat, Harding P., born 1905 in Canso, Nova Scotia, is a graduate of Acadia University (Bachelor of Arts, Honours in Psychology), and Harvard University (Master of Education), and completed further graduate study, specializing in Educational Administration and Finance. Acadia University has conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, and he was the recipient of the C.C.R.E. Whitworth Award for Service to Educational Research in Canada. Dr. Moffat has held positions as high school teacher in Sydney, Nova Scotia, and New Rochelle, New York. During his career with the Nova Scotia Department of Education, his appointments were as follows: Research Assistant; Secretary of Curriculum Committee; Registrar of Summer School; Secretary, Commission on the Larger School Unit; Assistant Superintendent of Education; Deputy Minister of Education. At present, Dr. Moffat is engaged in lecturing, research, and writing at the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. Dr. Moffat is the author of a book on *Educational Finance in Canada*. He is the Editor of and contributor to the *Handbook to the Course of Studies, Nova Scotia*, *Report of the Commission on the Larger School Unit*, and has written a number of articles on educational finance in Canada for various educational and other journals. Dr. Moffat has served as a member of the Board of Directors, and President, Canadian Education Association; Chairman, National Advisory Committee for Educational Research; President, Canadian Council for Research in Education; Chairman, National Advisory Council for School Broadcasting; Member, Canadian National Commission for UNESCO, and in other official capacities.

Palmer, John R., born 1945 in Dorset, England, is a graduate of the University of Leicester (Bachelor of Arts, Honours in Social Sciences, and specializing in Economics). Following graduation from university, Mr. Palmer was employed in the Economic Advisory Service of the London (England) Transport Board. At the present time, Mr. Palmer is an Economic Research Assistant, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Halifax, Nova Scotia, November 3, 1969.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the chair: I will call to order the meeting of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. All the members indicated they would be present and the Senators are here and the witnesses are here.

Let me just say a few words that I think are appropriate before we begin.

We are here at the historical city of Halifax which has meant a lot to us in Canada particularly to our fathers who went over in the First World War and left from Halifax and returned to Halifax and to those of us who went over in the Second World War.

We recalled Halifax with a tear in our eye and a lump in our throat but looked at Halifax first and said "This is my own, my native land," and we regretted to leave Canada.

Sometimes in Halifax we became a little exuberant and we acted up a bit but Halifax's built-in tolerance for service personnel gives a broader understanding and we passed on.

We are in this traditional Province of Nova Scotia which from pre-Confederation days had an understanding of liberty and freedom and tolerance. We thought this was a good place to start, not because it has any more poverty than any other province (in absolute numbers Toronto and Montreal have far more) but they have a reputation here of making an intelligent approach to problems that concern the poor and Canadians generally.

We thought this was a good place to start on the first leg of our journey and we came here to see and hear and to indicate our sense of involvement and to see if we can get something of the sense of experience.

The senators who are sitting here today are a very distinguished group. They have known poverty and they have known poorness almost

all their lives. Many of them have long years in political life and they have continued daily contact with those in need. They have long participation in community affairs.

That is only part of the story for it is well that the public should know their record of accomplishments and their contributions.

They are not all here today. Some of them have other commitments and some of them had to stay for Parliamentary duties in Ottawa but I think that it is well for the public to know that members of this Senate Committee have been members of investigative committees.

The first one was Manpower, one dating back a few years, from which resulted the Department of Manpower which was established by the Federal Government.

The Committee on Land Use brought forth as its child ARDA. We had a Committee of the Senate dealing with truth in lending which at least told you what you had to pay in the way of interest rates and after that it was up to you if you paid them.

There was a committee dealing with food costs which helped to stabilize food costs a year or so ago and as a result there was created the very useful Department of Consumer Affairs.

There was a committee on Old Age Pensions, old age security, which brought forth the first guaranteed income in the civilized world. It was born in the Senate. The Senate gave it life and the House of Commons gave it substance and it is enjoyed by over three-quarters of a million Canadians every day.

There was the Committee on Divorce which finally brought forward an Act with which civilized people could live.

The members of this Committee here have all sat on one Committee, most of them on many more than one or more of these Committees and they have some knowledge as to how these matters should be proceeded with.

They come from all walks of life and all provinces and all shades of opinion and they are here because they want to be here. They wanted to be on this Committee and they are dedicated to the thought and the purpose of the poor people.

Now, let me just say a few words about poverty. One cannot write a definition of poverty any more than one can write a definition of poorness but in economic terms, one can reach a realistic understanding. What are we talking about? Take the figures of the Economic Council, who take their lead from some of the experts in the Canadian government, in the Bureau of Statistics and the American definitions which are very similar to ours.

They say that if you do not have this much in income you are below the poverty line. One man should have \$1800; two people \$3000, three people \$3,600, four people \$4,200 and five people \$4,800.

Now, the Economic Council adopted that as being a fair figure. We go along with it except that we say it is a spartan measure but nonetheless we must have some measuring stick.

One of the other definitions made by a very capable person in the Government is that if a family spends 70 per cent or more of income on food, clothing and shelter, it is living below the poverty line.

These are accepted definitions. We are not dealing with poorness here because poorness is a state of being, much different than poverty.

Now, people keep saying, well, "We have been studied. We have been looked at. We have been researched. What are you doing that is different or why are you doing it?"

Perhaps we will tell you why we are doing it. We are doing it firstly because it needs to be done and someone needs to do it because it is the most important problem in all of Canada. 840,000 families by the latest statistics are below the poverty line in Canada which means three and a half million people. That is what we are talking about.

What this Committee is doing that is different is just this: who are they? Where are they? How do they get there and how do we get them out?

We have looked at it. We have tried to identify the people. We took a group that is easily identifiable, the disadvantaged people, the blind, the crippled, the maimed, the pensioners, the old age people. They are out of the main stream of labour but they are not

out of the main stream of life and they need a certain kind of help. That is group one.

Group two, the single woman with a family. She is a widow, deserted, divorced, perhaps separated legally. She is a large problem in this country and she is responsible for 250,000 young children.

Number three. We have the hard core. Now, these first two groups that I mentioned are about 25 per cent of the problem. We now get to the hard core and they are the misfits, the emotionally disturbed. Some of them sick, don't want to work. Some of them cannot work for a living, whatever the reason. They are a small percentage of the people involved, about four of five per cent. They are really no problem for us to deal with. We know how to deal with them.

Then we come to what we may call the real depths of our problem, the working poor. These are the unskilled, the unlettered, the unorganized, the unrecognized, the faceless and they are 65 to 70 per cent of the poor people in this country and they are suffering from lack of employment.

When they get employment they receive wages, minimum or less, which are poverty wages. That is the problem in this country and they need a different remedy for different groups and that is what we are trying to find out. What remedy can we apply?

Now, it is not possible to apply the same remedy here for all of the people and we have to look about to see what needs to be done and those people who come to us and want instant remedies are wasting their time.

This is not a new problem. It is going to take us a few days—not to collect data. We have lots of data. We are out here searching for solutions and we are searching for solutions where we think we can find them from people who have contributions to make.

We may overlook some people. We do not intend to but there is only so much we can do when we have to visit other provinces and visit some of our larger cities and make some judgments.

Now, in coming to Halifax and to the Province of Nova Scotia we were not disappointed. This is exactly what I thought it would be, that people here would take our coming and our hearings very seriously and the Staff Members and Associates of the Institute of Public Affairs of Dalhousie University have done just that.

They said it was not the Institute's policy to make public presentations but they are

making one to the Senate Committee on Poverty and it is a very excellent brief.

Mr. MacLean deserves considerable credit for co-ordinating the brief which we have not had quite enough time to digest, but I assure you that the contents of the brief will be studied by the Committee and research staff and it may be necessary that we will approach you for some clarification. We will try to meet you today.

On behalf of the Committee I wish to thank you for the observations and the effectiveness of the brief. Like you we believe that the Canadian society has the will to eradicate poverty from the Canadian scene in the foreseeable future.

We are going to include the geographical details as part of the brief so that for all time it is recorded that these people participated.

We have Mr. Henson here who will be a witness and he will call other people to assist him if he needs any assistance. He will speak for about fifteen minutes.

The rules are very clear here. You will not be interrupted while you are speaking. After you have finished the Senators will indicate to me that they wish to question you and they will be given an uninterrupted five minutes each to begin with, and then we will come around to the second time and you may get a few interruptions at that time. By that time we will have the complete scene.

Mr. Guy Henson, Director, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Honourable Chairman, and Members of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. My name is Guy Henson and I will introduce first of all a number of my colleagues from the Institute of Public Affairs who have contributed spare time or overtime with little relief time and worked very hard during the past three months in the preparation of this brief and their names are given in the bibliographic summaries here.

Perhaps I will introduce them in turn. On my right Mr. Donald MacLean, Director and Co-ordinator of the brief and Mr. Byron A. Anthony, Mrs. Duncan, Mr. John Palmer, Mr. Andrew Harvey and Mr. Kell Antoft. There are two or three others who are detained. We hope to have them with us later. Their names are given here. Dr. Clairmont and Mr. Dennis Magill. Dr. Moffatt, I believe, for reasons of health was unable to attend this morning.

Pershaps, sir, I could pick up one of your most interesting and forceful comments. You

spoke of the need for identification. Who, where, how and why are people in poverty?

This brief is devoted primarily, not exclusively, to identification to an analytical description of poverty as it exists in Nova Scotia. Perhaps I might review in the briefest way (it may be quite unnecessary) to the circumstances leading to the preparation of this brief beginning with a telephone call and a visit from Mr. Lord and Mr. Claque in late June or early July and very stimulating discussions with them.

Official communications, of course, from Mr. Joyce following. Our undertaking as set forth by letter of transmittal to concentrate on the two areas as requested by the Special Senate Committee, namely and I quote Mr. Joyce's letter "Factual, descriptive information about poverty from your study or experience, together with specific recommendations for dealing with it; and earlier Mr. Lord had asked that perhaps you could emphasize in your brief"—I am quoting, of course—"the position of the blacks of Halifax as well as people in low income areas."

I would like to clarify a point made by yourself, Honourable Chairman, that the Institute of Public Affairs is a branch of Dalhousie University and Dalhousie University itself, to the best of my knowledge, normally does not engage in advocacy and issues of this kind.

Our role is in the area of research publication, art works, conference teaching, consultancy, but by authority of the President and the University authorities a staff group under individual responsibility undertook to prepare a brief which has been presented. We had a small grant or a helpful grant from the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare which meant that we retained complete independence. The Department retained also its complete independence and detachment from any findings or recommendations. This was most helpful.

We have not attempted a comprehensive study relative to the Special Senate Committee's biased and complex field of inquiry. Such a study is clearly beyond the terms of your Committee's request and of our capability under these circumstances at any rate. But we have undertaken to provide a body of descriptive information and observations.

We have responded eagerly to the request of your Committee to be here. We feel that you are concerned with the crucial problems of mankind in a new age of potential for all. The solution of poverty is the key to Canadi-

an survival, as you have indicated, Honourable Chairman, and a new level of national being arising from a sense of sharing and a sense of justice among ethnic and racial groups as well as among geographical regions.

We trust that you present efforts to study and recommend in regard to poverty will be effective. If they are not, more ammunition will have been given to those who point to the hard and inescapable facts of poverty in this rich new country as evidence of sickness, and it is a sickness.

The Canadian society, including parliamentary institutions and, of course, universities, are not exempt from that responsibility either for the present condition or for analyses and programmes leading to change.

Now, perhaps I could just say two or three things in a general way about the brief. What we are not trying to do, we are not trying to provide a blueprint for the solution of poverty. We are not trying to suggest a programme for the elimination of regional disparities or for economic development on a national or provincial scale which will overcome unemployment or even inflation and provide affluence for all.

We are not attempting in any specific way to provide a solution to the urgent question about minimal or guaranteed minimum incomes, new welfare systems or other major factors.

Your comprehensive attack on poverty is the whole area of the Senate Committee's inquiry. We are attempting to do several things—provide a factual picture or analytical description of poverty in Nova Scotia; rural, urban, rural fringe communities, urban fringe communities, ethnic groups, black people and Indians.

As requested we have drawn upon a number of publications, no fewer than 18 of Institute studies or publications about civic situations and problems over the past twelve years.

We have drawn also upon other published and unpublished materials. Several persons or agencies were very generous in providing us with the raw material incorporated here to provide new bodies of facts and insights about particular situations.

I refer particularly to the section on rural Nova Scotia drawn from studies by Mr. Connor of Dr. Rayburn's group, the Department of Mines, Energy and Resources, and from a recent new life study of Halifax City

under the auspices of the Canadian Welfare Council.

We have put forth—I think you will find that it is inherent in the text, coming out of the text for the most part—limited findings and recommendations.

We have certain observations and we would be glad to elaborate in respect to these very limited observations.

With respect to this great question of a guaranteed annual income, we recommend particularly and most urgently that an effective attack upon poverty programmes require detailed—not only identification, sir—but a detailed knowledge from fieldwork; interdisciplinary efforts in communication with the poor itself without the socio-economic set.

The condition in which people find themselves, the levels of education—all these things are well known and not only that but land use studies particularly in this long settled area of Nova Scotia and the neighbouring provinces, including Quebec, of course, and perhaps parts of Ontario and perhaps even the West.

You know, just at the time of Confederation and just afterwards, Nova Scotia had the most advanced economy, the most advanced social and economic situation of any Canadian province. It is not enough to find superficial and trivial reasons for the decline. Among the historical reasons it had to do with geography and economics and national policy rather than the vitality of the people or the vast efforts that were made and are continuing to be made by the people of Nova Scotia and neighbouring provinces.

And it is in this spirit, in the light of the great efforts of modernization in Nova Scotia that is going forward in harmony with national policies, particularly under the new Department of Economics expansion that we feel that it is timely and necessary to bring forward this analytical description, statement of fact, such insights as we can provide in respect to poverty as it exists in Nova Scotia.

Thank you, sir.

The Chairman: Fine. Let me just say this to you. I am sorry but the Chairman in his usual way stole most of his time for speech-making this morning but I thought something had to be said in connection with the Committee and that it had to be said at the beginning.

But please stick to questions. Try to stick to three minutes to start so we will have a second round because we have got an hour.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Henson, in your brief you refer in various places with respect to education prevailing in the relationship between lack of education and poverty or low income, on page 5, page 17 and page 30.

I wonder if you would care to comment as to any meaningful allowance to keep a student in school? I am not thinking of \$10 a month but say \$45 or a meaningful allowance where it is needed to keep the students in school.

Mr. Henson: I personally have not made any recent examination of this particular problem. I will see if my colleagues, particularly Andrew Harvey or Donald MacLean or others might wish to make any comments on this matter.

Mr. Andrew S. Harvey, Economic Research Associate, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University: Any comment I might make here is that while an allowance for the student is important, the point that seems to have come across quite clearly is that the family itself often depends on the income which an individual would earn were he to leave school and go out working.

While I cannot give you a firm figure of what a student should get, one has to look at both situations of what is required to support the student and also what the family itself might need.

It may be a motherless family. It may be a fatherless family. It may be a family where the father and mother, about six of them, are working and they are just able to support a family. They need every dollar they can get.

I am sorry I cannot give you a firm figure. I think it is important to know that there are these two facets.

The Chairman: Mr. MacLean, would you have anything to add?

Mr. Donald MacLean, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University: No.

The Chairman: That is it.

Mr. Henson: Honourable Chairman, there are three members of our group whom I mentioned to you. I wonder if I might ask them to come forward to the platform?

The Chairman: By all means.

Mr. Henson: Dr. Moffatt, Dr. Clairmont and Mr. Magill.

Senator McGrand: I have a number of questions. I know you have not time to answer them but I will give you two or three questions in the form of a sort of statement.

Now, on page 7 you mention that Nova Scotia had a high standard of living in the 1860's and 70's. Now, this was a period in which Nova Scotia had reciprocity with the United States and it was a time when the American Civil War contributed a great deal to the prosperity of this part of Canada.

Now, this was a period of wood, wind and water. It was a saw mill economy. They had saw mills, lath mills, shingle mills. Much of the sawn lumber and lath and shingle went to New England and New York and it was carried by the schooners which have passed out of existence.

I suppose that had something to do with the prosperity of Nova Scotia in that period.

Now, the next question I have is that you mentioned on page 25 only a small percentage of farms can compete in the agricultural market. What does this mean to the future of Nova Scotia?

My other question was: there are pockets of poverty in all our cities and very large areas of low income. Now, how much of the present poverty in the cities is due to the rural poor who cannot make a go of it due to the decline of rural prosperity and have migrated to the cities.

Mr. Henson: There are three points, as I understand it sir. An indication was made which I think in part is correct that Nova Scotia was a saw mill economy. I think there was much more than that but at any rate unquestionably the termination of reciprocity and the decline of wooden ship building and a variety of other facts of economic nationalism and so forth entered into the economic decline of Nova Scotia.

But why was Nova Scotia unable to adjust? These other parts and other small countries or other small regions have been able to adjust. To what extent are the answers (if it is profitable to look for them—it may not be any more) to be found in national policies, continental policies of the new nation and so forth?

I agree in general that there were drastic changes which had to be made in the economy. I think this is the Senator's point, as I understand it, but to go into the reasons for economic decline, whether or not they were inevitable and what we can do about it now is rather beyond the scope of our undertaking.

Number two—a considerable number of farmers are unable to adjust and what is the answer here? I believe that the answer is being found better than anywhere else in the Maritime Provinces and perhaps in North America in the studies and programmes of action being developed in Prince Edward Island.

I looked not long ago at a map of a particular part of Prince Edward Island where half of the best soil (and it is in the number two classification, northern agricultural land in Canada) is out of production because of absentee ownership.

So the people who live in the farm houses or what were once farm houses are selling insurance or are perhaps old people and half the land is out of production.

The Chairman: Who is making that study?

Mr. Henson: This was made under the Federal-Provincial, as I say, successor to our ARDA and successor programmes and the results have been incorporated, of course, into the Canada-Prince Edward Island agreement, so that the same kind of...

Well, I was just going to add that the farmers with capacity, know-how, enterprise, were buying land three miles and 15 miles from their own farms so it is a matter of urgency that the historic land settlement pattern be discarded and there be a new state of mind and a new approach of land consolidation and new viable uses.

The third point, if I understand it correctly, had to do with the migration of people from the rural areas of Nova Scotia where mechanisation and other factors and forces are causing a large decline in employment of primary industries and are they moving into the towns and cities of Nova Scotia.

Well, actually this is one of the areas in which details vary in that a specific study is required so we will know. As a matter of fact one of our staff conclusions (which perhaps does not come through as clearly in the document as it might) is there is (to use an unfortunate term) a gray group; rural people who are being displaced through this historical process of obsolescence of the old subsistence homes which provided a good life at one time, a good life for people relative, let us say, to London or Montreal or what-not, but which collapsed.

I might say subsistent agriculture or semi-subsistent agriculture collapsed and we just don't know enough about what or who the

people are, this business of who they are, where they are, what the facts are, why they are there and what can be done about it.

Instead of a generalization, we have recommended very strongly that as a basis for attacks on either people in poverty or people who may be slipping into the poverty circumstance, we need and need urgently this kind of (I hesitate to use the word "research" because there is so much to do) but this kind of knowledge as a basis for action.

The Chairman: Senator Pearson.

Senator Pearson: Yes. I refer you particularly to your clause 12 and 13, the definition of poor and poverty.

My first question is: how many of the witnesses who prepared this voluminous and wonderful brief which contains a great deal of work and a great deal of which we can make use; but at the same time I would like to know how many of those who prepared this brief have any real contact with poverty or is this purely an academic report? Is it done from an academic point of view or done from actual contact?

Then the next question is: could you define the difference between poverty and poor? I cannot quite make a thing out of 12 and 13. They both seem to run the same, but I would like to have your definition of it.

Mr. Henson: May I ask is it page 12 or 13 or section 12?

Senator Pearson: Page 7, 12 and 13.

Mr. Henson: I am going to ask in a moment Mr. Harvey to come forward and deal with this question of the basis of the analysis but first I will speak briefly on this question of whether it is an academic exercise or efforts put forward by a group of persons connected with some contact or even personal experience or possibly perhaps concern.

I don't suppose—and I didn't interpret this question as argumentative *ad hominem*. It is very difficult however, for myself or for anybody, you know, to speak in a personal way, but I will speak of people I know as impersonally as possible.

And I know that one member of this staff group is perhaps one of the leading specialists in Canada—qualified—very well qualified Doctor of Sociology who voluntarily left his family and lived for a year with the Eskimos, for example; who knows the slums of one of the major cities; who has been concerned

with studies of the blacks of Nova Scotia and—well, how can one say he is an academic?

In the first place he has very academic standards to this matter.

Senator Pearson: Right.

Mr. Henson: But he brings a depth of personal understanding and conviction and concern.

Senator Pearson: This is what I want to know, yes.

Mr. Henson: And a member I know is a university student who spent one or two vacations with various groups in the slums in Washington some years ago.

I could go on. I can tell you that I personally grew up into manhood, if you like, at the time of the Depression and I concern myself with labour education and co-operative education through the Antigonish movement and the great work of Saint Francis Xavier and in 1935, primarily as a volunteer, I helped to organize 22 credit unions I think, or 23.

This meant for years in a voluntary way night after night, weekend after weekend in this city and 30 miles or 50 miles in various directions, but I don't propose further to put my heart on my sleeve but rather to say we will leave the document as it stands and we take second place to none as a group in our deep concern and we have endeavoured to prepare a document which will be reputable academically and intelligently and defensible, subject to improvement, of course, because much of this is new work.

I do not like to say it represents our best work. It represents our best work under intense pressure, because it has been a voluntary overtime exercise for the most part and we were very late.

We interpreted your request perhaps too—I will not say—seriously. Perhaps we were too ambitious but in any rate in general I think we stand behind this document and say, "Well, my first nickel was earned picking up apples and picking up potatoes and driving cows. When I was 13, I was out of school picking up apples in the Fall and the truant officer said I ought to be back in," so you know, if you want to talk about poverty problems, I will be prepared to discuss the matter.

I hope I have not been aggressive.

Senator Pearson: Not a bit. That is what I wanted.

The Chairman: Senator Pearson asked for information and your answer was far more useful than you think it is at the moment.

Mr. Henson: Thank you, sir.

Senator Pearson: The other question was the definition of poverty and poor.

Mr. Henson: Oh yes. Well, Mr. MacLean.

Mr. MacLean: Mr. Chairman, the expression "poverty" and "poor"—those expressions are used in paragraphs 12 and 13.

I do not think we want to make any particular distinction in the use of those two words. The Chairman suggested earlier there is a distinction between poverty and poor. Our reply is it might be, and I think for our purposes we were using these terms synonymously.

We go on to indicate a definition in respect to income. We set forth other characteristics in which we describe where a family is in a state of poverty.

Senator Pearson: You indicated you interchanged the words between poverty and poor. You keep changing words.

Mr. Harvey: That is correct. We used the term synonymously and interchangeably.

The Chairman: Senator Fergusson?

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I would like to first compliment Mr. Henson and his staff for this wonderful brief which we are certainly going to find very useful.

I have read all I was able to since I arrived in Halifax and I realize from that both our staff and our committee are going to find it practically invaluable for the information that is in it.

I am sorry I am not more thoroughly familiar with it this morning but there are some things that I have clipped out that I would like particularly to ask, especially on page 3, section 7. You say:

If one has explicit regard to incidents of poverty among given groups, the highest incident is found in families with young female heads...

We have had this brought to our attention from other sources, of course. We realize that this is the case, but one thing I would like to ask is: in this incidence of families with young female heads being in a poverty area greater than it is in other parts of Canada?

Another thing I would like to ask is: what do you think is the reason for this? Is it because young women who are left as the support for their families have not had a proper education and training so that they can earn an income similar to what the husband might have earned and therefore be able to support their families in the same way they could have if it was a male head; or is it because even if they have such training they are not appointed to the same sort of position and they are not given the opportunity to earn the salaries that men would have earned?

That is my third question. They are not appointed to the sort of positions that their husbands might have held, or is it because even though they are quite well trained and quite capable and do hold positions and do the same work they are paid less money for doing that work?

There must be some reason why women, who are the heads of families, cannot support their families with as high an income as men, and is there anything that you think we can do in this area? Is there anything we can recommend so that the women who are heads of families, can keep their families out of this area of poverty?

Mr. Henson: May I, sir, ask Mr. Harvey if he would deal with the question as to whether the differential is greater than elsewhere, and Mr. Byron Anthony has had extensive industrial experience, especially in industrial relations, if he has any comments on the reasons for differential of income between female and male heads of families; and anyone else that may wish to speak on this question.

Mr. Harvey: In answer to the first question I think you will find the incidence in any given group that we might want to identify in the economy is higher in Nova Scotia. One can speculate on the reasons for this.

I think it is essentially a fact that the lower level of economy activity tends to raise, you know, everybody. No group is in.

In terms of education I would like to speak to one other point in terms of education of females in Nova Scotia my experience, working with this material, indicates that women are in general (I cannot speak specifically) who are low income or poverty are not as well trained as the men.

As Mr. Henson mentioned, probably Mr. Anthony will speak to some of the other questions.

The Chairman: I did not understand your answer to the question that Senator Fergusson asked you about the incidence. You said the incidence was higher. Why higher?

Mr. Harvey: The why is that the general level of economic activity here tends to make everybody worse off with lower incomes; say given \$3,000 income in Canada on an average, well, you have got something like—just picking numbers—50 per cent in Canada have incomes below \$3,000.

In Nova Scotia there would be something like 60 to 75 per cent. This is true right across the board regardless of what group you pick.

The Chairman: Yes, but what about New Brunswick?

Mr. Harvey: This is true in New Brunswick.

The Chairman: Is the incidence higher in New Brunswick than in Nova Scotia, which is what Senator Fergusson spoke about?

Mr. Harvey: Right. This is due to the mathematics or calculations. You have more people below in any given category. We mentioned in the brief this is a very nebulous exercise in measuring some of these thing, of which I am sure you have been made aware.

You can draw up by moving the line just slightly, you can get more changes.

Senator Hastings: Did the witness say that female education is lower in the Maritimes?

Mr. Harvey: No. In my experience there is no significant difference in the education of females and males in Nova Scotia in the work I have done.

The Chairman: Mr. Anthony?

Mr. Byron Anthony, Director of Labour and Management Bureau: Mr. Chairman, I am not sure I can contribute really anything to those answering these questions except to say that in Nova Scotia there is equal pay for equal work legislation.

Senator Fergusson: How does it work? How does this legislation work? Is it satisfactory?

Mr. Anthony: Well, let me put it this way. I am not sure whether it is or not, and it is not unlike equal pay for equal work legislation that is in effect elsewhere.

The only thing I can say about it: even though we have legislation for equal pay for equal work the fact of the matter is that in

the minimum wages standards that are set up by legislation there is a differential between the minimum for females as opposed to males.

Senator Fergusson: Right in your Minimum Wage Act.

Mr. Anthony: Right. Insofar as collective bargaining is concerned, Mr. Chairman, I am not sure enough to say that, as I recall, the collective agreements I have dealt with down through the years, generally the rates of pay for females are lower than that of males.

I think it is true to say this is changing to some extent. I think it is also true to say that the differentials between male and female rates in the Minimum Wage Act are shrinking and narrowing.

Senator Fergusson: Let me ask you one more question about equal pay. Would you know if there had been many complaints about the equal pay Act?

Mr. Anthony: I really would not.

Senator Fergusson: And how they have been satisfied.

Mr. Anthony: I really don't know.

Senator Hastings: May I ask you, sir, this question. We have made no special examination of this particular question to my knowledge, but there may be one or two members of the staff who have information and would like to speak of it. I am not sure.

The Chairman: By all means.

Mr. MacLean: Mr. Chairman and Senators, I have no information right now in reply to Senator Fergusson's question but I understand there are a large number of women who are in this situation because they have been deserted and it is a very expensive procedure to require deserted husbands to pay the support of the family. It involves the deserted person in other provinces and in the courts of other provinces. It is costly and time-consuming and difficult, and even if the deserted person is required to pay and he fails to continue paying, the procedure has to be done all over again.

I think certainly if this kind of problem were looked at closely and this whole process made simpler, it may solve the problem of some of the women in this country.

The Chairman: That problem doesn't belong necessarily to Nova Scotia. From my

own experience I can tell you it belongs to the whole of Canada.

Mr. Anthony: Yes, but the problem is here. The problem exists here.

The Chairman: The problem exists every place you can think of.

Mr. Anthony: Oh yes. I was not suggesting it would meet this problem. The fact is there are a large number of women who are in this category.

Senator Fergusson: Do you think the incidence of women in that category would be greater than the incidence of women in that category in other provinces?

Mr. Anthony: Oh, I have no information of that, but I am sure it is a problem and certainly if we are looking for as many as possible ways of improving poverty situations in this province, this is one of the things.

Senator Hastings: Supplementary. What is the minimum wage in Nova Scotia?

The Chairman: \$1.25 for men and \$1 for women.

I had hoped someone would answer Senator Fergusson's question because it is a very vital one. You are not giving answers to it. We did get an answer to it in Ottawa. Senator Fergusson asked the question. I think I am safe in saying that the answer we got was that women are being discriminated against in employment, in promotion and in pay at the Federal government level. Is that what he said? That was the evidence anyway that was given to us in Ottawa.

Is that true in Nova Scotia?

Mr. Henson: Our circumstances, I would think, would follow the national experience.

Senator Hastings: Only worse.

Mr. Henson: I certainly would not want to assume the defendant's role. I do suggest—you know, we discussed this whole principle of equality *per se*. I should say we have to take into account factors having to do with pregnancy.

The wife may follow the husband as and when he moves. There are a variety of things like this which, sometimes being blunt (although I endeavour to be as diplomatic as possible as often as possible) but they have to be taken into consideration.

I have made no special investigation of this matter. I would certainly feel that many

women who are secretaries and other people in key roles have more brains than their bosses and all this kind of thing. But I think there are some of these biological factors that enter into the picture.

I am not defending them. I am just saying in our existing scheme of things they are there.

Senator Fergusson: I would like, if I may be permitted, to say I am not a militant feminist either, you know, but this is one of the big problems that has been brought to our attention many times.

I am just as interested in any other problem but this is one I think we should consider.

The Chairman: That is the answer. Is that everything that you have to say?

Mr. Henson: On that question, yes.

Senator Cook: Mr. Chairman, I would like to congratulate this gentleman for this excellent brief because it is going to be very, very helpful to us. It seems that many of the suggested solutions will involve plans for all levels of government to improve the lot of those suffering from poverty, to educate people, to retrain people and perhaps move large numbers of people from point A to point B.

Mr. Henson, would you agree the biggest practical step is to endeavour to build—all this will take time—would you think the biggest factor would be to build a floor by means of some type or kind of guaranteed income so that as far as possible, people would not continue to suffer from the effects of what is described in page 7—and I agree with the term—of grinding poverty?

It may be possible to beat your way out of the vicious circle of being poor, but to beat your way out of the vicious circle of grinding poverty, it seems to me that the best and most practical solution is to have some type of guaranteed annual income now and not to wait for plans in the future. Would you agree with that?

Mr. Henson: Yes. I think I am correctly representing the consensus of the staff group as stated on page 5 in the abstract in respect to a guaranteed annual income. An acceptable rationale for the adoption of a universal guaranteed income is needed and can be aided by a programme of experimentation.

I am not going to endeavour to go into a kind of instant exposé of the case against or

the case for a guaranteed annual income. We recognize this floor idea put forward by the Honourable Senator as valid and as necessary in our society.

The main source of the case against it is that it is going to increase dependence. The counter argument, that is essential, is that when people have a sense of security and are able to participate at least in some of the good things of life and are in a better position when they get out and earn something to buy more of the good things in life, then they will want more of them.

They will be drawn back into the main stream of society and better able, if not in any other way, from this point of view.

I hope it is correct. I believe it will come and then this is perhaps the only way—not by itself, but in a combination with a whole lot of other things mentioned in the brief and by other witnesses. This is the only way in which people can be drawn out of or rise out of a sense of alienation and all that that implies.

Now, on this matter we have a solid recommendation, Honourable Chairman.

The Chairman: Page 105?

Mr. Henson: Well, it is really on page 105. I think I can sum it up in this way.

There are two ways—there may be three or four or five ways, but there are two ways in particular by which we in this country are likely to go to work on the problem.

We may have a debate, no doubt, a first-class debate between Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Stanfield and Mr. Douglas no doubt, and some others.

The Chairman: And Mr. Caouette—get Mr. Caouette in there.

Mr. Henson: I thank you, Mr. Chairman. We will be as inclusive but as neutral as possible. Mr. Caouette and any others who should be named—but a first class debate from first the principles and in the light of such debate—you know, it can remind you of the debate among theologians as to the number of angels that can dance on the point of a needle and in the light of the great debate we will then experiment.

We will not call it an experiment. We will call it serious public policy, which it certainly will be, with billions cumulatively and effort for many years, tens of billions of dollars and the lives of many people should we venture to suggest that.

In this context we have a figure here of 2.6 billion as the present expenditure on relief and this is...

The Chairman: The present expenditure of 2.6 billion was a figure that is being bandied about as the possible cost of the guaranteed annual income overall; but the total cost of welfare measures and relief in the Dominion is in the neighbourhood of \$6 billion.

Mr. Henson: Thank you, Senator. I got a little adrift there. You have fortified my position. I was going to say three or four billion and you have said six billion.

The Chairman: The total municipal provincial is \$3.5 billion.

Mr. Henson: Thank you, sir.

Now, what we say is that there should be some programmes in social experiment, that there could be a number of projects in the field.

Granted we have not the time. You need ten or twenty years but in one or two years or three or four or five years you are going to find out some things if you have a proper design and proper competence in the administration.

We suggest Boards representing the poor themselves, organized labour, business, social scientists, professional and voluntary welfare personnel, local government, public administrators, and if there could be a national framework—there could be a number—whether three or 30—we do not suggest specifically—if there could be a number of well-designed programmes and experimental frame of reference involving millions of dollars, maybe \$100 million annually...

You see, the late Mr. Howe said "What is a million dollars?" What is ten million, you know, in relation to a \$6 billion programme which is regarded as unsatisfactory today and in relation to a new kind of ad hoc first principle new programme worked out by debates through first principles, without this kind of down to earth approach.

It is true, of course, certain programmes like this are being initiated in the United States but we require Canadian experience (a) to extend the body of knowledge and (b) for information and education of ourselves.

The Chairman: Senator Eudes.

Senator Eudes: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Henson, on page 94, paragraph 140, you start out by saying, and I quote:

It is obvious that limited education and poverty interact to perpetuate each other and that earning power is restricted by limited education. If the poor could increase their educational level, they would stand a good chance of increasing their income and of lifting themselves out of poverty. The Nulife Study Reports, that over 50 per cent of the low-income group states that their reason for leaving school is financial. Less than 17 per cent of the comparison group indicate that they left school for financial reasons. Over 90 per cent of the low-income group started their first permanent job before the age of 21.

Then you go in paragraph 142, and you say:

Free elementary and secondary education is of little value to the poor, if they cannot avail themselves of it. Although it 'costs' the poor nothing to attend school or to participate in training programmes, the low income family needs the money which would be foregone if its children remained at school.

My question is this: how can we overcome this inability of the poor to take advantage of the free education, or do you feel that if allowance was given to those attending either high school or university up to the age of 21, they would be better equipped and they would not go out on these near-poverty line wages; or do you feel that the loans in their present forms are not adequate for that need?

When I speak of loans, I am speaking of the university level, because high school is free.

Mr. Henson: My personal view is that university education should be free. I may or may not be in the minority view here but at least I am in very good company from the capitalistic point of view.

The Chairman: You are in good company with Joey Smallwood. He can't be all wrong.

Mr. Henson: One of the most powerful advocates of free university education was Bernard Baruch and he, and, if I am not mistaken, Joe Lasoc, and a number of other famous people, had a wonderful opportunity, the privilege of receiving a free education from the City colleges of New York City.

And if anyone wants—whether they call it the capitalistic, conservative or any other point of view, a better statement of the case then I recommend Bernard Baruch.

The Chairman: Where will you find him at the moment?

Mr. Henson: Well, I should say to his legacy of writing which can be found, sir. I can endeavour to supply it to you. I think I have it somewhere.

You know, there was a proposal for \$10,000 scholarship that was never acted upon.

The Chairman: Ten thousand scholarships, not \$10,000.

Mr. Henson: Did I say dollars? I meant to say scholarships.

The Chairman: I remember it was the Liberal Party suggested that.

Mr. Henson: Whatever the party, it was not acted upon and this is a matter of disappointment and frustration to a great many people.

The other thing, I think, goes even deeper. You have environment, home and neighbourhood. Where is the child to study? What is happening in the home? What is the condition of the parents?

I do not mean to say that poor children in some ways are not better off than those of well-to-do families who are coming and going to cocktail parties and all the rest of it, but poor children live in homes and neighbourhoods or they tend to live in homes which do not encourage or inhibit the development of good habits of study; mental intellectual interest, exposures of all kind.

The best piece of writing of which I know—I used to know the literature here perhaps ten years ago but I don't know now; but the best piece of writing that I am aware of is a statement which is not as yet published (which will soon be published by Dr. Clairmont, who is here) with respect to the situation of the black people and the children in three Guysborough communities and the handicaps under which they operate.

The poor attitudes—this whole complex of forces which is part of the locking-in business, that everyone seems to recognize, at least as a generality.

There are a number of proposals made in Dr. Clairmont's section on education which I think get to the heart of the problem. Of course, there is a great deal of effort being put forth both in the United States and Canada through special enriching experimental programmes designed to enable children particularly to lift themselves up and participate in the main stream of our society.

We may or may not have a very worthy society and I will be glad to make a case against it at any time, but at any rate it is presumably better to participate in the society that we have or else do something about it.

The alternatives are either to participate in it or bowl it over if you can, so that this is the kind of approach. This is the kind of, this is the kind of thinking, I believe, which lies behind the statement that poor children are not able adequately to benefit from elementary or secondary education.

The Chairman: Senator Inman.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, I also would like to congratulate the members of the staff of the Institute of Public Affairs for this very interesting and informative brief.

On page 95, paragraph number 142—this is supplementary to Senator Belisle's question—you say:

Free elementary and secondary education is of little value to the poor.

Now, I am wondering why this is so. Of course we know to a certain extent; but the family allowance is to stop if the children do not attend school. Is the amount so small it is not worthwhile considering, and is this law being adequately enforced? Is it a lack of clothing or is it that the children of teenage have to work to contribute something to the family finances?

I see here on page 30, section 49, you say:

In general, the heads of low-income families left school early for financial reasons. Over 93 per cent of them held their first permanent job before they were 20 years old, in contrast with 40.4 per cent of the comparison group.

Now, have you any thoughts regarding the solution to the inability of the poor to take advantage of free education in the elementary or secondary level?

Mr. Henson: I believe, Honourable Chairman, I would not try to add anything further to my own comments on the nature of the problem but to call on one or two other members of the Institute staff group.

Dr. Clairmont might speak perhaps with respect to the Guysborough situation, and Dr. Moffatt, the former Deputy Minister of Education who is well aware of the kinds of problems. I would ask Dr. Clairmont if he would say a word about the problems as he has encountered them.

Dr. Clairmont: I am sorry. I am deaf. I didn't get that question.

Mr. Henson: It was really, if I may rephrase, why the public education system is not more effective. The schools are there. The teachers are there. The books are there. Why are the children of poor families not benefiting to the extent of children of more well-to-do families, and to the extent that everybody thinks in general they ought to be able to benefit.

Dr. Clairmont: Well, in the case of the black population of Guysborough County, with which I have had some contact, part of the problem there is that these people have never really had an opportunity.

In a sense, they are a much worse off than the white poor or the poor in some urban centres because throughout history you have a problem there of inadequate teaching, segregated schools, a problem of no place at home study and so forth.

This is a very exploited population, the black population in Guysborough Township. There is no other way in which to discuss them other than the fact they were unfortunately involved in a racist society in Nova Scotia and this is reflected in the type of education that they have received.

When I went to study this particular population, the situation was so blatantly bad—that this was 1964-1965—that it was hard, as it were, to get a picture of the real problems of education among the poor because this group was very, very oppressed indeed.

Since that time they have done something in Guysborough County. They initiated programmes like Headstart and they de-segregated some of the schools, although not all of them, but it is quite clear that if you went back this summer the situation has not improved too much.

I think it is getting, up in Guysborough County, now that the exploitation has diminished, the problems of the black people are being more like those of the white poor and with respect to our educational system, it doesn't work.

It seems to me that now it might be possible to say something about the black people of Guysborough County which has generalized implications.

I think one of the most important things is the fact that when you have children whose parents are themselves not educated and when those parents are poor, it is not a very

appropriate climate for poor children to develop and to participate meaningfully in the educational system to the extent it becomes a rewarding experience for them.

For most of the people in Guysborough County, most of the black people who are going to school there, the educational system tends to be very much a punishing one, particularly after they leave the elementary segregated school to go into the integrated schools of Guysborough County where the teachers are white, where the people are a little better off, where they can dress better. They have more experience that they share with the teachers and so forth.

As a result when these kids go to the integrated junior high school it is a very, very painful experience for them.

On the other hand, what they have back in their community is a fairly developed system of reward which offers them a great deal of opportunity. There are all kinds of games, all kinds of relations with people that are fairly highly established. They participate in these in a very meaningful way and the pressure of this reward system in the community seems to be much greater than that which you find in the schools.

So I rather think that part of the problem therefore is that when it comes to the poor, we generally think about providing adequate services at some fixed point in time. This generally follows a history of oppression and neglect and rather than doing something which will attempt to alleviate the stresses of this background we just talk in terms of equal educational resources and this I think is very inadequate.

The poor should be getting the best teachers because they need them the most. The poor should be getting the best educational facilities because they need them the most. The poor should be getting more than the white middle class and should be involved. The community should be involved in the educational process. None of these things happen.

We have a system of rewards in society generally which directs the best resources and the best teachers to the best off people. I mean, it seems to me to be quite clear that is the case.

So with respect to my own experience in the Guysborough black population, among these people, they never had an equal opportunity although it is very, very recently getting a little more equal.

As it gets more equal the general problem of education of the poor becomes evident in their case as well and the thing is they are just not getting anywhere near the kind of attention and resources and adequate teachers and specialized tutors and so on that they need.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. We have here on the platform a very, very distinguished gentleman, the former Deputy Minister of Education, Dr. Moffatt. Do you feel you would be inclined to give us a few words? Have you something to say on this submission?

Dr. Moffatt: I did not think that I was going to be here in the first place or to speak in the second place, and I have a dentist's appointment in three minutes time.

The Chairman: You have three minutes then.

Dr. Moffatt: I think Dr. Clairmont has summed up the situation in respect to the individual poor child in a disadvantaged community. I cannot add anything to that.

I just look at it from an historical perspective. Speaking of the poor in general as being the working poor people with low incomes, they are divided into the rural poor and the urban poor.

It can be stated I think pretty clearly that 30 years ago for the rural poor—that is the working poor who had low incomes—there just were not adequate educational facilities for anybody, rich or poor, in rural areas.

In the large urban communities there was relative equality of opportunity, but there was this society that Dr. Clairmont mentioned that in the poorer parts of the cities, the schools were rather run down and shabby. They tended to put the beginning teachers, the inexperienced teachers and the poor teachers in the poor communities and so on. Whether this is discrimination, I don't know, but looking at it historically the situation has changed tremendously in the last 30 years, and particularly in the last ten years.

In 1950 only 30 per cent of the average grade 3 class reached grade 11 in Nova Scotia. The figure now is about 65 per cent.

In other words, one of the factors of lack of opportunity which bore most heavily on the poor was the inadequacy and narrowness of the school programme; you had an academic elementary education followed by an academic high school education and the poor were

not oriented to that type of education. They felt they were shut out from it, and until we broadened our programme at the junior high school level and the senior high school level to include general courses, vocational training programmes and a semi-vocational training programme and adult education, there was in fact not a conscious discrimination but a factual discrimination against them because the opportunities were not available for the kind of programmes they needed.

That is all I can say on the matter now. I have to go.

The Chairman: All right, thank you doctor.

Mr. Harvey, have you something to add to this?

Mr. Harvey: I will just take a second here. I think this is a very good point which brings up the interrelatedness of most of the issues which we have treated in our brief; housing, transportation, working and so on, because you have a situation where the student has crowded facilities, crowded housing because the family is poor. He can't study.

Elsewhere in the brief we show where the poor are heavily dependent on public transportation. They don't have the opportunity to get to many of the recreational facilities where they might be able to study, or they are not able to get to the libraries to use the reference materials to the extent that the middle income people are able to. They have to leave school earlier to get to work.

The attack on the problem then has to be one of attacking transportation, making it possible for them to get the materials that they need, to get the housing, to supporting the family with some sort of guaranteed income, so that the family is not dependent on the income from this child, and then providing the child with the money he needs for his education.

The Chairman: Well, we are getting close to our finishing time and the Chairman has a question, and anybody can take a crack at it, Mr. Henson, and you can call for all the help you like on this one.

We as a country have social measures that are comparable with any country in the world, right from the beginning of the old-age pension in 1927, unemployment insurance, the various universal acts, old age security down to pensions and Medicare. I know of no other country that has anything quite as comparable.

Tell me now: why do we have such a great incidence of poverty and welfarism in this country? Wherein have we failed?

Mr. Henson: Honourable Chairman, you have asked the most profound of questions. I would have to go to the philosophers and the moralists, you know, before you have all this with you.

If you want an easy answer or if you want to salve our consciences or if you want a Calvinistic idea of the few elite, you know, the not so fortunate...

The Chairman: Give it to us in the raw. Let us have it.

Mr. Henson: You will find other countries, the Scandinavian countries, and you will find rural communities in North America, in Canada and in Nova Scotia where there is very little poverty.

But we have a condition that has to be sought in the values in our society and in the economic social history.

You know, you are asking a very searching question. I am tempted to ask (but it would be improper) how many members of this Committee have read, for example, Upton Sinclair's book "The Jungle"?

The Chairman: I am sure all of them have at one time or another; a little out-dated.

Mr. Henson: Not at all, sir, not at all, if I may dissent.

The Chairman: All right.

Mr. Henson: "The Jungle" described the destruction of magnificent Yugoslav people with great qualities, willing to work and to share; warm, cultured people who went into the stock yards and went into the slums of Chicago and had their eye-teeth cheated out of them or exploited.

You know what Upton Sinclair said about the net effect of that book. He said he aimed at the heart of America but it hit America in the stomach because the housewives and the rest of us good people got concerned about the impurities of food coming out of the stock yard.

Well now, where are those Yugoslav people who were destroyed as citizens and as functioning persons, which they were, when they got to Chicago? Will you find them still in the slums of Chicago or the slums of Montreal or the slums of Halifax?

So I am saying that in our particular socio-economic history we have had forces of exploitation. You don't have to go further than Cape Breton Island to see one of the most damning pieces of evidence of the result of unbridled industrialization where we had people moved in from the farms. They were brought in from Britain and what happened to the people is that their minds were worn out without adequate food supply, without adequate provisions.

I am not laying the blame to private industry or to government. I am just saying we didn't have the foresight. We had a city which is referred to as "Fringeville"; 28 families who are practically outcasts down on the south shore of town. How did they get there?

There was a shipowner and a very capable fellow, about 100 years ago more or less, according to the local people—we have not got this fully documented. He faced a very difficult problem. He needed the cheapest kind of labour to clean out the bilges of the old sailing ships.

He brought these people in and settled them in on the edge of town and this group went down, down, down.

With welfare provisions, I am told by people who have observed this Fringeville over 30 to 40 years, actually there has been a great deal of improvement in their situation through family allowances and some of the things that will provide a floor to enable them to participate and hold their heads up and get to school and to dress and do all these things which we take for granted.

The Chairman: Pardon me. Are they still working at the same job, cleaning out the bilges.

Mr. Henson: No. The bilges of sailing ships are gone, but that was the major source of employment in this town for 30 years.

However, they were outcasts. They would not be acceptable either by management or other areas, but today they are as a result of certain programmes of public housing and so forth, and as a result of the concern of the people themselves there is improvement.

I suggest there are also cultural differences. We like to call it a cultural lag because we regard our way of life as normal and superior. We are in this technical and competitive society. I don't know but I think this has to do with it. I think some of the cultural lagging of some of the people, the Indians, the

blacks and others who have warmth and feeling for each other which we do not have. . .

So I go back to this question basically that we have to go to the philosophers and the moralists or the anthropologists, the socio-economists, the sociologists, the political scientists for insights but in the end it has been and it is a matter of values.

I think that all of us have not particularly given a damn, and not many damns. Well, there is a lot of charity for which we pay taxes. Well, Marie Antoinette said "Let them eat bread." We say "Let them have public housing. It is not good enough."

The Chairman: They had cake.

Mr. Henson: Pardon me, cake. We are very fortunate to have such a knowledgeable Chairman, you know.

I am finished with this point, but I would invite my colleagues to say whatever they wish. Either we wanted it this way or else we have been sufficiently satisfied so that it stayed this way, and we have not been prepared to recognize it. We have not made a collective judgment as individuals, as people.

I am talking about what is an adequate environment for man, for you and me and our children and all the rest. We have got to have this insight but we would rather have three cars and pretty soon we will have four-car garages and five or ten T.V. sets, one in every room.

We would rather have this type of civilization, so I come back to the fact it is a matter of values.

You know, Mr. Stevenson came into Halifax—there is a reference to all of this—12 years ago and there have been humanitarian appeals for slum clearance which fell on deaf ears. We can't afford it. We are over-taxed and this, that and the other.

Mr. Stevenson did in a way what Upton Sinclair did. He went out, family by family, block by block, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, drew maps, had some calculations and said this is the cause of delinquency. This, this, this and this.

The community is paying a high price for slums. The people who live in the slums are paying a high price, you see, for their accommodation. They could get a lot better accommodation if we had better social arrangements in the community.

Slum landlords—well, I do not see any point in making scapegoats. All I am saying is that the Stevenson report led to public housing. It

led to great slum clearances which after one or two false starts did generate a programme of action.

What I want to say is, if we can see this in correct values and make right determinations, we will be better off as people and we will be better off economically than if we allow this morass to carry on.

The Chairman: Quickly now. Is there anyone who would like to add anything? It has been such a useful hearing.

Mr. Harvey: Just one quick comment, and here again I think the welfare programmes that we have had like Topsy have just grown. We did not relate one programme necessarily to another programme. What is necessary is as I mentioned when I was here before, that all of these things are interrelated. All the welfare programmes have to be interrelated.

We found out in Energy, Mines and Resources when they were going into rural areas showing the people how to get more money out of the land, and you had welfare people going out and moving them out into different communities, so we had two government programmes working against each other.

We have to relate all the programmes and if we relate them to one another then maybe we can get some value for our dollar.

The Chairman: Just quickly because I see we are way behind.

Senator Sparrow: Mr. Chairman, we have had many definitions of poor and poverty and in the brief there was a definition of poor. Does anyone on the Committee or can any one of those who have prepared the brief give us a definition of rich? We haven't had one yet.

Poverty as set out here states adequate food, shelter and clothing. So on the basis of an income of \$3,000 that doesn't mean someone who makes \$3,100 is rich. We have obtained many demands by people who say take from the rich and give to the poor. Is there such a thing and what do you consider a definition of being rich is in the Canadian society?

Mr. Henson: Before I venture a comment, I will see if anyone else wishes to say anything.

We are concerned with people who are in poverty and have a minimum income. But may I say this? Maybe Ralph Galbraith's name was mentioned improperly. I have quoted it here.

About 12 years ago he received a request to write a book on why people are poor, 12 or 14 years ago. I tried at the time to get a copy of the book.

At any rate, in the Atlantic Monthly a couple of months ago he explained why he didn't write it. He reviewed the theme of the affluent society as we all know it. In other words, he thought it was more creative or productive or useful to say "Well, how can we become affluent?" "What are the main considerations to the affluent society?"

And, of course, he has turned the question how can the poor rise in the level of affluence. So richness does not automatically bring in poor. They are alienated and locked out. So he addresses himself to this problem now in practical terms.

What is poverty, poorness, marginality, minimum degree of comfort and right up to Mr. Onassis' level or something of that kind.

We have not gone into that kind of exercise to adequately deal with richness. How do you define richness? It is more or less self-defining but is it relevant?

Senator Sparrow: I think the problem is if we wish to bring up the level of affluence or richness, society should try to bring up the lower level to the people of affluence rather than bringing the affluence down to the level of the poor as such or to a happy medium.

I think society should be endeavouring to lift from the bottom up rather than stretch up from the top down or from the bottom up, if it can be done.

Mr. Henson: This is the approach in the brief, sir.

Dr. Clairmont: We have not got around to discussing the last 50 pages of the brief which was the production of myself and Mr. MacLean particularly on the black population of Nova Scotia.

We talked about the poverty of the rural farm worker, but where it becomes important, I think, is that we should examine some of the policies that the government is engaged in in Nova Scotia.

Because it seems to me, as I indicated in the brief, that the economic policies of the government are failing in Nova Scotia, and that rather than eliminating poverty, may in fact be maintaining that poverty, may in fact be creating a state of exploitation among the rural and farm poor.

I know we have not got enough time to go into it here. I think the problem of the rural poor and the black and white poor and the exploitation is the function to some extent of the different policies that have been maintained and by our economic policies.

Another thing very quickly. One of the conclusions we reached in our submission was simply that this is an involuntary restraint society and one of the ways to eliminate restraint is to encourage progressive relationships among people.

We think this is the kind of thing that may lead to the elimination of restraint and these two suggestions are very critical. We have not covered them at all in the last 50 pages of the brief.

The Chairman: The Black United Front are speaking to us. You can help them out this afternoon if you can make yourself available. You can help them out.

May I just say this on behalf of the Committee to you, Mr. Henson, and to every member of your Committee here how useful and how helpful your brief was. Moreover, it is a signal to others across the country of what can be done and it points out the way, as you said a few moments ago, the concern of citizens and others. That is a very important thing.

Now, on behalf of the Committee, all I can tell you is you stand tall in our estimation. Thank you very much.

The next brief we have is submitted by the Black United Front. Mr. Carlyle Warner, Senior Long Range Planner for the City of Halifax and Chairman of the Black United Front is an economist and planner, and will speak for the Committee.

He has here with him Dr. W. B. Oliver, regional representative; Mr. Jules Oliver, chief of the Human Rights office in Nova Scotia, Human Rights Commission; Mr. Jesse Dillard, Director of Recreation in Halifax and Secretary-Treasurer of the Black United Front, and Mrs. Carrie M. Best, economist, freelance writer and researcher of the black man in Nova Scotia and a number of Human Rights projects.

I understand that Mr. Warner will speak first.

Mr. Carlyle Warner, Chairman, Black United Front: Honourable chairman, senators, ladies and gentlemen, the Black United Front will commence its presentation with a videotape and follow it with a narrative, and then

we will field questions from the Senate Committee.

(Videotape shown to Senate Committee)

The Chairman: Honourable senators, the Chairman of the Black United Front has a two-page brief which will go on the record.

Mr. Warner: Honourable chairman, senators, ladies and gentlemen, we have got to zero in on the insidious problem of poverty in our social system, and in doing so we have got to address ourselves to a value system.

Let us take, for instance, a particular case which I mentioned in another place the last time. Our social system decides to reward a garbage collector who, as a result of doing the job efficiently, protects the community from an epidemic.

In juxtaposition it elects to reward a public health doctor who treats the epidemic which is caused by the malfeasance or non-feasance on the side of the garbage collector or what-have-you at the rate of \$10 a visit or what-have-you, so what do you have—a wealthy doctor and a poor garbage collector; but the doctor would not be able to accumulate his wealth if the garbage collector was functioning efficiently. There is dignity in that type of labour and it is as important, I submit, as the public health doctor.

I would submit that the garbage collector is an arm of preventive medicine, and society might re-arrange its value system in rewarding people for their labour based on the fact that they have got to live in the society and that the contribution of each individual in the social contract is terribly significant and goes a far way in making the social system work.

The other point to which I would like to address myself is the problem of economic leakage of programmes which go into minority communities, black communities or what-have-you. It is wonderful. Send in some white social workers or get delivery into your area or black area—send in some white carpenters. They buy their lumber from a white supplier.

You may get some houses in the black community but what is happening? If each unit costs \$10,000, \$9,600 is leaked into the white community and there is not any capital left in a society to generate any self-sustaining growth.

It is a part of the identical problem of colonialism. I think if the programmes are zeroed in on poor people and minorities, due consideration should be taken of the fact that if they are allowed to participate in the work

endeavours of these programmes, set up co-ops to buy lumber and what have you.

You can train people in management and you can train people in other trades and as a result of the programme you have left in the community not only some shelter but people with a microism of training who then can be integrated into other adult education programmes.

You then have launched your vessel of human resource development which can assist in integrating the strident poor in the minority groups into the main stream of society.

In my relationship in BUF and other organizations, similar organizations, I have learned to recognize that you can only get your message over to the top structure when you talk in terms of the Bible.

Well, I submit to you that the type of programme I am talking about will remove black people from being tax receivers and convert them into tax payers.

You might say "Well, what do you do, how do you help develop that sort of thing?" You are unaware of the tax burden which you are so beholden about when you look at your own different welfare programmes which come from your pseudo-altruism and might look munificent and become relevant, but I submit to you that the true goal of any welfare system, any welfare programme is to make that particular programme irrelevant and have no significant in the social system.

It appears to me that we have begun to treat our human beings in our productive system as part of the industrial waste. Our poor are the industrial waste of our industrial society and you are now getting interested in solid waste and air pollution.

I submit to you that your task force Committee should address itself to the human waste of the industrial system, the poor. Thank you.

The Chairman: Well, Senators, are there any questions?

Senator McGrand: Of the 20 or more black communities in Nova Scotia, are the blacks in the smaller communities better or worse off on the average than they are in Halifax?

Mr. Warner: The difference is miniscule, not socially significant.

The Chairman: You do say here in your brief, and I gather from what you are saying is that these communities you are talking about are predominantly consisting of school-

age children and old people. What you are trying to tell us is that the fathers particularly have left the community to go out and see if they can get a job some other place and the families remain behind. Is that what you are saying?

Mr. Warner: Not necessarily. What you have really is what I will call the aggressive segment of your labour force, that 18 to 35 age group out-migrate into the areas where they can find work. So what you have left in the community is the elderly and the young and the communities to some extent do not have bred into them the pre-conditions by which they can pick themselves up by their bootstraps.

I would invite Dr. Oliver to assist with some remarks on my rebuttal.

Dr. W. B. Oliver: I think the question is very relevant to this whole matter of well-being of the black people in Nova Scotia.

I think it has a bearing on the ongoing development of the people.

We find that there is a sector that migrates because of the fact that they are unable to be employed, and it is my feeling they are unemployed because of the difficulty to break into—shall we say—from the unskilled to the skilled sector.

The historic pattern has been for the development of black people to sort of move from the unskilled to the professional.

Now, there may be a number of reasons for this; this evasion of the skilled technical sector. It could be a multiple of things, but this has been the pattern, and the feed-back I received is that these people who migrated to the larger areas where there are more jobs in the unskilled or semi-skilled sector, are happier and they are making great progress.

The Chairman: Doctor, is it not the history of all minority groups that they move from the unskilled to the professional because they are then not dependent on anyone for employment, they being in the professional group? They do not have to work with an engineer or chemical engineer or others where they have to be part of a large organization. Is that not the history?

Dr. Oliver: That is partially true. I think there may be another factor, sir, and that is the social aspect.

As human beings, black people have many other needs. Basically their first need is for food, shelter and clothing, a sense of security,

but there is also this greater need called "being accepted."

Social status is attached to certain vocations and professions so in order to overcome the embarrassment and pain of the social stigma, the carpenter's son becomes a social worker. The steelworker's son becomes a medical doctor or psychiatrist—he skips this stage.

The Chairman: But that is good.

Dr. Oliver: Oh, of course it is, except that we have to find ways and means to feed the financial resources to provide this type of academic training.

Skilled workers have a fair economic base upon which to educate their children and this is probably the reason why we have been encouraging scholarship funds, bursary funds. We are touching service, but if we are going to raise the standards of black people it is going to be through realizing the fact and recognizing the fact of racial prejudice.

The Chairman: Of which?

Dr. Oliver: Of racial prejudice. The only way, if we are going to leave that stage as it is, the answer is in higher education.

The Chairman: Well now, if any of the Senators wish to ask a question they may do so.

Senator Pearson: I would like to ask a question.

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Pearson: In Nova Scotia, is there any industrial area where the blacks own the whole corporation and are building it up?

Dr. Oliver: Not that I know of.

Senator Pearson: Well then, why can't you with your higher education? You have got some engineers and a few are well educated now. Why not start a co-operative industry where the blacks control the whole situation?

Mr. Warner: Might I suggest that is what the Black United Front is attempting to address itself to.

Senator Pearson: Is that right? That is what I think. Instead of always working for the white man and looking for the white man to help you, build yourself up by your own industries.

Dr. Oliver: That is the basic philosophy, sir, of the Black United Front; self-determination.

Senator Pearson: Yes.

Senator McGrand: Where would you get the capital to do this?

Mr. Warner: That was the very question I was about to pose. You have got to control the lending—you have got to have the empathetic consideration of the lending institutions and you need programmes like the Small Business Administration in the United States.

I gather that black people are supposed to not have good credit in entrepreneurial activities and this sort of thing, because they are not supposed to be entrepreneurs; this is the image one has with bankers.

So these are the sort of things your Committee wants to address itself to.

Senator Pearson: Yes. If you form your co-operative, the co-operative then goes to the bank and puts their case before them.

Mr. Warner: We are entering a period in industry based on third-generation industry.

Senator Pearson: Yes.

Mr. Warner: We want large pools of capital to play in this major league. If you are talking about a blacksmith shop, fine, but to participate in the electronic industry or this sort of stuff, you don't do that with a little co-op.

Senator Pearson: Little co-ops started in Saskatchewan with the local stores et cetera. People joining little stores and then they got into the oil and gas business and they are gradually moving up into what they call a federated co-operative now, and they are building up a whole lot of lines of industry.

Mr. Warner: We have been gradually building up, Mr. Senator, for 200 years. We now want to take off.

We look at the particular economy and we know it about a decade behind the U.S. economy in cycle of growth. We see the U.S. economy moving up out of secondary manufacturing into third-generation industrial research and development. We know that is where the game is and that is where we want to play. That is where the major league is. We want to enter the industrial society and enjoy the last phase of the nuptial society in the cycle of its economy, and we want to be ready for the third-generation industrial society.

This gradualism is over. We want to take off. We want to join the major leagues. We are not interested in playing the professional because we know that in the service-oriented

society of tomorrow, the high service industry, the blue collar worker and so on—you know you see it in the wage settlements. Sometimes I feel like taking the equivalent education into the auto industry and do bloody well better than I do as a professional planner. We want to participate where the grapes are more luscious too.

The Chairman: What are you doing to qualify yourselves for these luscious grapes?

Mr. Warner: That is what we are asking you to do.

The Chairman: Do what?

Mr. Warner: Programmes like the Small Business Administration in the States.

The Chairman: Wait a minute. Just take a minute. We have the Small Business Administration in Canada and it is a very well-run organization. Take my word for it. We have it.

It is not as big at the States. It has been there for years and it is very helpful. Go ahead, what else?

Mr. Warner: Actually entering into vocational education, technical education, recognizing the black people are being disadvantaged and we can't foot the bills to enter some of these programmes.

Across the street from me there is a lady from Poland who was in a prisoner of war camp and went to school at the age of 10 for the first time. She is at Dalhousie working on her Masters in German Literature.

Now, she probably was disadvantaged and what have you, you know, but she got the programmes.

I have got a colleague who was in a prisoner of war camp in Malaya and went to school at 9 and is a planner with the City here. We want to get some of these compensatory programmes that will get us to take off.

Senator McGrand: If you had the money to start a co-operative, in what field of endeavour would your co-operative operate?

Mr. Warner: Well, I would suggest to you that there is an interesting service industry that I can think of that is necessary in this community and if I were to mention it, one of my colleagues will get in before I can, or our competition would get in.

Senator Belisle: Mr. Chairman, the witness just said he would like to have technical and

vocational training. Is technical and vocational training not available in this province to every colour and creed?

Mr. Warner: Well, as a result of some activities in the field there seem to be some problems in getting admission. In fact, just yesterday at a particular community I was in, my attention was drawn to a particular kid who would like to pursue vocational technical education and he is experiencing some problems.

In fact we have six—the BUF is attempting to place six people at the present time.

Senator Belisle: Well, do you have a Human Rights Commission?

The Chairman: No. I don't think we can go back on that tack. I don't think he is suggesting there is any such thing.

What problem is involved here, I was just going to ask you that question—perhaps the boy hasn't enough education for whatever he may want to take, and they may have suggested something else to him. That often happens.

Mr. Warner: We do not yet have all the information to speak to the specific issue. Rather than be inaccurate, I would prefer to only place before the Committee the information I have that there are six people in a particular community who are interested, and for some reason—there is a technical school in the particular area, and there are some problems. I do not know the nature of them at this point. In probably another week I probably could reply to you by mail.

The Chairman: As a matter of fact, Senators, when we finish this afternoon we are going over to the Manpower office. We are going to have a very interesting time there, and we are going to have a good look at what ticks there. Save you questions for over there.

We felt there was something in the air here that we didn't know about technical training. We did not particularly have it from the point of view of the black people.

Mr. Warner: I think another issue is very relevant here, the question of the guaranteed income or negative income tax, and the attitude of the welfare programmes that discourages incentive, and do not assist in encouraging people to participate fully in the system.

In fact, they penalize them, and these are some of the areas that your Committee might want to address its attention to.

The Chairman: Well, you address our attention to it. The guaranteed income, I can assure you, with all due modesty, that the members of this Committee know more about the guaranteed income than any ten people in Canada at the present time.

They know all that is going on in the American experiment and we have had our people sleeping with them over there, living with them over there and anything that is going on we know in our country.

We have had two experts there all the time so we know what is happening in the experiment too.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Chairman, if I may suggest to you with all due respect, knowledge is one thing but the application of the knowledge is what we seek. The application of this knowledge in the implementation of programmes.

The Chairman: Yes, but you can't apply the knowledge until such time as you know you have got the knowledge.

At the moment they have got an experiment going on which is costing the very slight sum of \$4 billion. That is all it is costing them over there.

Since we haven't got that kind of money we are just watching alongside and getting the benefits of it. We have seen all kinds of people. We are not jumping into anything. We are waiting to see what that looks like, although we have in our own country already experience with the guaranteed income. We have had it for two years.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, would you speak into the microphone, please.

The Chairman: I am sorry. I say we have had it for two years, so we have some knowledge in this country about these things.

Now, specifically what else would you like us to look at?

Mr. Warner: At this point I would like to invite some of my colleagues to participate and speak to some of the issues. They would like to have an opportunity to speak to such an august group.

The Chairman: You are doing very well.

Mr. Dillard: I will try to be brief.

I would just speak to a couple of things that I jotted down as I was listening to the other brief.

One is, I think, the question which asked "What is poor and what is rich in the Canadian society?" Well, from the mass media of television, what we see in commercials are not poor people shopping. We see upper-middle class people buying the break-away cars and the buggies full of groceries, and most people in deprived areas have televisions and they see this and to them this is it.

You know, the big car, able to wear the Elephants or the bell bottom pants and this sort of thing, and the only real thing that we see of poverty on television beside documentaries are Unitarian relief camps.

That to me is a sign that we are depicting the good life when for some people, yes, but for the people that do not see it quite this way, they don't see much else, and they are not able to get out of that area to get into the good life.

Just Saturday I was talking to a member of a labour union who said he was making \$20,000 a year. He was working four to five days. I made the enquiry as to how I could get into the field because I am working longer than that and I am sure you are too.

And if this is in fact a fact, then we are discouraging people—management is discouraging people from seeking the higher education because this guy only had a grade 10 education because they can make more money.

The most important thing appears to be getting bread on the table and you only get that on there by working.

Lastly, the educational system as it is now appears to be geared towards the upper-middle class or middle class strata of society and we are approaching the age of computers and the four-day work week is fast approaching. So it means that there are going to be a lot of people not working.

There won't be jobs for them unless they are technically trained, so what are we producing? I think that we should try and step up our educational system to prepare people for the future rather than the present and I think that we will only get the answers—I do not have any answers as to how we would approach this but I can say it is a problem that some time in our lifetime it will be in all probability a pleasure to work as opposed to now being a pleasure to enjoy leisure.

And I think we are going to have to do something about that, not only for blacks but for everybody.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Warner: Mrs. Best, do you want to make a statement?

Mrs. Best: Mr. Chairman and senators, ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to give a sob-sister approach to this Committee. I realize that being a woman I may have a different view on poverty than some of the men here.

I have been associated with it intimately for nearly half a century. I am speaking now as one who has been very deeply and intimately involved with black poverty, and I am suggesting there is a difference between black poverty and the poverty of a white man; that if you are white and poor you can overcome it in one generation.

In my work as an unpaid social worker I have seen it. I have seen a family of the most abject poverty rise in my community from a state of filth and dirt and degradation to leading citizens in my community, members of social clubs and just about what you would call the elite.

But, if you are black you can run but you simply cannot hide. You are doubly cursed as a black person because of this.

Now, I am suggesting—and further I would like to say I did not see that movie the other day but I would like to rise to the defence of Dr. Oliver. Perhaps my hearing has deceived me. I hope it has not.

Am I lead to believe that he was supposed to be the father—this is not for the press, please—of some of those illegitimate children?

I happen to know Dr. Oliver. I will personally vouch for his morality. I can realize the situation that one can get into. My name is Best. I am a director of BUF. Another director is Dr. Reverend Best, whom I have never seen before, and we are quartered sometimes at the same motel and it is rather embarrassing to hear the clerk say "Your husband is already in 108, Mrs. Best."

So I can understand just what poor Dr. Oliver must be going through. I just throw that in. I will vouch for his morality.

The point I was trying to make is this: that there is difference, as I said, between white poverty and black poverty, and poverty—I made a note of this—of black people is doubly degrading because of segregation, inferiority complex, the state of hopelessness that prevails among the black poor and the fact that they have no history.

Now, if you are wondering what history has got to do with poverty, I am submitting to

you that it has a lot to do with it, because I live in a Scots community and I am rather amused sometimes at the festival of tartans when I see people who do not have one drop of Scotch blood down Front Street strutting.

Do you know what they say? It gives them a certain feeling of belonging. One man happens to be a member of the Jewish race. He actually wears a tartan on St. Andrew's Day.

I have been doing a bit of history of the blacks of Nova Scotia, and I can tell you with certainty there are a great many blacks who have more right to wear it than he has.

If I may take another moment. I believe it was Dr. Clairmont who said he was slightly deaf. He was working in the Guysborough area. Well, it so happens my forefathers came from that area and I passed through there two years ago for about a half an hour and I heard an awful lot.

I am not working in the Guysborough area and I am not slightly deaf, and someone else speaking of history referred to Topsy and when I listened I was not amused. I hope you get the point.

When I say that history is important to anyone, I think it is the most marvellous thing in the world that we were slaves. I cannot prove that my ancestors were slaves, but I sincerely hope so. I am delighted to have read about the degradation and lust and filth and de-humanization of my race because it proves one thing: that we are human beings, and given the chance we can compete with anyone. I hope my ancestors were slaves.

Now, we know where we are going and we know where we have come from, and we are on the way up. There is no power on earth that can keep a human being from ascending skyward. You can if you wish keep me in the gutter. You can do it. It has been done for 300 years, but one thing you must remember; to keep me here you must stay down there with me.

That is all I have to say.

The Chairman: Are there any questions from any of the Senators? If not, our time has expired.

Senator Belisle: May I, Mr. Chairman, just be permitted to say that when I asked the question I was not anti-black or anti anything.

The Chairman: Of course.

Senator Belisle: I wanted to know if there was discrimination.

The Chairman: Senator Belisle is one of the leaders in the fight and president of the University of Sudbury, so he has a great history of civil liberties.

When the brief starts, you can hardly foretell what will happen before you are finished so today we had some new views. We have had some intelligent and capable presentations.

Mrs. Best, it is exciting to hear you and to hear what you have to say. Be assured of one thing. We will help in any way that we can in order to fulfil some of the dreams you have, and the other people have. To us you are a very important Canadian minority. You have contributed a great deal; more than you think you have. As far as we are concerned you are Canadians and that is the way we want it to be. We do not need anything else.

You have got some special problems as Canadians and we will try and deal with them in the best way that we possibly can.

On behalf of the committee I thank you all for coming here today. This has been a very enjoyable presentation.

The next meeting is at 2 o'clock.

The meeting adjourned.

On resuming at 2 p.m.

The Chairman: I will now call this meeting to order. We have a brief prepared by the 11-A Class of Sydney Academy and the brief which all of you have before you is quite worthy of their elders and I am delighted as I am sure the other members of the Senate are by the example set by the young Canadians who have briefed themselves, expressed their views and at six o'clock this morning got on a bus and it took them six hours to get here.

In looking at them they are the freshest faces I have seen in a long time.

Well, feel free and easy here. The senators here are very distinguished Canadians who have many years of political life and community life and contributed much to Canada but they are no different than your uncles or grandfathers and his father who used to sit around and feel at ease. You are very welcome here.

All I can tell you is on behalf of the Committee using your own understandable language; it isn't quite senatorial language but we like the way we do your thing.

Now, on my right I have the spokesman for the Academy, Miss Patricia Graham.

Miss Patricia Graham, Class 11-A Sydney Academy: Mr. Chairman, Honourable senators, ladies and gentlemen, while speaking to a group of young people shortly before he died, Senator Robert Kennedy made substantial reference to the complexities and problems of the revolutionary world in which we live.

He decided that this generation had thrust upon it a greater responsibility than any other generation that has ever lived. He said that each time a man stands up for a principle or an idea or asked to improve the lot of others or start out against injustice he starts forth a tiny ripple of hope.

In effect that is why we are here today. When we accepted the challenge of assisting the organization, the organization of the Canadian politician, little did we know what we were getting into, but it wasn't long before we found out. It didn't seem feasible that we were coming here on common ground at the end of two weeks; but we were divided into seven committees each dealing with a vital link of poverty.

A representative of each one of the coordinating committee had a job to do—had to add and subtract and combine the material which we relied upon.

At the first meeting of the finishing committee an uproar slightly resembling pandemonium shook a number of students both to ways and ideas of their committee, and the way it had been represented in the brief. And naturally at this time total revision was impossible so that overnight a separate dissenting opinion along with 31 recommendations and other items were compiled.

It introduced a drawn-out meeting, the general half and sweat of it all was really worth it. It was really worth the effort to be here today to try and tell it like it really is.

The war on poverty should be a hot and furious war. The actions ultimately multiply to each and every corner of the nation. Our war with the generation gap should never have been allowed to grow in the first place which would create a large new neglect of which we should take our share of the blame.

The uniform set policy to rid poverty on a national scale could not be effectively carried out in each region with characteristics and

problems which must be treated individually. In Cape Breton for example you don't have to look far in any direction to find poverty in its varying degrees. The truth is it has been taken for granted for too long.

Poor people are finding themselves in a profound disadvantage in that they are surrounded with the evidence of the so-called affluent society. The constant struggle to keep up with the Joneses and even to make ends meet ends in frustration and despair. What is definitely needed is a program some of which would even be included in the school curriculum which would provide knowledge of money management to those with a limited income.

Failure to agree in a family where money should go can easily result in overspending and there is a vast difference between the situation where the husband drinks and gambles compared to when he does not.

An increase in publicity and publication of all readily available management programs is needed. We have also recommended that a committee be set up to investigate the part played by finance and loan companies in their treatment and admonition of poverty.

Lower class citizens must be involved in the curriculum to the core of the community. Nothing will do more for them and have the lasting effect—until they are a functioning part of it. The same applies to the rural core even though they are outside society generally.

The society which we Canadians take pride in can never be complete until equal culture facilities are extended to every level and corner of our society. As it stands, many people cannot even afford money for anything as basic as swimming lessons. Such things are not luxuries but necessity in order to develop a rich and full society as a whole.

But the key to any successful war on poverty is individual participation. The government is not as effective as the individual citizen in getting local community action underway.

By the same token the individual citizen cannot organize national insurance programs and old age pension programs or national booster campaigns. That is the present situation. We need total cooperation if we are to win the war for after all the end objective is to ensure that adequate compensation is

available for those who cannot cope with circumstances largely created by our fellow-man.

In the second annual report of the Economic Council of Canada emphasis was placed on the growing need for a drastic upgrading of education if Canadians are to cope with the kind of technological society developing around us today.

There are many breadwinners in this society who now recognize a drastic mistake of leaving school too early. This will often affect their children accordingly. One of the greatest assessments made by the Canadian Government of the post-war years was to establish central training centres often enabling these children to acquire a crash course through grades nine, ten and eleven over a period of eight to ten months and they would then have a certificate which would qualify them to enter into any university in Canada.

We suggest that the responsible departments of government think seriously of re-establishing this kind of school in specific areas at the same time provide participants with reasonable allowances to enable them to maintain families and other obligations.

In Cape Breton through the cooperation of Saddle College, the Provincial Department of Education and the Federal Department of Manpower, thousands of adults arrive at the classroom taking courses in basic history to complicated technology.

We must also remember that a great many people who make up unemployment figures are actually unemployable. This is because they lack the necessary training. It has been proven that lasting jobs contain more future if students become established in their fields and follow up.

Within the poverty circle greatest assimilation in the school especially during the formative years is a must in order to hold the interest of the students. Teachers must be qualified to deal with the situation due to a lack of interest on the part of the pupil. This should never be the case but we must do so because of financial reasons.

If everyone is to have the opportunity to progress at an equal rate a basic uniform education stand must be set up with the cooperation of the Federal Government and all the other provinces in Canada.

We also suggest that there is a direct relationship between education and prosperity. Between poverty and ignorance.

Housing is one of the greatest problems facing most families in Canada today particularly those in the Atlantic provinces whose housing requirements lag behind the rest of the country. The scarcity of money and high interest rates make it either impossible or prohibitive for those thousands of Canadian families to be housed in adequate decent surroundings. The home is the base on which an individual outlook on life is formed; physical and mental, working habits, emotional stability and attitudes are all likely to be influenced through housing conditions.

Development made in the entire community is effected by the absence of proper housing for everyone. Ninety per cent of the homes being built in Canada today provide housing for middle and upper class societies. Obviously we need an increase in low income and public houses in Canada.

Incidentally, just recently in a daily newspaper I read a curious paradox where a Canadian with a salary of \$5,000 today is making too much money to meet the low rental housing needs; and too little to have a private home of his own.

The recommendation is taken to make more mortgage money available with lower down payments and lower interest rates. In March of 1966 the Honourable Allen McEachern,—the then minister of National Health and Welfare made what was possibly the first public reference to a guaranteed annual income for Canada. He indicated that his department was examining the possibility of applying this concept to old age pensions. Later in the same year this application was used by the Federal Government to provide a guaranteed income of \$105 a month to all persons in receipt of old age security. That was for a specific identifiable group.

Surely the time has come to guarantee a certain annual income principle to the population generally, but we must do it today without destroying individual dignity. More than this we must take care ensure that we are not merely giving handouts but that we have a common interest with the hope of getting a worthwhile contribution in return.

We must also guard against the danger in giving the poor people more money for assistance in meeting the high cost of living and to

eliminate this possibility a prices control board could be set up.

For 25 years now Canada has operated a family allowance program. It has undergone only minor changes since it came into being. It is time for a thorough review and to see how it might be updated to meet the needs of today.

If this system is to be continued, the allowance needs an upward revision. Greater consideration should be given to (a) individual circumstances and "(b)" the actual number of dependents in any one family.

We would also like to make some observations with respect to widows allowances. Under present legislation, the maximum a widow can receive a month is \$175, whether she has two or 10 children. This amount is not fair.

Also, when a widow's child becomes 18 the benefits stop.

In the United States by comparison, widow's children receive benefits until they are finished school or college if they attend full-time. Charity in its broadest sense may be defined as love and care for one's neighbours. In the case of poverty, it means being prepared to spend time and patience in the belief that the benefits of human kindness would be shared by all. It is very easy to recognize the proof of poverty, but we want to bring to your attention other hidden problems.

The hidden poverty. The poverty of the mind, poverty of the spirit and poverty of the body. We must take remedial steps to eliminate the longing of our older people and the lack of motivation in our younger people. These are not problems that can be solved with money. They are obscure and elusive. They are found in the recesses of the mind and the back alleys of our towns.

We must find the ways and means to find the cause and find solutions to these problems. The present nation of health and strength of the population is surely the best of all the guarantees of a nation's power of progress and of its prosperity.

Our greatest asset is the health and well-being of our people. We need a just society, but it must be just for all.

Thank you very much.

The Chairman: Are there some questions? Does anybody have any questions?

Senator Hastings?

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, the brief deals with and a great deal of consideration—has been given to education and to the poverty that has been associated with the lack of education. I wonder if the students have any views or observations with respect to a meaningful allowance to be paid in cases where students are in need of it to stay in school and continue their education. Indeed, being paid to go to school instead of leaving school and going into the labour market? Where they perpetuate low income. Did the students discuss this at all?

Miss Graham: Well, I would like Colin Matheson to comment on that.

Mr. Colin Matheson: I wouldn't exactly term it as payment for going to school. I wouldn't classify it as a payment; just sort of subsidizing a person for going to school. It costs money and if you are from a poor family, your family can't afford to send you to school. Naturally, they are going to want to get a return of money to put into—but a person who could really answer that would be Stanley Ardelli.

The Chairman: Well, young man, we have had come evidence here today given by Dalhousie University—knowledgeable people and one of the reasons we come to this province is that the family is working for poor wages and a young fellow goes out to try and earn enough money to help out the family and has no training and finds himself years later without skills—a drug on the market.

Now, what Senator Hastings, if I understand him correctly is saying, is that even going out there to earn whatever he is going to earn in the way of money to help the family, isn't it better that we should be paying him while he is going to school and making his grades and attending his classes so that we don't have to pay him later on to retrain him when he comes back four or five years later—paying him at the rate of \$50 or \$60 a week when he brings his wife and two children that he has acquired in the meantime.

That is the question—do you have any views on that?

Mr. Matheson: Well, that is a waste of money. That is a waste of money on the part of the Federal and Provincial Government to put a guy through a school and then bring him back in. I just didn't like the idea of

calling it a payment or job or so. I didn't agree with that.

Senator Hastings: Well, I think it is a waste of money—maybe not a waste—I don't think that is the right connotation, but we are going to invest money in this man later in life in welfare and so forth and some sort of guaranteed minimum income. Wouldn't it be better to invest it now when he is 16 to 22 and keep him in school?

Mr. Matheson: Well, say the government put \$5,000 into a guy's education at the time—well, if he can go out and instead of making say \$10,000—you are getting tax on \$10,000 and say he increases it to say about \$30,000, the government will make such a great return on him it pays for it now. Also, you don't have as many people on welfare. You cut it right off at the stem.

Senator McGrand: Is it the experience of your group that young people drop out of school in order to help their parents and in your opinion what is the chief cause of school drop-outs?

Mr. Matheson: Well, I know of a particular person who had to drop out of school because his family was poor but he didn't drop out because he couldn't cope with the courses or anything. He had to go to night school and he finally became a doctor. The only reason he had to drop out was because of his family. They couldn't afford to keep him in school.

Senator McGrand: What I mean is in your work that you have done in preparing this excellent brief, you must have covered a lot of ground and had the experience of a lot of students and do you find in your experience—do you know of many students who dropped out of school to get a job to help their parents?

Mr. Matheson: I would say a few but quite a lot of drop-outs dropped out because they were frustrated by the courses they had to take.

Senator McGrand: Well, in your experience it is not common for children to drop out of school in order to help their parents. It was common years ago but I didn't think it was very common today. What do you have to say about that?

Mr. Matheson: I wouldn't say it is not common but in some cases—if you live in the country you have to get out of school in order

to keep the family existing. But in some instances it's just that you don't want to take the courses and things like that.

Senator Pearson: On page 3 of your brief under "Education" the third paragraph you state:

At the present time, there are teachers within the system with normal College Education. Here are people, themselves only two or three years out of high school, running our learning institutions. Such young, uneducated persons with narrow outlooks on life are harmful rather than useful to the school system.

My question is do you feel that you should have middle aged or elderly teachers rather than young ones?

Mr. Matheson: Well, let's say it is not exactly your age. It is your attitude towards what you are doing. You can be a middle aged teacher and to put it mildly could be lousy. You can be a young teacher and you can be a great one. You are born a teacher.

Senator Pearson: I know quite a number of students who leave and learn how to teach. Their idea of doing this is because the educational system is what appeals to them because this was their main interest through high school and college and normal education. This is a chance of getting a job where they can further their education to get an M.A. or PhD. et cetera.

Have you any objections to those ones going into teaching of the junior grades?

Mr. Matheson: Well, as long as they are good teachers. If you want a PhD and you have to take a course...

Senator Pearson: What would your idea be—how would they become good teachers?

Mr. Matheson: It is just something you are born with—you are either good or you are lousy.

Senator Fergusson: First, I would like to compliment the students that brought in this brief and particularly Patricia Graham who presented it because they did an excellent job and I know that we are all greatly impressed with the amount of time taken by all of you to present it to us. We do thank you very much. I think we should also thank Mr. MacKenzie, your teacher who certainly must have inspired his pupils to make them take on such a tremendous project. It is very

heartwarming to all of us to see you young people so interested in this problem. It certainly is a great problem of Canada and I think it has given us great hope for the future of Canada when we know that young generations are taking an interest in this subject.

The question on education that I would like to bring up is on page 3 of your brief on Education and it says:

For those who do not wish to take day training and re-training there are night classes. There are courses in academic and technical studies but there are no classes offered on food values, credit cards, finance companies and interest rates in Cape Breton. As a result, what little money and personal belongings the people have is being unwisely spent or taken away from them.

Now, the question I want to bring up is this. Do you think that this type of course is something that should be given in the schools as well as at night classes?

Mr. Matheson: Well, in this day and age quite a lot of the things you buy you use the credit card and if you don't know its workings, you will end up in debt so you have to have a general idea of its workings.

Senator Fergusson: Do you get this type of knowledge in the schools at the present time?

Mr. Matheson: No.

The Chairman: You do or you don't?

Mr. Matheson: We don't.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you.

The Chairman: Any other questions?

Senator Inman: I would like to ask the witness a question. I have often wondered if what the students would think from grade 8 or 9 having an aptitude test and if they are not really academically inclined shall we say should they go on and take subjects which would be of a technical nature.

Miss P. Graham: I suppose it depends—I don't think really you can tell. A person who appears not to have the aptitude to go on might in fact be able to push through college to a higher education instead of going to a technical college or something like that.

The Chairman: Now, are you saying that at that age the aptitude test doesn't mean a great deal?

Senator Fergusson: Let's say from grade 1. Take a student wanting to go into carpentry work or some other sort of manual labour? Supposing he doesn't feel that he wants to go on with the sciences and that sort of thing or some sort of manual labour. Would it be wise for him to take some other sort of training instead of spending years doing something academically?

Miss P. Graham: Well, in my opinion I think he should get a broad general outline first—a wider course of subjects that he could take—to get this broad viewpoint. In my opinion I think he should be able to get a broad outline of his education going right through to grade 10 with a wider choice of subjects and he could have a better idea of what he wanted to specialize in.

The Chairman: Well, grade 10 is high school, that is the same every place.

Miss P. Graham: Well, you should have a broad outline before you come to grade 10.

Miss Beverly Davis: I think you should have a broad outline before you come to grade 10. It is important to get through the primary grades; if the school system is adequate in these grades by the time you get to grade 10 you will have a general English background, let's say taking things that are important in everyday life and you could possibly go more toward either technical training or academic.

Senator Pearson: In your brief on page 4, the fourth paragraph down, it says:

For those adolescents who are able to discuss their future rationally at home this is not a serious handicap.

This is referring to the idea of what you do later on.

But what of the child from a poor family where all the time and energy is devoted to either making ends meet or the parents are unwilling to co-operate? He may not understand how very important this decision will be or realize his own potentialities and the numerous fields in which they could be exploited.

My question is do you have a counsellor in your school district that goes around from school to school and if not why shouldn't you have one? You have teachers but do you have a specialist on counselling?

Miss Davis: We have guidance counsellors.

Senator Pearson: In the schools?

Miss Davis: Yes.

Senator Pearson: Made up of whom?

Miss Davis: Well, as far as I know they do have a degree.

Senator Pearson: It is a specialty for them, is it?

Miss Davis: Yes.

Senator Pearson: They don't teach classes or anything?

Miss Davis: We don't have classes in guidance counselling. If you want to go and see the guidance counsellor, it is up to yourself.

Senator Pearson: Where do you find them?

Miss Davis: He has an office.

The Chairman: The guidance counsellor doesn't teach?

Miss Davis: No.

The Chairman: And if you want to go and see him you merely go and see him?

Miss Davis: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: Would you have one at every school?

Miss Davis: Yes, now we do.

Senator Fergusson: Well, that must take care of the needs?

Miss Davis: I don't think it is because it is too hard to get across to all of the students.

Miss Debbie Reid: On this matter of guidance counsellors just recently the Sydney system has instituted more guidance counsellors but there is not nearly enough. I was attending junior high and they had one guidance counsellor for about two junior highs and that is not nearly enough. Once a person leaves junior high they have to make a choice whether they want to go into the academic or if you don't have a broad outlook then you don't really know what you are getting into. If you don't know what you are getting into you only lose time so there is a shortage.

You have to find the information out for yourself and those people who don't have any initiative they just don't know what is going on and start lagging behind.

Senator Inman: Do you think that all students would have to consult the guidance counsellors? Do you think that the ones who haven't the initiative wouldn't do so?

Miss Reid: Well, I don't think you should really have to attend. I believe today that the students have to be made aware that the need is great because unless they have their own set of ideas and until they realize right up and down the line they won't know what is happening to them.

Senator Connolly: Mr. Chairman, I was about to say that we should take great care in the type of question we pose to these students. They have presented a remarkably fine brief but they don't pretend to know all of the answers to the questions that are in our minds and I want to say to this Committee, and to the students, that viewpoint they raise, and namely about normal school products now known as teachers' colleges I believe and vocational guidance teachers—in both these fields we are very deficient in this province and the brief is absolutely correct in both those two respects.

You must remember that normal college or teachers' college graduates do not compare to university graduates, products of an education system for example in this university here and as for guidance teachers I don't suppose we have in the length and breadth of this province six qualified guidance teachers.

I think in both these respects, as I said a moment ago, that the students have made excellent points. I agree with them completely.

The Chairman: Thank you, Senator Connolly.

Senator Hastings: We had a very interesting brief this morning by the Black United Front with respect to education opportunities for the black students. I am wondering if someone would care to tell me why there isn't a black student in your class?

Mr. Stan Ardelli: Senators, I feel the reason that there isn't any black students in our class is not because of prejudice or anything like that but no black student wanted to be in our class. There isn't that many in our school. It is just by chance that there doesn't happen to be any in here.

The Chairman: What are you saying? This is an accelerated class, isn't it?

A voice from the floor: No.

Senator Hastings: Is there more than an 11th grade?

Mr. Ardelli: They go 11 A, B, C, D et cetera. If I may, I would like a reply to a question before by Senator Hastings that I feel was not answered quite well enough. The question asked was if many people leave school because they feel that their parents are poor—I feel this is quite true. These people, if they had financial aid they would not leave school.

For instance, there are students in our school that wanted to leave for six years to help his family because they needed the money and he came back and finished his education. If there was some sort of program to help him this wouldn't have to be done. It's not many drop-outs from poor families—they don't drop out because they are forced to but they feel they should because their parents need whatever help they can give.

Now, the student loan program as it is now in Nova Scotia now applies only to poverty students. If this was expanded to high school students these poor people could get some money and go through high school and continue on to college. They need this money and there is no way they can get it.

Senator Hastings: If you had this money would you have a black student in your class? What I am trying to get at that if there is a drop out in your high school to let's say from grade 9 to where you are now grade 11...

Senator McGrand: You don't have many black students in Sydney, do you?

Mr. Ardelli: Yes.

Miss Judy Canning: Well, to get this question straight about the black students when you go in and register on registration day you are given a sheet and each class has listed subjects and you are given your choice of the subjects you want and it just happens that a black student didn't want the subjects that we were given in our class.

The Chairman: How many students in the school?

Miss Canning: About 1,500.

The Chairman: And how many black students would there be?

Miss Canning: I wouldn't know but last year we had a black student in the class. It is not prejudice. I don't think there is any prejudice.

Senator Hastings: What is it this year?

Miss Canning: Well, I don't know.

The Chairman: Well, I understand there are about 25 to 30, is that correct?

Miss Canning: There would be more than that.

The Chairman: About 40?

Miss Canning: 40 or 50.

The Chairman: Any more questions?

Senator Pearson: From the statement that Senator Connolly made earlier regarding the lack of teachers, could I be informed as to what the bare minimum requirements to attend Teachers' College are? Is it grade 13? Do you have to have a B.A.?

The Chairman: Well, perhaps Mr. MacKenzie could give us the answer to that question.

Mr. William Neil MacKenzie: To enter Normal College or Teachers' College as it is now called in Truro, the student must have completed grade 12 academically and in Normal he takes a two year course designed primarily to teach him to teach subjects from grades primary to kindergarten through to the end of grade six. Now, just carrying this career through to its logical conclusion, a graduate of Normal College would carry something like four years and the graduate of Normal College during the summer months—for four years can attend Nova Scotia summer school on this Dalhousie campus.

At the end of which time the graduate in some particular block or field of teaching he could take the intermediate block over the four summers—two years is normal and teach intermediate classes or after four summers a specialist in teaching intermediate classes for a specialist in teaching reading or after completing four summers of general study he could complete the junior high school block and qualify to teach grades 7 to 9.

This applies particularly to the new mathematics courses being introduced in the curriculum of the Nova Scotia summer school under the Department of Education. On this campus during the summer they specialized

in the teaching of the new courses coming on the curriculum.

Now, the other angle is for a teacher of course to go and get a bachelor's training or a B.A. or B.S.E. or Masters and at the end of that time either spend one year on the university campus taking a Bachelor of Education Degree or going for four summers to the same Dalhousie summer school and taking the equivalent of a PhD here.

Now, normally it is the practice of the school board to hire only those people with Bachelor Degrees and Education Certificates—one way or the other to teach grades 7 to 12 and they tend to hire Normal College and/or summer school to teach primary through grade 6 because of very specialized training.

I myself wouldn't know what to do with a class of six, seven or eight year olds because I am accustomed to working with people 15 and 16. It is a kind of specialized training which the normal school gives you.

Senator Connolly: This is a question of academic training?

Mr. MacKenzie: Yes.

Senator Connolly: And the salary is based on your academic qualifications?

Mr. MacKenzie: Yes. The salaries are based on years of study and university of course gives a person four years—grade 12 and four years training whereas the person with normal school would have two years.

The Chairman: Any further questions?

Senator Pearson: On page 5 of your brief about five or six paragraphs down it says:

Most school systems follow basically an academic program at least up to the start of high school.

My question is do you feel from primary school they should start to direct a student into a particular idea of what he wants? What I mean is should he go into academic or vocational?

Miss Graham: Well, I would have to say no. We have the block idea and that is it.

Senator Pearson: Do they have counsellors at that age?

Miss Graham: No.

Miss Nancy Monroe: There was a junior high school in Sydney and they started—the

students were picked and they show that they are going to do with the general course and when they go on to grade 10 they are picked to be in a course.

Miss Canning: About that paragraph on page 3 about the Normal College teacher—in our brief we say that they don't—we don't think that these teachers are ready to teach. Well, my sister went to a Normal and she was told that in some places they don't have any teachers from Normal College because they are taught how to teach the students but when they go up they are more interested in people getting their degrees in the Normal College—they would be able to teach high school and it says in the brief that they should have a minor in psychology.

In Normal College there is a course in psychology which is worked into the curriculum.

Mr. David Johnston: Just getting back to the topic of high school drop-outs, I would just like to say that I believe in a large part of high school drop-outs is caused by the lack of sufficient guidance counselling. By this I mean it seems to me that a college diploma is the end all for most everybody. As we all know, not everybody can attain this and I think that if a person goes or gets possibly grade 8 or so the guidance counsellor should observe his case and if he notes that he is not intelligent enough to go to college he should be screened out and guided into a particular field where he would be able to handle the work.

I believe that for people such as this who are not capable in handling college work for them a trade of some sort is just as valuable as a college education.

The Chairman: Thank you. Are there any more questions?

Senator Cook: I just wanted to tell my colleagues on the Committee that I believe that in Sydney High reached one of the top competitions, didn't you?

Miss Davis: Second.

Senator Cook: That was for the whole of Canada, wasn't it?

Miss Davis: Well, on Sunday there were three teams from Hawaii one from Truro and one from Sydney and there is to be a tour of Canada starting here and going to Hawaii and during this time we will be playing "Reach the top" trying to beat Trans World top teams.

Senator Sparrow: Mr. Chairman, in the remarks made by the young lady in the brief it refers to a guaranteed annual income and the motivation of people. The young people who made the presentation referred to people who would be guaranteed a guaranteed annual income and that they must have motivation. I am wondering if the students might have suggestions or recommendations as to how people can in fact be motivated if they are on a guaranteed annual income?

This is the greatest concern I think of people through discussions on guaranteed annual income and that is that you take away the initiative of the people to work. Could you or your students give us some ideas of how these people can be motivated if they are in fact on a guaranteed annual income?

Mr. Richard Crooks: In the guaranteed annual income you are getting people a guaranteed salary so you can bring them above the poverty level. By doing this you are making them suitable for a standard of living in their particular area and there is no incentive in giving a nation-wide Booster Campaign presentation and the only alternative would be the setting up of a cooperative for employees in various fields of work subsidizing one family living below the poverty level.

These four families would pay for this one family living below the poverty level. This would be done so that he could increase his education to be more suitable for the manpower field.

The effects of this would be personal contact between the four families subsidizing the one family.

Senator Connolly: Does this brief envisage the elimination of the means test? Do you suggest that certain bonuses would not be paid to people who do not need them? I am wondering if you have that in the back of your mind?

Mr. Johnston: Well, a means test is necessary but not necessarily a means test.

Senator Connolly: Well, let me put it to you this way. I am in the very fortunate position under the circumstances where I do not need an old age pension. I do not need a Canada Pension Plan and why therefore should I receive from this country cheques for old pension and for the Canada Pension Plan?

Mr. Johnston: Well, I think you could find a reason partly due to government failure but I think Nancy Monroe would be best suited to answer this question.

Miss Monroe: Well, Mr. Senator, anybody who is 65 of age can get the old age pension and if one is able to get along without the old age pension one shouldn't get it. It is like the old people that are just getting by with the \$75 a month and if they can get more money up to \$120 but still that is not enough then there should be some way of finding out these people and to make the wealthy to not get the old age pension and the unfortunate people to get more because the old people have to have some money to get along. They are married and they have families and they don't want to rely on charity.

Like my grandfather; he likes to be independent and that is one of his chief goals. They would just like to get along like everyone else without their families and if they are dependent their goal is shattered and they don't have anything to work for.

The Chairman: I think in fairness that since this is a class that has been thinking about it something should be said about why government do the things they do. They are not entirely stupid and you find that there is a certain limit and I don't know whether \$7,500 or \$10,000—I am not just sure but it is much cheaper for the government to pass out the cheques on old age security than to make an investigation to the income of each one of those people.

There is enough recovery of taxes at that level so that they get so very little and there is so much saved in administration that that is the theory behind it and I think you should know what the government is thinking.

Actually, it has been borne out that that approach is more efficient and cheaper than it would be the other way.

Mr. Fred MacLeod: I would like to clarify a position of our committee. While the people outside of our committee seem to think that the guaranteed annual income would be great; after looking into it I don't think it is feasible at all. We should think that maybe the minimum wage should be broadened. I don't think Canada is not a very wealthy country and rather than have a guaranteed annual income you might want to see a raise, perhaps 20 per cent in the minimum wage.

Normally if the minimum wage is raised, prices would go up but we would like to see a prices control board established. With this in mind, I think we could bring more people above this poverty level. I shouldn't say poverty level; perhaps I should say a bare subsistence level and the government would still have the same number—amount of money for welfare.

However, there would be less people so that money could be given out in greater proportions. I think maybe Wayne MacVicker would have more ideas on this.

Mr. Wayne MacVicker: I think we could establish the co-op and I think that is the best way we could do this. This way it would take in the money instead of the government because this would be publicly owned and run by the public and the government wouldn't have to pay any money except to set it up.

This would also be a good way for a decrease in taxation for the elderly people who are working. They wouldn't have to be on welfare either so this could be the case.

Mr. Greg O'Neill: The first step should be to unionize these part-time workers who aren't even getting the minimum wage or Workmen's Compensation up until just recently. Recently legislation has been passed for Workmen's Compensation so if you can unionize both the C.P.E. and the G.W. which is presently organizing the public employees—into unionizing part-time workers then the workers could have more to say in the wages that they received. They are not even getting the minimum wage now.

Now, you could have some sort of legislation and by doing this you would have the existing unions implementing industrial democracy so that they could put more stress on to the management getting less, so that you get increased benefits.

While all this is going on you should have a prices control board, so that prices won't go up, and as I said before, the co-ops with four employee families subsidizing one family, either on welfare or making less than the subsistence level, this would give five families buying power instead of the four that now have it.

It would enable people to buy more products plus giving more money to the management of the institution that is employing industrial democracy.

Thus, the economic system would remain stable.

Senator Hastings: We were told this morning that the minimum wage is a dollar and a quarter in Nova Scotia for males and one dollar for females. You say in your brief it is regional disparity?

Mr. O'Neill: Well, in legislation that was passed it allows for different minimum wages to be paid in specified areas.

The Chairman: It is \$1.05 in rural areas for men and 90 cents for women, isn't that right?

Speaking of the minimum wages, take your pencils out and mark this down. This will tell you what we are talking about when we talk about the poverty line. These are the economic figures that we get from the Economic Council of Canada, and which we accept.

For one person, \$1800; two persons \$3,000; three persons \$3600; four persons \$4200 and five persons \$4800. Anyone who is less than that for the size of the family, any place in Canada, is considered to be below the poverty line. That is what we have been talking about.

Miss Monroe: Widows in Canada, in Nova Scotia—the maximum paid to widows is \$175 and there could be three children or ten children and they get \$175 a month.

Now, the government is giving this and they are under the poverty level. The government is the cause of that, and if they get a little bit more money they would be cut off.

I was born in the United States and my father died and my mother and all the family—we had to move down, but if she stayed there she would get monthly as much as my father made a year in dividing it into twelve times plus \$90 a week for child care.

There is a lot of difference from \$175.

The Chairman: Well, did I understand you to say in effect that the families you had in mind were receiving less than the amount that I have specified?

Miss Monroe: Yes.

The Chairman: That is what you are saying?

Miss Monroe: Yes.

The Chairman: Well, what I don't quite understand from some of your dissenters and

others there is that you talk about the minimum income doing something to people other than providing for their needs. Did I understand some of the boys saying that or did I miss the boat on it?

These are the figures and what we are saying is that a family of one, two, three, four and five should have so much by way of income and if they haven't got it they are living below the poverty line.

Now, as we all know, this isn't good but what is the other side of it? Is there another side to this argument?

Mr. Tom Manson: You made the comment and I don't agree with the facts. Here you are taking figures and you are pointing to a country. How can you say for example that a person who is married has to make \$3000 and if he is under that he is poor. Is that what you are saying?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Manson: Well, if you live in Baffin Island and you make \$3000 a year you are rich. You can take any place and you can bend these figures so that they are sort of ridiculous.

The Chairman: Aren't you Canadian whether you live in Baffin Island or here in Halifax? Don't you receive the same money if you are unemployed whether you live in Baffin Island or Halifax? Don't you receive the same family allowance? Don't you receive the same old-age security whether you live in one place or the other?

Mr. Manson: Yes.

The Chairman: No matter where you live you receive the same money, and so that if they have more money in Baffin Island aren't you likely to pick up the economy of Baffin Island if you give them a few more pennies?

Mr. Manson: Yes, but you are saying that a person is poor if he makes less than \$3000. There are a lot of people that make below \$3000 and they are not poor in their community.

The Chairman: Well, that may be so, if they don't consider themselves poor they have other values, and there are very important other values.

From an economic point of view we believe this is the basic minimum and the authorities

on all sides agree, and it doesn't make any difference where you live.

Mr. Manson: Well, I don't agree with that. You can't base anything on money. Money is not stable itself, so you can't base anything on it.

The Chairman: Well, money may not be the answer but you have no answer at all until you do have the money. There are other things beside it, but you start with money.

Mr. Manson: Well, you keep referring back to money in the first place.

The Chairman: Yes, you must have that to start with.

Mr. Manson: Well, there are quite a few other things if you don't have the money.

The Chairman: No matter what you have, unless you have the money in order to buy the things that you need you are not off first base.

Mr. Manson: I don't believe that.

Senator McGrand: Now, you said \$3,000 but not poor in the community. Now, you must be thinking of certain people and certain communities in Nova Scotia, because I am inclined to agree with you.

Mr. Manson: Well, a few places like Grand Routes. There they depend on fishing for lobsters and cod. If you make \$3000 off of cod, you are doing pretty well. The community is geared so that \$3000 is rich and then you have your poor families.

If you live in Sydney and make \$3000 a year, you are poor.

Senator Sparrow: Mr. Chairman, might I just get off the subject of the brief for a moment. There has been a great deal of discussion on the use of drugs in schools; in high schools and down to even the level of public schools throughout Canada.

If there is a drug problem as such in Nova Scotia within the school system and if the problem can be related directly to a rejection of society as such by the young people, or if it is in connection with poverty or affluence, does it affect those people who are at the poverty level or at the affluent level or does this in fact have any basis or bearing on it?

Miss Davis: Senator Sparrow, I think that drugs and drug addiction and these things

don't necessarily have to do with poverty because you have this problem both in wealthy and in poor families.

It is mainly a rejection of society. Our parents were born during the war and they lived in a certain society; in a society where everybody was pushed to sort of make ends meet—in a very stringent society, but today the wealth is evident in our existence.

People don't want to get rich just to prove that you can get ahead of poverty from the war. There is no war that is directly related to us. We can't remember the World Wars. To us it is just a story in the history books and the Vietnamese war is even farther away from us.

It is just a rejection of pushing forward and money and these things. There are other values that are more important today.

Miss Anne Gardner: Mr. Chairman, Senators. I don't think that drug addiction pertains just to people below the poverty line. I believe it has a lot to do with the mind.

If people take drugs—there are some who take them because they have nowhere else to turn to, but I think quite a few do because often they don't know how to use their mind. Maybe it is an escape because they don't know exactly what to do with their time so this is just another way to use up their time.

I think many of the kids do take drugs because things don't bother them; they know that problems are facing them but when you take the drugs you forget about them. They really don't have the time to use their minds.

I think this often stems from family life. This is important to use your mind constructively and this is really not too much of a problem.

Senator McGrand: Do you know of any students who have used drugs and were unsuccessful in graduating? Do you know of any students who have taken drugs and yet they were able to graduate from high school—they were successful in graduation?

Miss Gardner: No. I know students who take drugs and they are getting along in school but they are not what you would call drug addicts.

Miss Canning: Mr. Chairman and Senators, some kids just take drugs for kicks like. In Sydney, some kids drop into the hole and it has nothing to do with drugs.

I think that if they are just going out for kicks they are sick. I don't think they are really trying to be cool or anything like that, because I know one boy who I was talking to quit school and is on drugs.

I asked him why he was taking the drugs and he said "Oh, I would take anything for kicks."

He said that there wasn't anything to do but there is the YMCA and things like that. What we are trying to get across is that it is not necessarily poverty that drives teenagers to drugs.

Senator McGrand: Mr. Chairman, may I just ask a question which relates to the brief on page 11, paragraph 6:

The Sydney school system is definitely lacking in facilities for tours and outings. One project which our class planned last year—an outing to Louisbourg—was handicapped by red tape in all quarters. In the end we did not go.

Was that a councillor outing?

Miss Davis: Could you just repeat the last part of your question?

Senator McGrand: Yes. You say that an outing to Louisbourg was handicapped by red tape in all quarters. Was that a councillor outing?

Miss Davis: Well, this outing was planned and I was in the class and we had planned to visit Louisbourg as sort of a symposium.

We wanted to go to Louisbourg because of the lack and there was so much difficulty in getting to the office, and in the end when we finally did get permission it ended up that we couldn't go.

The main point of this is to bring out the facilities for outings and extracurricular work. It just doesn't exist.

A student can go from primary right to high school without getting a class outing, and it is ridiculous. I mean there is so much you can learn of what the world is all about. That is why a lot of people are narrow-minded. They are poor and they can't go to these places by themselves.

Senator Hastings: In other words, those who had the money went?

Miss Davis: Not for that specific example. That was a class outing and nobody went.

Now, supposing people in our class have the money to go, they would have probably already gone. Perhaps, there were people in our class who didn't have the money to go; they would never see Louisbourg. These are the things to see, you know, when you are in Cape Breton.

The Chairman: Thank you. Any other questions?

Perhaps Mr. MacKenzie would take a few minutes to talk to all of us. Have you anything, Mr. MacKenzie?

Mr. MacKenzie: No remarks on poverty in Canada as such but a couple of remarks on my students and Canada.

When I began this project, it began as a choice for the students between doing a formal term paper on the topic of the French Revolution or doing a topic in European history and religion.

The class decided to go for the Senate Committee under David Croll rather than the Committee of Public Speaking in the Rose Theatre.

However, I think it was a unique opportunity for the students. Certainly, I learned two things in the course of this: what students can do when they apply themselves to it and I learned what the young people of Canada are willing to do when they have people who are approaching them for information.

I was going to university—I minored in political science and even marked papers in the Political Science Department and read books on Political Sciences and papers on Political Science, and between books and papers and essays read and essays written and the government department contacted, slowly I gained the impression that like the “fabled trip to Louisbourg” red tape is strangling a great deal of public life in Canada.

I take that back now. In the last three weeks between the offices of the Senate Committee under the direction of Mr. Fred Joyce and through the various agencies in Ottawa and through the offices of the Citizenship Branch headed by Frank Glasgow sitting out there in the audience, my students and I have received such a wealth of information and received so many hours of time of public officials, that if this project accomplished nothing else, it demonstrates that there are

people in Ottawa and other parts of Canada in responsible positions who are willing to listen to the young people.

While the content of the brief may or may not change the course of legislation on poverty in Canada, one of our presentations here today may or may not frankly reflect on possible future laws, but the fact has been demonstrated beyond a doubt that if young people wanted to speak to the Senate of Canada, or to any branch of the Canadian government, they will listen.

That is the salient thing far and above whatever may be done for poverty. This country, to judge by the reports of newspapers, is slowly passing into the hands of the anarchists and radicals, or whatever seems to be the term.

What happened here this afternoon happened on both sides in the three weeks while the Senate Committee was getting ready to meet the students and the students were getting ready to meet the Senate discloses that in Canada, that there are still young people in Canada who are not interested in having Molotov cocktails for breakfast; they would prefer to have Senators for lunch.

This is the significant thing in my mind and the significant thing for me as a teacher is that poverty, I suppose like taxes, will always be with us in any event. There will always be people with the money and people who don't have money, but while the measures, shall we say, used to curb inflation—prices going up and prices going up and people on fixed incomes remaining the same, this is an essential factor of poverty.

The important thing is, and an important experience for me, is what it shows; I don't want to use the term “democracy by participation” but politics by concession rather than politics by talking.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. MacKenzie.

Are there any other questions?

Mr. Gerry Harris: Senators, I would like to straighten up one of the most, or one of the more important aspects of poverty and that is the problem of housing.

You can't educate a person who lives in poor surroundings, a poor environment, and I think you should improve the environment or the environmental conditions before you try

any other attempt to educate, because you can't expect a student to learn anything when he has ten brothers or sisters living in a small area in an apartment building.

I think there should be some improvement in housing. This is a very important aspect in dealing with poverty.

Miss Reid: Mr. Chairman, I would just like to bring out the point that most of us are of the view that the biggest problem facing the poor people now is that they don't realize how vital their participation is.

No one can truly imagine just exactly what their conditions are and how it affects them psychologically. You may send out people to investigate but they can't truly realize exactly what these people feel, and we feel that the poor people should be encouraged to participate, and they are the ones that should offer the solutions.

We feel that their participation should be increased and if our solutions had worked the government committee would not be here now.

We were just wondering if maybe you could consult these people and ask them just exactly what they want and have them participate in something like this, and have them present their own views. They may not have the know-how and they may lack the transportation to get out here, but they are the kind of people that we are trying to reach.

They don't realize that they are the ones that we have to speak to; the ones that have the problems and they are the ones that we have to help.

Mr. Richard Haysom: Mr. Chairman, Senators. I would like to continue with what Miss Debbie Reid has to say about individual participation.

I was chairman of Government Failures and I came to the conclusion that individual participation in amongst the poor people themselves would greatly help the stress on both the government and the poor people themselves.

To give you an example of this, I can take an example of the Indian. The Indians who live on the reserves in Cape Breton have no foresight whatsoever. They are quite happy to remain as they are with the help and aid of the government and to rest on their reserves.

What I think should be done, that instead of this, there should be a campaign in which

pride and culture could be given to these people. To give an Indian his pride is to give him back his tools he had many years ago; to give him back his culture he had many years ago.

Once this has been established in an Indian, he no longer is in the position that he is in at the moment, no foresight.

He can get out and work for himself. He has his tools and he has got his pride he once had many years ago. There are many examples of this, and the example I just give about the Indian is worth-while mentioning.

Somebody else in my committee has something to say about Indians—Sheila Spencer.

Miss Sheila Spencer: Mr. Senators, I can only speak about the Indians in our area. I live by a reserve and these Indians really make a nuisance of themselves. They really do.

They come down to the parts of the city where I live and I am scared to walk down the street at night because some of the young Indian boys are easily aroused.

When the government gives them handouts, well, they know they can get money no matter if they work or not. They have lost all their initiative; or at least, most of it. They should have jobs given to them by the government; any kind of job; something that will be a well-paying job but not a seasonable job which most of them get.

They get the seasonal jobs because of the lack of education and lack of facilities, or they just don't have the opportunities.

People are prejudiced against Indians in Sydney. Some of the educated Indians or white men should go on the reserves as social workers. This would help them, to show them what to do.

I know of one example, a lady is on the reserve with the Indians and they have recreation centres built and they do what they want to do on it instead of hanging around the street corners.

Senator Hastings: Miss Spencer, in your brief you say that Indians are entitled to family and youth allowances, old age security pension, guaranteed income supplement.

Miss Spencer: Yes. Their houses are built for them but if the Indians were made to

build their own houses they would take better care of them, instead of having government handouts and the government building them. They would take pride in their houses and they wouldn't have their children tearing them apart.

Mr. Richard Crooks: It is my dissenting opinion in the discussion of housing that nothing was mentioned about the 11 per cent Federal tax and the 7 per cent tax. I feel there is no need to have such a high tax even though I have the suspicion that it is for fighting inflation.

By the use of a prices control board we could settle this problem. You could press the manufacturers or get the public to press the manufacturers to get their prices down lower.

It is not reasonable to expect the public to pay 17 cents in taxes on the dollars. It is not fair. One reason, you are causing more poverty and more trouble in the family that wants to have a home. This is not right.

Miss Monroe: The Indian problem is very serious. They have this problem in California and their problem is with the Mexicans. If we don't take care of the Indians they may be as bad as the Mexicans.

One day my cousin, who is the principal of a high school, was in his office taking off his rubber boots. He just happened to see a shadow on the wall and he turned around and saw a Mexican with a switchblade ready to stab him. He would have been killed had he not turned around.

Here when students go to the washroom—he was cut up so bad he was in the hospital for almost two weeks. If something is done we wouldn't have the serious problem we might have in the future.

I know this family and the oldest boy is 18. She is a widow and her family payments have been lowered. There is another child who is almost 18—she will be 18 in February, and she has five more months of school. When she is 18 her mother and her won't get the same. The youth allowance will be cut off and the widow's allowance will be cut off and she won't have anything. You have to have money to go to school and what is she going to do?

I am an American citizen and I am in school and planning to go college and become a teacher. My mother, my brother and I, will

always get this money, social security, until we are out of school. I think that is a very important thing. If they don't have the money they are not going to go to school.

They have to run the house, they have to run everything and what are they going to do without money? They will lose their pride.

The welfare agencies in Sydney don't pay very much—it is around \$10 a week for groceries and that is not very much.

The Chairman: Young lady, will you undertake a mission for me and have a talk to the young man who said you don't need money?

Miss Monroe: You have to have money.

Mr. Matheson: You need money to get food but I don't see how that affects your poverty line. Sure you need money to get groceries and that, and sure enough the government doesn't give you enough, but that doesn't have anything to do with this poverty line.

I am arguing that you are taking figures and you can't base anything on figures.

The Chairman: Well, the Economic Council of Canada thinks they can.

Mr. Matheson: Well, they are an economic council of Canada. What are they going to base it on—something other than figures?

The Chairman: These figures come as a result of a complete and thorough study and consensus by all economists in Canada and the United States. These are not just taken out of the blue.

Mr. Matheson: I believe you might have a reason for them but...

The Chairman: It doesn't appeal to you, is that it?

Mr. Matheson: No, it doesn't. I am not saying you don't need money because in this society you need money. It is a society based on money.

The Chairman: That is the point we are trying to get across.

Are there any other speakers?

Miss Marie Smith: I would like to turn to another cause of poverty. People are poor sometimes because they have the money but they don't know how to spend it. They might have enough money to get along but they can't budget it.

There are some organizations, but not many, that teach people how to budget, but they are not advertised enough. If they could get across to all the people what could happen to them, how they could improve themselves, things would be much better.

To give you an example, you have a teacher advertisement where you have the average "Mr. Jones" who makes so much a year but he finds himself dropping in his economic position and he sees the advertising about the organization where he could learn how to budget his money and a year later the same "Mr. Jones" would be getting along much better and he can stretch his pay cheque and still have enough money left for luxuries.

The Chairman: Miss Smith, I must say to you that the Department of Consumer Affairs came before us as a witness and it said exactly what you said, in more elaborate terms.

They said they were going to do something about it from the Consumers Department, and they were going to try to get the message across in the schools and high schools and even in the public school level. So you are on the right track, young lady.

Mr. Tom Collins: Sir, on this advertising, if you were wondering where the money could come from—well, the government pays a substantial per cent now, but we could subsidize racing, horse racing in Sydney, and you could get money from there.

Another thing I would like to talk on is financing loans. In New York, there is a civic union set up to help students, people who are poor and who have no money. They give them loans interest free and there is no extra charge.

I was wondering if it was possible for different groups in Canada to set up something like this. This of course would be for poor people specifically.

The thing about this is, most of the money would be turned back.

Another thing, I would like to quote from the Royal Commission investigating finance and loan companies. Nova Scotia has done this through their Royal Commission of costs of borrowing money and related matters across Nova Scotia.

In this report...

The Chairman: What was the name?

Mr. Collins: It is a Royal Commission.

The Chairman: Who heads the Royal Commission?

Mr. Collins: This is for the Province of Nova Scotia.

The Chairman: The reason I am asking, there was a Royal Commission investigation here and they co-operated with us and I just forget his name, but they were the first to make a study on consumer credit. This was in all of Canada, even before we did in Ottawa. I am trying to think of the man's name, and I just can't at the moment. I have read the report, and it's a very good one.

Mr. Collins: Another thing, I would like to mention consumer education in schools. There are courses that can be put into the schools such as this one here "Money Spending." This one is elementary but it can be put in the schools to help to show people what they are getting into when they make loans.

Another reason I would like to investigate the finance companies is an example which I received. There was a youth who owed several banks and finance companies \$10,000. This man was sued and had no resources. I was wondering how a person could get a loan if he didn't have any resources.

The Chairman: So am I, but go ahead.

Mr. Collins: The finance companies, on making the first payment, ask you if you want to borrow more money. Now, this is a ridiculous thing to do. Why would you need more money? Why would you need more money when you are trying to pay off your debts?

There was a man who visited disabled people who were in debt and the man would threaten to go around and tell all his neighbours about this man being in debt. This could ruin his reputation with all these psychological threats.

There are only two inspectors for consumer affairs in Halifax, and this is not enough. There are over 200,000 people concerned, and if there is only two people they can't get that much done.

On the topic of poverty—a person who makes \$22,000 a year and he had very little furniture in his house, and he didn't even have enough to attend a show, so poverty is not only for the poor.

Another thing, our morals have a great deal to do with poverty. The person who could discuss this better than I is Debby Reid.

In discussing the morals we set out that the reason the person is considered poor is that they couldn't afford what everybody else had. We figured who had what everybody else had and it was the middle class, so we figured that the middle class should share in the responsibility of arriving at solutions.

Now, everybody is saying, "You are doing a project on poverty. Oh, yes, more money." It's not only money; but morally how you can help these people. If you set up public awareness programs to make people aware that they could do something to help morally, and they could then accept these people. They wouldn't have to turn their backs on them just because they are poor.

The Chairman: Thank you.

From the floor: I would just like to say that I have devised a method to finance poverty and to help welfare and help education. To help people build more schools. And I would like to refer back to the senator who said that he didn't need his old-age pension. Well, I am working on the same basis of family allowances for families that have more than \$10,000 a year, who I consider do not need their family allowances.

If this was discontinued, this money—there are almost 300,000 families who do collect over \$10,000 a year, and it comes up to—if this family allowance was taken away from them they wouldn't be losing that much. The government would save pretty close to fifty million dollars, and with this money they could make old-age security optional to people who did not need it. No matter how small the number may be it would still help in solving poor educational facilities, hospital facilities, and to help the Indians, and whoever else needs help.

It isn't that much compared to the Gross National Product, but it is a help.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Miss Patsy MacDonald: It was noted in some of my studies that women with less education had more children than women with more education. Other contributing factors to this are the husband's position, his income, and their social status in their environment.

My recommendation for this is that the government provide family life services starting at an age with which the child would be unaffected by his environment, so that later on when he is older he will be aware of the number of children that he should have in order to live within his income during the year.

The Chairman: Well, we have appointments, and you have an appointment, and it's been a delightful afternoon. You not only presented a good brief but the discussion of course was very helpful.

It is really a pleasure to see you young people walk up to a microphone feeling free and easy and making sense, and I must say that Miss Graham did something today in making a moving presentation. While she was talking there were thoughts going through my mind, and I saw young people of your age in other places in this age of protest throwing bottles and stones and sticks.

I saw you people presenting briefs and studies and solutions to problems, and I felt very proud of you people today.

You know, I have always known that there are people like you every place in Canada but you don't often see them. For a moment, let me just give you something of an experience.

Senator Connolly: Not quite like these people, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Oh, all right. The ex-premier of the province is speaking now, but I agree, anyway.

Let me just show you how young people get themselves involved. I was talking about these people who throw stones, bottles, and sticks in other parts of the country. Many of them are arrested, many of them are convicted; not seriously, but convicted.

Let me show you how they mess up their lives. Fifteen years later he applies for a job some place where he has to take some responsibility for money. In that position he has to be bonded. This is normal. And he goes to the bonding company and makes an application, or she does, and the company says, "Have you ever been convicted of something or other?" He can't get the bond, and he can't get the job.

He makes an application for a security commission and he has to answer, or she has

to answer, and if he has been convicted the chances of getting a salesman's licence are nil. Or a real estate salesman's licence. If he wants to travel to the United States for permanent reasons for some reason or another, and makes an application where it says "Have you ever been convicted of anything?" And if he has, he can't get in.

These are the thoughtless things some people in this age of protest do. They have not given enough consideration to things that will hurt them at some later date. I have seen it happen time and time again.

I told you that we are very proud of you, and your presentation on poverty, and we were very proud that you could come here to the Senate of Canada where the senators could see you and you could see them.

I can't really close this meeting off without asking the former premier, or prime minister, of this province to say a word to you.

Senator Connolly: Mr. Chairman, you are very kind. You and I, I am sure, have a much greater appreciation after today of why I love this province so dearly. I am quite sure that nowhere in this land would you find a greater concentration of beauty and intelligence than what we have seen here this afternoon.

The Chairman: You are not running for election, senator.

Senator Connolly: No, Mr. Chairman. If I need to be refreshed, if I need to have my

confidence renewed, or re-established, it has been re-established by this group of young people from Sydney Academy, because they have demonstrated their faith in the old-fashioned virtues, their willingness to work, and the value they place on integrity. They are concerned with their own future and the welfare of their fellow citizens. There are no hippies in this crowd—at least whatever hippies are—I have never been quite able to determine,—but surely there are none in this fine group.

There has never been another generation who have had a greater concern than these young people today. They have demonstrated this by this remarkably fine brief to which we have listened, and while I compliment them I must also compliment Mr. MacKenzie, their teacher, because without the guidance of such an outstanding teacher I am sure they couldn't have accomplished such a mighty feat.

So I thank you, if I may, on behalf of all of us. I want to say to you that you have warmed my heart. You send me on my way refreshed and, although I may meet others almost as good, I shall always remember in the course of our travels up and down this country of ours the afternoon we have spent with Sydney Academy 11-A group, and the excellent presentation they made. Thank you very much.

The Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much.

Brief for Special Committee on Poverty Senate of Canada

by
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POVERTY IN NOVA SCOTIA

ABSTRACT

1. This brief is primarily an analytical description of poverty in Nova Scotia, as requested by the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. Set forth, also, are certain findings and recommendations which arose during preparation of the brief.
2. Nova Scotia has a disproportionately high share of poverty families relative to Canada. The 1961 Census of Canada¹ indicates that 40.3 per cent of all non-farm families in Nova Scotia are low-income. By comparison, in Canada only 25.3 per cent of non-farm families are low-income. The low-income families in Nova Scotia number 58,029 and represent 6.3 per cent of the Canadian low-income families.
3. In the national perspective, Nova Scotia's poverty problems must be dealt with through a two-pronged attack. Concurrently, opportunities must be created and people must be enabled to take advantage of them. Creating opportunities requires a high level of economic activity, made possible in part by renewal and modernization facilitated by national and provincial growth policies. Enabling people in poverty to take advantage of opportunities requires bold new social programs stressing education, mobility, housing, and environment. Supplementary to this two-pronged attack are the essential welfare measures for the disadvantaged, including the handicapped, aged, and infirm.
4. The strategy for economic growth and improvement of the human environment in Nova Scotia requires that hard historical facts of poverty be faced

¹Jenny R. Podoluk, Incomes of Canadians (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1968)

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unequivocally, not minimized or side-stepped. The natural desire to create a better self-image, to project an attractive image, and to maintain autonomy, in the long run will not be effective in Nova Scotia's best interests, nor will the province's modernization program be well served if harsh realities are ignored. Identification of facts and a candid identification of the problems constitute a first step towards solution of poverty in Nova Scotia.

5. Poverty in Nova Scotia is limited neither to a particular area nor to a particular population grouping. There are, however, striking differences in the incidence of poverty among areas and groups within the province. In order to obtain a general picture of poverty, the incidence of poverty in a particular group and the incidence of that group in the total should be considered. On the assumption that the poor are represented by less than \$3,000 annual family income, the following broad generalizations can be drawn from the 1961 Census of Canada. From a total population of 737,000, some 256,600, or 34.8 per cent, fall below the poverty line. By this measure, an estimated 57 per cent of the farm population are poor. This 57 per cent, however, represents only 4.5 per cent of the total population. The remaining 30.3 per cent of the population that are poor are non-farm. These are divided approximately two-fifths urban, and three-fifths rural non-farm. The actual incidence of poverty in rural non-farm families is approximately 52 per cent, and in urban families, 27 per cent.

6. It is apparent that, although poverty is predominantly a rural phenomenon, a large minority of poverty groups are found in urban areas. The largest poverty group, in terms of actual numbers, is the rural non-farm population.

7. If one has explicit regard to incidence of poverty among given groups, the highest incidence is found in families with young female heads, and in families without employment, each having over a 90 per cent level of incidence.
8. Poverty in Nova Scotia is the result of a complex set of forces. This brief indicates these forces and shows how they interact and affect particular groups. The division of poverty groups into the potentially employable groups and those requiring specific assistance, which is drawn in the Definition, is not explicitly referred to in the brief. With the exception of this latter group, the brief demonstrates that poverty is the result of in-built social and physical immobilities.
9. Economic development in Nova Scotia has become largely service oriented. Primary sectors have required a progressively smaller labour force as technology and changing market conditions have limited employment opportunities therein. In certain cases these developments are accentuated by physical resource depletion. While employment has declined in primary sectors, the service sectors have grown rapidly; this is closely related to the growth of urban areas. These developments have required physical movement of populations, whether it be within the province or away from the province. Factors affecting the physical mobility of persons have left certain groups stranded outside the mainstream of economic progress.
10. Factors affecting social mobility are derived largely from inadequate training and education. If the poor cannot utilize educational facilities, they are trapped in a "vicious circle" of poverty. Additional problems obtain in the Black community, where racial prejudice has directly affected social mobility.

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11. The following areas are examined in the brief:

(a) Rural Poverty

Many of the rural poor have migrated already. The residual group is locked into the countryside by land ownership. The small holdings are uneconomic to operate, and external sources of income are being eroded. A large proportion are pensioners.

(b) Urban Poverty

i) Halifax Even groups located at the centre of economic development suffer from poverty. These people are characterized by low levels of education. Female heads of households and broken homes also account for urban poverty. Present measures are inadequate to prevent the continuing circle of poverty, even at the centre of development.

ii) Eroded Base Communities The old coal mining towns have suffered exceedingly high rates of outmigration. Reduction of the tax base has left the local municipalities insufficient revenue to maintain basic services.

(c) Urban-Fringe Poverty

A study of this form of poverty reveals a lack of education, lack of motivation, lack of unskilled employment opportunities and alienation from the urban centre. Again, development alone cannot help these communities.

(d) Ethnic-Related Poverty

i) Indians Approximately 4,000 Indians lived on reservations in Nova Scotia in 1961, and 85 per cent fell below the poverty line. It is, again, the vicious circle of lack of education and lack of employment opportunities that maintains the poverty cycle.

ii) Blacks A history of oppression, discrimination and prejudice has produced the down-trodden Black communities of Nova Scotia. The 11,900 Blacks (1961) characterized by lack of education, are found mainly at the urban fringe or in remote parts of the province.

(e) Findings and Observations

i) Education The relationship between educational attainment and poverty is striking, as is the relationship between income of family head and educational attainment of dependents.

ii) Housing The immobility of the rural poor is increased on account of house ownership. By contrast, the urban poor generally rent or lease housing. Public housing appears to have a number of beneficial effects.

iii) Transportation The poor are highly dependent on public transportation; however, public attention is rarely drawn to this aspect of transportation. The poor will need, increasingly, public modes of transportation as the necessity of long-distance travel to work grows.

iv) Retraining General retraining programs have been of limited success. Specific training for a particular job appears to be a better answer for retraining and relocation.

v) Technological Change Gains through productivity should be made at minimum cost to individual workers.

vi) Guaranteed Annual Income An acceptable rationale for adoption of a universal guaranteed income is needed and can be aided by a program of experimentation.

vii) Organized and Unorganized Labour Less than a quarter of the labour force are organized. Improvements

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can come from greater participation in collective bargaining.

viii) Credit Unions and Cooperatives These organizations can assist the poor to attain a meaningful role in production.

ix) Programs of Social Experiment These would provide a better basis for social action by testing the validity and effectiveness of alternative social programs.

x) The Total Situation The process of economic development will not, in itself, eradicate poverty. As Galbraith has said, "Growth is only for those who can take advantage of it."

I. DEFINITION

12. Poverty can be defined in terms of material well-being, social well-being, and cultural well-being, although a universally acceptable definition does not appear to exist. Poverty is, to say the least, a condition in which human beings lack food, shelter, and clothing sufficient to sustain life. But what is life? Surely contemporary Canadians regard it as being more than physical survival in minimum discomfort. An absence of poverty is no guarantee of the good life, but grinding poverty almost certainly precludes it. For most of the poor, poverty is a constant preoccupation that numbs and debases.

13. We may define the poor as those who, either as a consequence of personal insufficiency or environmental limitation, have resources inadequate to provide food, shelter, and clothing. Doubtless the numerous local and regional differentials in Canada explain, in part, the lack of a national standard of what constitutes minimum adequate resources. Nova Scotia, with the other Atlantic Provinces, has long had a per capita personal income appreciably less than the national average. In 1967, it was 77 per cent of the national average. It is not an overriding consolation to Nova Scotians to be reminded that their per capita income remains higher than that in most parts of the world, including the United Kingdom. In the 1860's and 1870's, Nova Scotians had a higher standard of living, compared with that of their contemporaries, than they have today. The forces that eroded that relative standard, for persons and for institutions, and the forces that can lead Nova Scotians out of the present condition need to be identified and assessed.

14. The victims of poverty may be classified into

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two major groups one of which should receive help in establishing a meaningful role in gainful employment, the other of which should be given special direct assistance. The first group includes people who are trainable and have potential for economic independence, as well as people whose skills are not marketable within their current environment; this group includes, also, those people whose alleged unwillingness to work is said to be a cause of their poverty. The second group includes the aged and the chronically disabled, who are beyond the scope of programs for training or retraining. There is need for a greater awareness that the latter group comprises an area of public responsibility which a civilized modern community should be prepared willingly to bear.

15. Findings of a recent study of poverty in Canada indicate that, within the past generation, the number of poor people in this country has remained virtually unchanged; that the "level of poverty is deepened by the lack of alternative employment for seasonally employed men, or supplementary jobs for their wives;" that "... poverty lies heaviest in the Maritimes, where one half the rural wage earners and one quarter the urban have annual incomes less than \$2,000"; and that one half the "male wage-earners (excluding students) drawing low incomes ... had only elementary education, one third secondary school and one sixth university training."¹

16. According to J.K. Galbraith:

"The problem of poverty is the problem of people who for reasons of location, education, health, environment in youth or mental deficiency or race, are not able to participate effectively - or at all - in the economic life of the nation. Being

¹The Dimensions of Poverty in Canada: Some Preliminary Observations, by R.A. Jenness (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, February 1965) pp. 52-53

barred from participation they are denied the income that accrues to participants . . . Being unable to participate they receive nothing. They will continue to receive nothing no matter how fast the economy expands. . . ."¹

17. The next section of this brief discusses two approaches taken in estimating low-income families in Nova Scotia.

¹ J.K. Galbraith, quoted in A Socio-Economic Study and Recommendations: Sunnyville, Lincolnville, and Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965) p.ii.

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II. DESCRIPTION AND EVALUATION

18. This section draws heavily upon, and extends Profile of Poverty in Nova Scotia, prepared in 1965 by the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University.¹ The income sample of the 1961 census was the data base for the Profile and remains, despite the disadvantage created by a lapse in time, the only available data which can be applied rationally to the measurement of poverty.
19. In the following analysis, two approaches were taken in estimating low-income families in Nova Scotia. The first approach regarded all families earning below \$3,000 as low-income families. This operational definition was chosen in order to highlight the incidence of poverty in a wide number of groups in the economy. By the second definition, ". . . low-income families are . . . those families whose incomes fall into those income groups in which, on average, most of the income received must be spent upon essentials such as food, clothing and shelter."²
20. The second definition chosen, that used in the Census Monograph, Incomes of Canadians, by Jenny R. Podoluk, takes specific account of family size, a variable which, given a specific income, is crucial in determining the extent of poverty. This definition becomes non-operational when one attempts to apply it in an extensive analysis of the published 1961 census data. In the

¹K. Scott Wood, Profile of Poverty in Nova Scotia, (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965).

Jenny R. Podoluk, Income of Canadians, (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1968), p. 185. This definition utilized expenditure data to determine the cut-off level. The levels chosen were as follows: for a single person, below \$1,500; for a family of two, below \$2,500; for a family of three, below \$3,000; for a family of four, below \$3,500; and for families of five or more, below \$4,000.

published census material, size of household is classified only with the geographical distribution of income.

21. The effect of taking into account family size is an increase in the number of families, and thus individuals, in the low-income population. If \$3,000 is used, regardless of family size, there are 54,929 non-farm low-income families in Nova Scotia; however, if income is varied according to the size of family, there are 63,899 low-income families.
22. When the criterion chosen is all families with incomes below \$3,000, there are an estimated 185,903 persons representing 25.2 per cent of the total population of Nova Scotia. If, however, family size is taken into consideration, there are 242,969 persons in low-income families in Nova Scotia; that is, 33 per cent of the population (Table 1).
23. In addition to persons in low-income families, there are 37,247 persons, not in families, whose income is below \$1,500, and there are an estimated 33,424 persons on low income farms.
24. In total, if one uses \$3,000 as the criterion, there are in Nova Scotia an estimated 256,574 persons, 34.8 per cent of the total population, below the poverty line. If one takes family size into account, there are 313,640 low-income persons; this is, 42.6 per cent of the total population.
25. Every identifiable group in the economy is represented among low-income families, some groups much more strongly than others. The degree to which low income is prevalent among families with a given characteristic can be indicated by taking families with a low income as a percentage of all families having the given characteristic. In the discussion which follows, this is termed the incidence of low income. For instance,

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in Nova Scotia there are 146,825 non-farm families of which 54,929, or 37.4 per cent, have incomes below \$3,000; thus the incidence of low-income non-farm families in Nova Scotia is 37.4 per cent. Figures 1 and 2 show the incidence of poverty for major groups of families and persons not in families. Derivation of the foregoing and the incidence of low income for a number of identifiable groups is given in Appendix A.

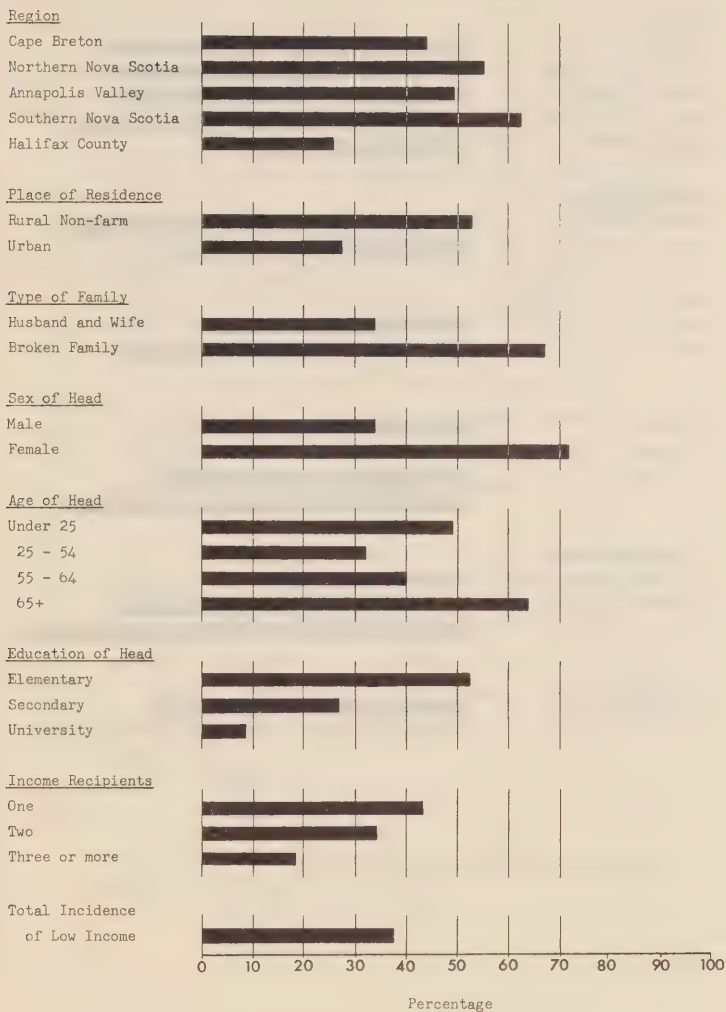
26. Four family groupings, each based on the incidence of low-income families, are presented in Tables 2 through 5:

High incidence	75 to 100 per cent
Above average incidence	50 to 75 per cent
Average incidence	25 to 50 per cent
Below average incidence	0 to 25 per cent

These categories have been chosen arbitrarily, for purposes of exposition. By changing any particular category a few percentage points, groups with certain characteristics can easily be moved between them. Through a simple redefinition, it is possible to move families and individuals into or out of the poverty groups; indeed, this is one of the major problems in evaluating poverty. If, for instance, the criterion used in defining low-income families is \$3,000 (Table 1), it can be said that there are 54,929 such families. If allowance is made, however, for family size as indicated, the estimated number of low-income families is increased to 63,899 families, a difference of nearly 9,000 families or over 67,000 persons.

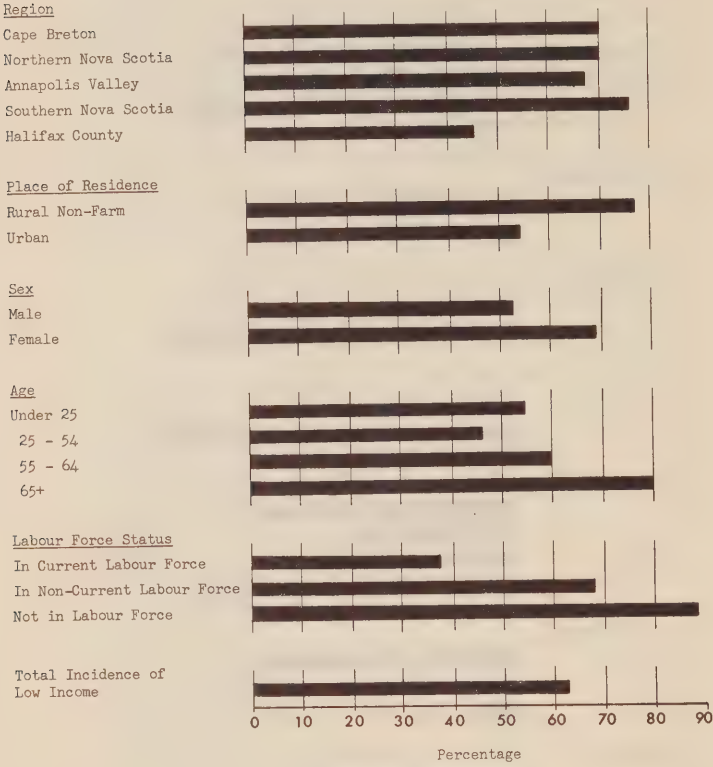
27. The foregoing is stated as a caveat in interpretation of the material presented below. As was pointed out in the Fifth Annual Review, Economic Council of Canada, "Statistics cannot adequately describe poverty. But used with care they are capable of furnishing important clues to types of policies likely to be effective

FIGURE 1
INCIDENCE OF LOW INCOME BY SELECTED FAMILY
CHARACTERISTICS, NOVA SCOTIA, 1961



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FIGURE 2
INCIDENCE OF LOW INCOME BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS,
PERSONS NOT IN FAMILIES, NOVA SCOTIA, 1961



against poverty."¹ Further: "It is vital, in framing policy, not to be overinfluenced by rates of incidence, and in this way to form too simple and stereotyped picture of poverty."²

1. Families

(a) Major Income Source

28. A significantly high incidence of low-income families is associated with families having non-employment income as the major source of income. This incidence is true of rural non-farm families and of urban families; in contrast, urban families with employment income as their major source show a below-average incidence of low income. The Profile of Poverty points out that the \$3,000 income level appears to be ". . . a critical dividing point, below which an increasing number of families are not able to support themselves from employment income and thus derive their major source of income from government transfer-payments."³

(b) Geographic Distribution

29. Because of the availability of income data by family size at the provincial and county level, low-income families are identified, by criterion B, by varying income levels with family size. The data related to counties and household size, presented in Tables 2 through 5, are not directly comparable to data for other characteristics.
30. Twelve of the 18 counties in Nova Scotia have

¹Fifth Annual Review, Economic Council, Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, September, 1968) p. 110.

²Ibid., p. 113.

³Wood, op. cit., p. 4.

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an above-average incidence of low-income families. The other six counties (Annapolis, Antigonish, Colchester, Kings, Cape Breton, and Halifax) have an average incidence. Halifax County has the lowest incidence, with 25.7 per cent of its families classed as low-income. Consequently, in order to facilitate evaluation of the importance of each group to the whole, in the tables each group is expressed as a percentage of total population and total low-income population indicating its importance to the totality.

31. Although the incidence of low-income families among urban families is 27.3 per cent, the incidence among rural non-farm families is over 52 per cent. Rural non-farm families account for 56.6 per cent of the total non-farm low-income families in Nova Scotia. Sydney, Halifax City, the Halifax fringe, and Dartmouth have each a below-average incidence of low-income families, with the lowest incidence, 12.2 per cent, occurring in Dartmouth.

(c) Family

32. Families with male heads between the ages of 35 and 44 show a below-average incidence of low-income families; on the other hand, families with female heads under the age of 44 are associated with a high incidence. The incidence for husband-and-wife families is 33.9 per cent, compared with 47.3 per cent for broken families with a male head, and 71.6 per cent for broken families with a female head. The latter category accounts for 16.4 per cent of non-farm low-income families. Families with a female head age 45 and over had an above-average incidence.

(d) Labour Force

33. Families with a male head in logging and related activities, or not in the labour force, or with a

female head in the non-current labour force, have a high incidence of poverty (Table 2). In contrast, families with a male head in managerial, professional and technical, clerical, sales and services, and recreation occupations have a below-average incidence (Table 5). Families with male head in the non-current labour force and families with female head not in the labour force have an above-average incidence (Table 3).

(e) Education

34. The incidence of low-income families declines as education increases. That possession of university education does not necessarily exclude one from the low-income category is evidenced by the fact that 1.4 per cent of all low-income families have a male head who has a university education.

(f) Households

35. Families maintaining their own household, whether owned or rented, experience an average degree of incidence. Above-average incidence is associated with families not maintaining their own households, with the incidence being approximately the same whether the family is living in a household with a related head or other than a related head.

(g) Housing

36. There is a strong association between the incidence of low-income and the condition of the dwelling in which a family is housed. Above-average incidence is associated with single detached owner-occupied dwellings in need of both major and minor repair and tenant-occupied dwellings in need of major repair. In addition, lack of refrigeration facilities is associated with an above-average incidence of low income.
37. Only 7.1 per cent of the low-income families live in a mortgaged single detached owner-occupied

dwelling. In contrast, 17.8 per cent of all families live in mortgaged dwellings. It is interesting to note that, while the government is mortgagee for approximately 17 per cent of all families who have mortgages on single detached occupied family dwellings, it is mortgagee for only 13 per cent of low-income families in similar circumstances.

2. Persons Not in Families

38. The major portion, over 66 per cent, of the persons not in families having low incomes are not in the labour force. In contrast, only 34.7 per cent of the low-income families had heads not in the labour force.

39. Low income and non-participation of persons not in families would appear to be, to a considerable degree, the result of the age distribution. Over 23 per cent of the females and over 12 per cent of the males in the low-income group are over 70 years of age, while males and females between 65 and 69 years of age account for another 10 per cent.

40. The incidence of low income for rural non-farm families is nearly twice that of urban non-farm families, but a similar circumstance does not hold for persons not in families, where the incidence of low income was 77.0 per cent for the rural non-farm group and 54 per cent for the urban group; indeed, the incidence of low income for persons not in families living in urban areas exceed the incidence for rural non-farm families.

Table 1
LOW INCOME POPULATION, NOVA SCOTIA, YEAR ENDED MAY 31, 1961

	Criterion A		Criterion B	
	Number	Percentage of Total Nova Scotia Population	Number	Percentage of Total Nova Scotia Population
Non-Farm				
In Families	185,903 ^a	25.2	242,969 ^b	33.0
Not in Families ^c	37,247	5.1	37,247	5.1
Farm ^d	33,424	4.5	33,424	4.5
Total	256,574	34.8	313,640	42.6

^aBased on family incomes below \$3,000.

^bBased on sum of:
Two-Person Families with Incomes Below \$2,500
Three-Person Families with Incomes Below \$3,000
Four-Person Families with Incomes Below \$3,500
Five-or-More-Person Families with Incomes Below \$4,000.

^cIndividual incomes below \$1,500.

^dEstimated persons on farms where income from products sold, plus estimated income of operator from off-farm work totalled less than \$3,000.

Source: Derived from D.B.S., 1961 Census of Canada.

Table 2
CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH A HIGH (75-100%) INCIDENCE
OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES^a, NOVA SCOTIA, 1961

Characteristics	All Families ^a		Low Income Families		Incidence of Low Income ^b
	Number (1)	Per Cent (2)	Number (3)	Per Cent (4)	
Total Families	146,825	100.0	54,929	100.0	37.4
Major Income Source					
Rural Non-farm - non-employment	11,210	7.6	10,311	18.8	91.9
Urban - non-employment	10,866	7.4	8,743	15.9	80.5
Geographic Distribution	-	-	-	-	-
Family					
Female Head - Under 25	697	.5	662	1.2	95.0
25 - 34	1,699	1.2	1,571	2.9	92.5
35 - 44	2,381	1.6	1,912	3.5	80.3
Labour Force					
Male Head - loggers and related	1,494	1.0	1,194	2.2	79.9
Female Head in Non-Current Labour Force	424	.3	340	.6	80.2
Male Head not in Labour Force	16,843	11.5	12,664	23.1	75.2
Education					
Female Head - elementary	6,192	4.2	4,678	8.5	75.5
Households	-	-	-	-	-
Housing	-	-	-	-	-

^aNon-Farm Families.

^bCol. (3) as a percentage of col. (1).

Poverty

1 : 75

Table 3
CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH AN ABOVE AVERAGE (50-75%)
INCIDENCE OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES^a, NOVA SCOTIA, 1961

Characteristics	All Families ^a		Low Income Families		Incidence of Low Income ^b
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total Families	146,825	100.0	54,929	100.0	37.4
Major Income Source					
Recipients - Wife or Mother only and/or Children	13,018	8.9	9,337	17.0	71.7
Geographic Distribution					
Rural Non-Farm Families	59,601	40.6	31,063	56.6	52.2
Counties - Guysborough	2,448	1.6	1,778	(2.8)	72.6
- Digby	3,980	2.7	2,787	(4.4)	70.0
- Shelburne	3,409	2.3	2,384	(3.7)	69.9
- Victoria	1,397	1.0	937	(1.5)	67.1
- Richmond	2,087	1.4	1,352	(2.1)	64.8
- Inverness	2,607	1.7	1,669	(2.6)	64.0
- Cumberland	7,550	5.1	4,745	(7.4)	62.8
- Yarmouth	4,814	3.3	2,942	(4.6)	61.1
- Lunenburg	7,387	5.0	4,211	(6.6)	57.0
- Hants	4,747	3.2	2,641	(4.1)	55.6
- Queens	2,910	2.0	1,524	(2.4)	52.4
- Pictou	8,618	5.9	4,497	(7.0)	52.2
Family					
Broken Families - Female Head	12,560	8.6	8,999	16.4	71.6
Male Head - Age 65 - 69	6,736	4.6	3,902	7.1	57.9
70+	10,741	7.3	7,456	13.6	69.4
Female Head - Age 45 - 54	2,518	1.7	1,740	3.2	69.1
55 - 64	1,865	1.3	1,176	2.1	63.1
65 - 69	962	.7	588	1.1	61.1
70+	2,438	1.7	1,350	2.5	55.4
Labour Force					
Male Head - farm workers	1,228	.8	883	1.6	71.9
- fishermen, trappers and hunters	4,477	3.0	2,943	5.4	65.7
- labourers	6,567	4.5	3,862	7.0	58.8
Male Head in Non-Current Labour Force	4,818	3.3	2,864	5.2	59.4
Female Head Not in Labour Force	8,751	6.0	6,358	11.6	72.7
Education					
Male Head - elementary	60,889	41.5	30,536	55.6	50.2
Female Head - secondary	6,057	4.1	4,227	7.7	69.8
Household					
Family Not Maintaining Own Household	10,331	7.0	6,257	11.4	60.6
Living In: Related	8,494	5.8	5,165	9.4	60.8
Other	1,837	1.3	1,092	2.0	59.4
Housing					
Number of Rooms - 1 to 3	13,119	8.9	6,619	12.1	50.5
Refrigeration Facilities -					
- icebox or other	2,193	1.5	1,473	2.7	67.2
- none	14,367	9.8	10,586	1.5	73.7
Single Detached Owner Occupied -					
Value - under \$3,000	23,711	16.1	16,285	29.6	68.7
Condition - in need of repair					
- minor	20,127	13.7	10,396	18.9	51.7
- major	6,067	4.1	3,846	7.0	63.3
Tenant Occupied Family Households					
Condition - in need of major repair	4,483	3.1	2,458	4.5	54.8

^aNon-Farm Families.

^bCol. (3) as a percentage of Col. (1).

() indicates percentage of 63,899, the number of low-income family households using Criterion B, income varied with size of family.

Source: Derived from D.B.S., 1961 Census of Canada.

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Table 4
CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH AN AVERAGE (25-50%) INCIDENCE
OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES^a, NOVA SCOTIA

Characteristics	All Families ^a		Low Income Families		Incidence of Low Income ^b
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) ^c
Total Families	146,825	100.0	54,929	100.0	37.4
Major Income Source					
Rural Non-Farm					
- employment	48,491	32.8	20,012	36.4	41.5
Recipients					
- husband or father only	70,050	47.7	27,018	49.2	38.6
- husband and wife	37,208	25.3	12,504	22.8	33.6
Number of Recipients					
- one	76,654	52.2	33,061	60.2	43.1
- two	54,746	37.3	18,573	33.8	33.9
Geographic Distribution					
Urban Families	87,224	59.4	23,866	43.4	27.3
Counties - Annapolis	4,221	2.9	2,059	(3.2)	48.8
- Antigonish	1,793	1.2	875	(1.4)	48.8
- Colchester	6,677	4.5	3,195	(5.0)	47.9
- Kings	7,762	5.3	3,552	(5.5)	45.8
- Cape Breton	26,561	18.1	10,475	(16.4)	39.4
- Halifax	47,857	32.6	12,276	(19.2)	25.7
Towns and Cities					
Glace Bay	5,255	3.6	1,892	3.4	36.0
Amherst	2,529	1.7	865	1.6	34.2
New Waterford	2,102	1.4	652	1.2	31.0
Truro	3,085	2.1	938	1.7	30.4
Family Size					
- two persons	40,679	27.7	18,387	(28.8)	45.2
- three persons	30,572	20.8	11,747	(18.4)	38.4
- four persons	28,117	19.1	11,076	(17.3)	39.4
- five persons	19,772	13.5	9,484	(14.8)	48.0
- six+ persons	27,685	18.6	13,205	(20.7)	47.7
Husband/Wife Families	131,311	89.4	44,533	(81.1)	33.9
Broken Families - Male Head	2,954	2.0	1,397	2.5	47.3
Male Head - all ages	134,265	91.4	45,930	83.6	34.2
- under 25	7,131	4.6	3,170	5.8	44.5
- 25 - 34	29,403	20.0	8,728	15.9	29.7
- 35 - 44	29,048	19.8	7,999	14.6	27.5
- 45 - 54	16,907	11.5	6,349	11.6	37.6
- 55 - 64	40,485	27.6	19,358	35.2	47.8
With No Children under 25	71,705	48.8	25,512	46.4	35.6
With All Children under 16	22,522	15.3	6,046	11.0	26.8
With Children under 16 and 16-24	8,962	6.1	2,844	5.2	27.8
- with no children 16-24 at school	11,431	7.8	2,884	5.3	25.2
- with children 16-18 at school	12,113	8.2	3,977	7.2	32.8
With Children 16-24 only	6,225	4.2	2,068	3.8	33.2
- with no children 16-24 at school	4,403	3.0	1,636	3.0	37.2
- with children 16-18 at school					
Labour Force					
Male Heads - all occupations	112,569	76.7	30,382	55.3	26.9
- transport and communications	10,654	7.3	3,386	6.2	31.8
- miners, quarrymen	5,816	4.0	1,565	2.8	26.9
- craftsmen and production	33,860	23.1	9,390	17.1	27.7
- not stated	1,194	.8	404	.7	33.8
Households					
Family Maintaining Own Household	136,494	93.0	48,672	88.6	35.7
Owned	101,480	69.1	38,101	69.4	37.5
Rented	37,211	25.3	11,167	20.3	30.0
Housing					
Type of Dwelling					
single detached	106,138	72.3	40,030	72.9	37.7
single attached	11,666	7.9	4,145	7.5	35.5
Number of Rooms - 4 to 5	51,908	34.8	40,030	32.4	37.7
- 6+	74,474	50.7	24,848	45.2	33.4
Refrigeration Facilities - mechanical	122,131	83.2	37,209	67.7	30.5
Television Set	121,157	82.5	37,495	68.3	30.9
Automobile	91,346	62.2	23,157	42.2	25.4
Number of Persons per Room					
less than 1	88,328	60.2	23,157	58.3	36.3
1 or more	50,363	34.3	17,242	31.4	34.2
Single Detached Owner Occupied	91,489	62.3	34,820	63.4	38.1
Value - \$3,000 - \$7,477	32,621	22.2	13,791	25.1	42.3
Condition - Good	65,295	44.5	20,569	37.4	31.5
Not Mortgaged	65,288	44.5	30,902	56.3	47.3
Tenant Occupied Family Households					
- Condition - in need of minor repair	11,188	7.6	4,305	7.8	38.5
Holder of Mortgage on Single Detached Owner Occupied Family Households					
Private Individual	4,105	2.8	1,216	2.2	29.6
Place of Birth of Head					
Canada	136,692	93.1	52,016	94.7	38.1
Immigrated Prior to 1946	7,039	4.8	2,231	4.1	31.7

^aNon-Farm Families.

^bCol. (3) as a percentage of col. (1).

() indicates percentage of 63,899, the number of low-income family households using Criterion B, income varied with size of family.

Source: Derived from D.B.S., 1961 Census of Canada.

Table 5
 CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH A BELOW AVERAGE (0-25%)
 INCIDENCE OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES^a, NOVA SCOTIA, 1961

Characteristics	All Families ^a		Low Income Families		Incidence of Low Income ^b
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total Families	146,825	100.0	54,929	100.0	37.4
Major Income Source					
Urban					
employment	76,140	51.9	14,905	27.1	19.6
Recipients					
husband, wife and children	8,239	5.6	1,740	3.2	21.1
husband or father and children	17,892	12.2	3,876	7.1	21.7
Number of Recipients					
three+	15,007	10.2	2,877	5.2	19.2
Geographic Distribution					
Sydney	7,121	4.8	1,431	2.6	20.0
Halifax - City proper	18,924	12.9	3,567	6.5	18.8
Halifax - Fringe areas ^c	9,745	6.6	1,589	2.9	16.3
Dartmouth	10,615	7.2	1,301	2.4	12.2
Family					
Male Head - Age 35 - 44	34,299	23.4	8,236	15.2	24.3
With children under 16 and					
16 - 24, and children 19 - 24	1,316	9.0	194	.4	14.7
at school					
With children 16 - 24 only, and	1,118	7.6	206	.4	18.4
children 19 - 24 at school					
Labour Force					
Male Head - managerial	13,380	9.1	1,990	3.6	14.9
- professional and					
technical	6,671	4.5	368	.7	5.5
- clerical	6,080	4.1	868	1.6	14.3
- sales	5,527	3.8	1,166	2.1	21.1
- services and					
recreation	15,519	10.6	2,198	4.0	14.4
Education					
Male Head - secondary	69,693	43.4	14,643	26.7	23.0
Male Head - university	9,683	6.6	751	1.4	7.8
Households	-	-	-	-	-
Housing					
Type of dwelling other than					
single, attached or detached	20,887	14.2	5,093	9.3	24.4
Single detached owner occupied					
Value - \$ 7,500 - \$12,500	18,488	12.6	3,545	6.5	19.2
Value - \$12,500+	16,669	11.4	1,199	2.2	7.2
Mortgaged	26,201	17.8	3,918	7.1	15.0
Tenant occupied family households					
Condition - good	21,540	14.7	4,404	8.0	20.5
Holder of mortgage on single detached					
owner occupied family households					
- Government	4,359	3.0	538	1.0	12.3
- Bank, Insurance, Loan, Trust, or					
Mortgage Company	16,652	11.3	1,935	3.5	11.6
- Other	1,085	.7	229	.4	21.1
Place of Birth					
Immigrated, postwar	3,094	2.1	682	1.2	22.0

^aNon-Farm Families.

^bCol. (3) as a percentage of col. (1).

^cExcluding the City of Dartmouth.

Source: Derived from D.B.S., 1961 Census of Canada.

Table 6

INCIDENCE OF LOW INCOME^a ASSOCIATED WITH SELECTED
CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSONS^b NOT IN FAMILIES, NOVA SCOTIA, 1961

Characteristics	All Persons Not In Families		Low Income Group		Incidence of Low Income ^c
	Number (1)	Per Cent (2)	Number (3)	Per Cent (4)	
Total Persons not in Families	59,731	100.0	37,247	100.0	62.4
Sex Structure - Male	26,351	44.1	14,065	37.8	53.4
- Female	33,380	55.9	23,182	62.2	69.4
Age Distribution					
Males					
Under 25	3,968	6.6	1,762	4.7	44.4
25-34	3,215	5.4	1,200	3.2	37.3
35-44	2,836	4.7	1,112	3.0	39.2
45-54	4,124	6.9	1,771	4.8	42.9
55-64	4,156	7.0	2,107	5.7	50.7
65-69	1,992	3.3	1,305	3.5	65.5
70+	6,060	10.1	4,808	12.9	79.3
Females					
Under 25	5,091	8.5	3,135	8.4	61.6
25-34	2,285	3.8	1,087	2.9	47.6
35-44	2,289	3.8	1,236	3.3	54.0
45-54	3,921	6.6	2,238	6.0	57.1
55-64	5,594	9.4	3,753	10.1	67.1
65-69	3,629	6.1	2,873	7.7	79.2
70+	10,571	17.	8,860	23.8	83.8
Major Income Source					
Rural Non-Farm - Employment	9,055	15.2	5,005	13.4	55.3
- Non-Employment	10,697	17.9	9,753	26.2	91.1
Urban - Employment	21,436	35.9	6,868	18.4	32.0
- Non-Employment	13,440	22.5	10,518	28.2	78.3
Geographic Distribution					
Rural Non-Farm	21,729	36.4	16,735	44.9	77.0
Urban	38,002	63.6	20,512	55.1	54.0
Halifax - City Proper	12,552	21.0	4,955	13.3	39.5
- Fringe Areas	4,733	7.9	2,238	6.0	47.2
Counties - Richmond	876	1.5	753	2.0	86.0
- Digby	1,717	2.9	1,405	3.8	81.8
- Victoria	695	1.2	559	1.5	80.4
- Inverness	1,408	2.4	1,123	3.0	79.8
- Shelburne	1,196	2.0	913	2.5	76.3
- Yarmouth	2,014	3.4	1,508	4.0	74.9
- Lunenburg	3,103	5.2	2,320	6.2	74.8
- Guysborough	1,120	1.9	833	2.2	74.4
- Queens	1,176	2.0	855	2.3	72.7
- Pictou	3,784	6.3	2,720	7.3	71.9
- Cumberland	3,376	5.6	2,381	6.4	70.5
- Antigonish	1,100	1.8	764	2.0	69.5
- Hants	1,904	3.2	1,289	3.5	67.7
- Annapolis	1,745	2.9	1,176	3.2	67.4
- Kings	3,008	5.0	2,016	5.4	67.0
- Cape Breton	8,720	14.6	5,734	15.4	65.8
- Colchester	2,931	4.9	1,883	4.1	64.2
- Halifax	19,858	33.2	9,015	24.2	45.4
Towns and Cities					
- New Waterford	655	1.1	461	1.2	70.4
- Glace Bay	1,704	2.8	1,146	3.1	67.4
- Amherst	1,176	2.0	730	2.0	62.1
- Sydney	2,816	4.7	1,588	4.3	56.4
- Truro	1,485	2.5	799	2.1	53.8
- Dartmouth	2,720	4.6	1,234	3.3	45.4
- Halifax	12,552	21.0	4,955	13.3	39.5
Labour Force					
In Current Labour Force	28,428	47.6	10,657	28.6	37.5
In Non-Current Labour Force	2,404	4.0	1,625	4.4	67.6
Not In Labour Force	28,767	48.2	24,859	66.7	86.4
Household					
Persons Maintaining own Household	23,087	38.7	13,968	37.5	60.5
Persons Not Maintaining Own Household - Relative or Head	18,264	30.6	13,288	35.7	72.8
- Other	18,380	30.8	9,991	26.8	54.4

^aIncomes below \$1,500.^bNon-Farm.^cCol. (3) as a percentage of col. (1).Source: Derived from D.B.S., 1961 Census of Canada.

III. RURAL POVERTY¹

41. In Nova Scotia, as in Canada as a whole, many of the poor are rural dwellers. Over the years there have been radical changes in the scale and technology of farming. With the introduction of more capital-intensive techniques, the demand has been for large farms and for farmers with an ever-increasing knowledge and understanding of farming and farm management. As farms consolidate, small holdings are unable to compete, and supplementary sources of income are being eroded. In the logging and fishing industries, part of the erosion has been caused by government policies designed to put these industries on a more rational footing. It is thus most important that the government interrelate its policies through a comprehensive development plan.
42. There has been a continual drift of people and production from the rural to the urban centres. Large numbers of the rural population have migrated to urban areas, but many are still "stranded" in rural areas; indeed, in Nova Scotia there seems to be an inextricable relationship between poverty and land ownership. Many of the province's poor are locked into the countryside, and can be said to form a residual group caught in the process of economic change taking place generally in the primary industries. Labour mobility is important if society is to achieve a high growth rate and if families are to maximize their income, but many individual persons are in a position where they are unable to migrate.

¹ This section is based on a paper by G.A. Connor, Canada Land Inventory Pilot Land-Use Planning Project, Nova Scotia: The Socio-Economic Dimension (Truro, Nova Scotia: Canada Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, (1968) and conversation with the author.

43. Two land ownership inventories completed by the federal Department of Energy Mines and Resources shed considerable light on the relationship among land ownership, poverty, and willingness to relocate. The inventoried areas are (a) in northern Colchester County and northeast Cumberland County, and (b) in the Musquodoboit Valley. Findings of the inventories are presented in Table 7.

44. The land inventories lead to the following conclusions:

- 1) Only a small percentage of the farms studied are in a strong position to compete for present and future agricultural markets. The group of 44 commercial farmers or candidates for expansion in the Cumberland-Colchester area represent only 8.4 per cent of all census farms in the study area. A more limited analysis of farms in other parts of Nova Scotia leads to a similar conclusion.
- 2) A large number of the viable non-farmers are only slightly above the poverty line and represent potential poverty cases. There has been for some time an erosion of employment opportunities in rural areas, resulting from employment decline in the primary industries, and there is a strong probability that the potential poverty cases will become actual.
- 3) A total of 125 pensioners in the Colchester-Cumberland area indicate their willingness to sell all or part of their property. Seventy-eight indicate a willingness to sell their farms, while an additional 47 want to sell only part of their land and retain their houses. In addition, a number of other landholders indicate that they would be willing to sell all or part of their holdings. Eleven,

Table 7

LAND OWNERSHIP INVENTORY OF HOLDINGS OF FIVE OR MORE ACRES, NORTH COLCHESTER--
NORTHEAST CUMBERLAND COUNTIES AND MUSQUODOBOIT VALLEY

	Cumberland-Colchester Households	Per Cent	Musquodoboit Valley Households	Per Cent	Total Households	Per Cent
Commercial Farmers and Candidates for Expansion	44	4.5	20	8.5	64	5.3
Non-Commercial Farmers	101	10.3	41	17.4	142	11.7
Viable Non-Farmers	290	29.6	75	31.8	365	30.0
Pensioners	359	36.7	53	22.5	412	33.9
Poverty Cases	169	17.3	27	11.4	196	16.1
Other	16	1.6	20	8.5	36	3.0
Total Resident Ownership	979	100.0	236	100.0	1,215	100.0

or 6.5 per cent of 169 poverty cases, are low-income families for which an income supplement is essential. Here various restrictions or difficulties appear to make persons ineligible for types of employment such as might be provided through retraining for income maintenance jobs.

4) A large portion, 43.7 per cent, of the poverty cases are persons with low incomes who require full-time employment and who, because of limitations (such as age, or large family size) which would make relocation difficult, do not appear to qualify for retraining programs. Employment for this group could be provided through public works programs (such as construction and maintenance of park or forest conservation projects), or possibly in the private sector.

5) The inventories conducted suggest, in combination with other material, that a large part of the low-income rural poor have very small holdings, less than five acres, and that many of them reside on small holdings on the fringe of built-up centres.

45. Studies like the land inventories described above have the effect of revealing issues leading to better understanding of the economic and social insufficiency that constitutes poverty, and they tend to yield a factual basis for intelligent solution. In view of their usefulness and importance, and in order that policy and programs can be formulated on the basis of fact rather than supposition, studies like these should be undertaken for the entire province.

46. The inventories completed to date make clear that coordination among all agencies should take place at the grassroots and extend to dealings with individual persons. We must not have, for instance, a

situation where an agricultural representative encourages a landholder to embark upon an extended agricultural program while, concurrently, a welfare agent encourages the same man to enter a retraining program that would remove him from agricultural employment.¹ Agency representatives having the best of intentions cannot work effectively unless clearly defined and enunciated policy and goal structures enable them to act in conscious and informed collaboration. There must be a collective vision engaging inputs from all agents of change. The skills and insights of the sociologist are needed to complement those of the economist and other specialists dealing with poverty problems in Nova Scotia.

¹ "There appears to be a widespread lack of co-ordination between welfare and manpower services; good co-ordination is needed here to help family units achieve economic viability." Economic Council of Canada, Sixth Annual Review, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969) p. 119.

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IV. URBAN POVERTY¹

A. HALIFAX CITY

47. The picture of Halifax City, Nova Scotia's principal urban centre, that emerges from the recent Nulife Study reinforces general findings based on the 1961 census. Relative to a middle-income group used for comparison, the low-income group has significantly more female heads of households, more broken homes, a lower level of education, and is composed primarily of bluecollar workers or labourers.
48. Many of the urban poor, over 67 per cent of those surveyed, are employed persons. The low-income group indicates considerably greater instability in work patterns than does the comparison group. Only 57.2 per cent of the low-income group are working full time, compared with 85.4 per cent of the comparison group. It is significant that 38.2 per cent of the low-income group do not know whether they work full or part time. While 54.5 per cent of the comparison group have held only one job since the age of 20 and over 91 per cent have held only four jobs or less, only 16.2 per cent of the low-income group have held one job and 16.4 per cent have held five or more jobs.
49. In general, the heads of low-income families left school early for financial reasons. Over 93 per cent of them held their first permanent job before they were 20 years old, in contrast with 40.4 per cent of the comparison group.

¹This section is based substantially on findings in Halifax, set forth in Nulife Study, 1967, by Paul N. Geisel, under the direction of the Canadian Welfare Council.

50. Not only does the low-income family head have a relatively low level of education, but his father before him had a low level of education. Of those surveyed who know the level of education achieved by the father, in the low-income group 75.0 per cent of the fathers had only an elementary education or less, contrasted with 25.6 per cent with an elementary education or less in the comparison group.
51. The low-income family in Halifax is effectively unable to achieve home ownership.
52. The comparison group in the Halifax survey is 100 per cent white, but the low-income group is 90.9 per cent white, 8.5 per cent Negro, and .6 other.
53. The low-income group hold, in general, an attitude of alienation. They are less sure of their future and that of their children than are the comparison group, and they believe that there are fewer job opportunities. One of the most important observations in the Nulife Study arises from an analysis of questions relating to neighbourhood services and community activities available to low-income families in their own neighbourhoods. Many of the low-income group were unable to answer questions about services and activities. The Study's director observed,

"Who these people are is of vital importance to any community action, planning and/or welfare programmes. It is felt that these people represent the hard core poverty population. They are, in effect, alienated from society. We find that they are not aware of activities, programs and services available to them. They are isolated structurally and psychologically from the community in which they live. It is to these people that future research must be aimed. It is ironic to note that the group which needs and would best benefit from present programmes is the group that is least cognizant of and affected by these programmes."¹

¹Ibid., n.p.

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54. The Nulife Study makes clear that significant hard-core poverty exists within Halifax City, despite the fact that the Halifax economy is the most buoyant in Nova Scotia and that there are over 80 welfare agencies and associated institutions in the Halifax metropolitan area. These facts, and the presence of poverty in all major cities, indicate that a buoyant economy, progressive economic development, and welfare services are by themselves insufficient weapons against poverty.

55. The recent history of Halifax City affords, however, an illustration of desirable social and economic effects of research, study, and action focused on urban development, with particular attention to poverty conditions. The well-known Stephenson Report,¹ a redevelopment study of Halifax City, described the local situation in 1957, with special reference to the structure of the city, population, health, housing, welfare, children and their troubles, police problems, fire fighting problems, buildings and their uses, overcrowded families, unwholesome sanitary conditions, condition of residential buildings, and property values. Research into these areas was used as the basis for a series of urban renewal projects.

56. The Stephenson Report has become a classic document in Canadian urban development. By detailed study of households, blocks, and neighbourhoods, Stephenson showed conclusively the costs of slum

¹Gordon Stephenson, A Redevelopment Study of Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1957, (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Corporation of the City of Halifax, 1957); and Supplementary Volume, prepared under the auspices of the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1957.

The Stephenson Report is discussed in "A Regional City Plans Its Future", by Guy Henson, reprinted from Community Planning Review, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1961.

conditions both to people and in costs of health, welfare, delinquency, fire, and other burdens upon the community. His study led to public awareness and to a phased program of relocation, through public housing and other means, and of downtown redevelopment. The attack on slums and poverty by a concerned group of citizens, which gave rise to the Stephenson Report, has brought about both an environmental improvement for a substantial number of people and urban renewal (in particular, the Scotia Square complex) providing a dynamic influence in the economic life of the city and region. It must be added, however, that the Nulife Study provides evidence of the need for scientific evaluation of the net effects upon the people relocated.

B. ERODED-BASE COMMUNITIES

57. Technological change and physical resource depletion have caused certain communities in Nova Scotia to face a virtually complete withdrawal of economic activity. In the history of the province, locational change in response to technological advance has taken place frequently. (An example of this process is Maitland, Hants County, which was once a substantial shipbuilding and shipping centre.) The problems that arise under these circumstances can best be characterized by the candid statement, "Depressed areas have a slow death."¹ The problems experienced by people making adjustment to change appear to be increasingly complex and, more than ever, are a matter of serious concern.

¹Attributed to Dr. Stanislaw Judek by the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities in a brief submitted to the Special Senate Committee on Manpower and Employment, 1961.

58. Particular attention has been paid to the declining coal mining communities of Cape Breton. The problems faced by such areas have been studied in considerable depth by Harold A. Renouf,¹ and by K. Scott Wood and Harold F. Verge.² The coal mining industry has been underpinned by federal government subventions. Wages paid are reasonably high, and income per capita in the coal mining communities is commensurate with the provincial average. Declining employment opportunities have resulted, however, in exceedingly high rates of outmigration, general population decline, and high levels of unemployment. The structure of outmigration and the high rate of natural increase has left in the communities a high proportion of dependent children. The towns studies were characterized by falling property values, substandard housing, and the lack of the tax base required to provide basic government services. In certain cases, provincial support was necessary to prevent the municipalities becoming bankrupt. In particular, none of the municipalities considered could maintain its educational requirements. If fundamental services such as education and social welfare are tied to local sources of finance, clearly the background to inequality of opportunity and future poverty are present in Nova Scotia's declining municipalities.

¹Harold A. Renouf, The Financial Situation of Certain Depressed Municipalities: Westville, Dominion, New Waterford, Nova Scotia. (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1964)

²K. Scott Wood and Harold F. Verge, A Study of the Problems of Certain Cape Breton Communities (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1966).

V. URBAN FRINGE POVERTY

59. Several years ago, the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, completed a detailed and unpublished study of an urban-fringe community composing part of an incorporated town and the adjacent county municipality. This study provides insight into a type of poverty community that exists on the margins of many urban communities in Nova Scotia.

1. Attitudes of Outsiders

60. The study reports the attitude of outsiders (residents of the town proper) towards the dwellers of Fringeville. The people of Fringeville, who are looked down upon and appear to be alienated from the larger community, are mostly unskilled workers with a high rate of unemployment. They were originally brought into the area to do menial work for residents of the town and, subsequently, were stranded on its fringes. The children are regarded as having a high incidence of school retardation, and, possibly, mental retardation. Families are large, ordinarily with eight to ten members, usually all squatters on the land that they occupy, and live in substandard houses. No one could think of a single person who might be said to give leadership to the community.

61. The outside observers stress the lack of basic education in the children of Fringeville, who appear ill-adjusted to normal school habits. Observers point out that, although a number of bright children enter the lower grades, before they reach the end of elementary school their "brightness" has been replaced by apathy and indifference.

62. When the children move into the labour market, they are handicapped further by the fact that there is no vocational school to give training in skilled trades. (This situation has been remedied by the location of a regional vocational school in a nearby town) but there has been no report of the extent to which people from the town stated, or from Fringeville, are taking advantage of the school.
63. The employment picture of Fringeville adults is one of casual and irregular employment in unskilled trades or, at the very best, in semiskilled trades. Townspeople contend that the men really do not want to work at steady jobs because they prefer to take time off to fish, hunt, and pursue their own particular interests. The fact is that Fringeville men make tremendous efforts to secure employment when it is available. They have, however, limited understanding of their own situation, of the nature of steady work, and of many of the implications of working. They are greatly concerned, as are most of the marginal workers in the area, about acquiring stamps for unemployment insurance and in getting the maximum from available relief facilities.
64. The county urgently needs a coordinated welfare program, for it is evident that there are many relief agencies overlapping closely with one another. The general position of the major welfare agency, the County, is to spend as little as possible; indeed officials boast that they spend less than their budget allows.
65. The attitude of the outside community is that Fringeville people are uneducated, underemployed, inclined to avoid regular work, and are morally deficient. The leaders of the town regard the fringe

community as a whole a "problem area". Some people regard it as a nuisance whose dimensions are growing annually; others see it as an area for action, either social or personal.

2. Fringeville as Seen by the Sociologist

(a) Social Characteristics of the residents

66. The majority of people in Fringeville were born either in Fringeville or its immediate vicinity. In the central part of Fringeville congregate the economically and socially unsuccessful. These include the physically disabled, the mentally handicapped, the illiterate and unskilled, a few aged persons, and several alcoholics. The study discusses, in addition to general social characteristics of Fringeville residents, patterns of social intersection, mutual assistance, and leisure-time activity.
67. Most of the homes are not "broken", and only two of the 27 couples live common law; these facts are in contrast to the impression held by residents of the town proper. The number of children is above average; a family of four or five children is the common pattern.
68. With respect to patterns of social interaction, most of the residents are affiliated in one way or another with a church. Church attendance is very low, and most of the residents attend only for christenings, weddings, and funerals. This is due partly to the fact that there is social discrimination against the residents of Fringeville; at least, the residents feel that there is social discrimination. The principal social activity is visiting friends and relatives. There is much mutual assistance, including the lending of food and clothing and the providing of one another

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with transportation to and from work. There is, however, often a conflict between friendliness and rivalry, particularly in securing assistance from welfare authorities.

69. Leisure-time activities consist largely of watching television, listening to radio, and playing bingo. There are few organized recreational activities for children. Most of the young people go outside the immediate area for their recreation. They do not participate, ordinarily, in the organized sports of the town proper (for example, in the baseball league, or in swimming at the public beach), for these activities are too far away from Fringeville. Children's recreational activities are unorganized, for the most part, and are related to outdoor activities such as skating and coasting in the winter; and berry picking, swimming, and camping in the summer.

(b) Education, employment, income and debt

Education

70. In any study of poverty culture, education is recognized as a fundamental factor. Seventy-four per cent of the adults in Fringeville have had five years of schooling or less and are functionally illiterate. Only five per cent have had more than Grade VIII.
71. A lack of basic education on the part of the parents, plus a lack of interest in their children's education, makes it extremely difficult for Fringeville children to profit from the educational facilities now available to them. Most of the parents would like their children to find jobs better than those that they have themselves and, for this reason, want their children educated. For girls, the preferred occupations are nursing, teaching, and office work; for boys, the

skilled trades. Three parents thought that, could they start again, they might like to enter a profession.

Employment

72. Employment is seasonal for the majority of Fringeville residents, although only three persons were not working at the time of the survey. Most of the employed hold summer jobs only. Only three persons, 11 per cent, have year-round employment. The workers themselves are largely in the unskilled and semi-skilled class.

73. It is interesting to note that, as in other poverty pockets, the occupations of the present adults are essentially the same as those of their fathers. Eighteen fathers were unskilled workers; six were semiskilled workers. There were no skilled workers among the fathers of the present labouring group.

74. A minimum subsistence level is considered normal by the residents of Fringeville. They think that, by acquiring "prestige" consumer goods, such as television sets, they are getting ahead; in fact, they remain in the same relative position.

75. Most workers have to travel over 15 miles to their jobs; seven travel daily more than 36 miles each way. In order to seek and obtain work, many workers move out of the area temporarily, in hard times they return home, and thus perpetuate the local problems. Sixteen of the 26 heads of families, when they are out of work, prefer Canada Manpower as the best means of getting a job. On the other hand, 10 think that it is best to get a job "on your own".

Income

76. The average income of male workers in the community is, from all sources, \$2,465 per annum; of females, \$881 per annum; the average of the two, \$2,253 per annum. This compares with average wage earnings of \$3,021 in Nova Scotia, of approximately \$2,785 in the county where Fringeville is situated. Calculated on a per capita basis, income is \$569 per annum from all sources, including welfare and government transfer payments; this compares with the average for Canada of \$1,983 and, for Nova Scotia, of \$1,483.

Debt

77. The great majority of families are financially in debt. There is a tendency to immediate spending of income earned and of not looking to the future. Families are aware that they can get many free services if they are out of work, and this awareness increases reluctance to accept low-paying steady work.

(c) Housing

78. Although the condition of most houses is not good, 93 per cent of the families own their own homes. The majority of the houses, 59 per cent, have four or five rooms. Virtually all houses are heated with wood stoves, which, in some cases, are supplemented by oil stoves. Few houses have inside toilet facilities, or running water. In general, the residents seem to be satisfied with their housing accommodation and point out that, in any event, it is all that they can afford. Relocation would be of little value to Fringeville residents, unless it were accompanied by steady employment and higher income.

(d) Welfare services and agencies

79.

Of the great variety of welfare agencies serving the residents, those favoured the most are the Victorian Order of Nurses, the Salvation Army, the County Relief Officer, and the Children's Aid Society which also handles work of the Department of Public Welfare. Services provided by the Salvation Army are essentially charitable; for instance, supplying clothing, food, and Christmas boxes. The County Relief Officer is of much practical help in obtaining jobs for the men, procuring food or food tickets, and putting people in touch with other agencies, such as, Canada Manpower. The study, which recommends as urgent that a County Welfare Officer be appointed to administer the total welfare program and to coordinate services, concludes with short-term and long-term recommendations.

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VI. ETHNIC GROUPS

A. INDIANS

80. The Institute of Public Affairs has not prepared studies about the Nova Scotian Indian. There appears to be a lack of available data, and an urgent need for research. The federal government has long had administrative responsibility for Indians in Canada, and the substantial information in its files presumably could be organized for publication and study.
81. Censuses published by the Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, show the Nova Scotia Indian population as 3,746 and 4,099, for 1961 and 1965, respectively. These figures indicate an increase of 9.4 per cent compared to an increase of 13.8 per cent in the Indian population of Canada. In 1965, Nova Scotia had only 2 per cent of the 218,098 total Canadian Indian population.
82. According to the 1961 Census¹, 84.5 per cent of wage-earners on reserves in Nova Scotia had earnings under \$3,000 per annum, compared with 58.4 per cent and 46.2 per cent, respectively, of the total Nova Scotian and Canadian wage-earners.
83. Study of a sample group² of 130 Indian households, using \$3,000 income as the poverty line, indicates that 63.9 per cent are poor. Of the households with less than 50 per cent of total family income from earnings, 73.8 per cent are below

¹DBS, 1961 Census of Canada.

²A. A. MacDonald, Community Resources and Dimension of Alienation on Indian Reserves, (Antigonish, Nova Scotia: Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, May 1967).

the poverty line. Of those households with over 50 per cent of income from earnings, 45.6 per cent are below the \$3,000 level. This low level is attributed to two principal causes: a low level of education, and a shortage of job opportunities.

84.

The MacDonald study points out:

"...employment conditions on the Reserves are not adequate to meet the needs of the people. A very low percentage of the householders reported steady employment or very unstable employment.

"It is significant that employment conditions at the time of the survey (Feb.-Mar., 1967) were at a much lower ebb than they appeared to be in the overall picture for 1966. There are two possible reasons for this:

- a) The Indian people depend on seasonal employment to a high degree.
- b) The winter works program which was in force until 1967, provided employment opportunities for many who would otherwise be unemployed...

"The obvious solution to the problem lies in complete integration with the mainstream of society. However, to attempt this would be both chaotic and impossible for two reasons:

- a) In many cases the Indian is not prepared to leave his Reserve because he lacks the necessary education and training.
- b) The law of human justice and the Indian Act both insure that the Indian cannot be forced off his Reserve.

"The solution then must lie in a program of selective training, whereby those Indians who are capable of taking their place in society may be retrained and encouraged to accept the better life available to them.

[Of the householders under 45 years of age, 75.3 per cent would accept jobs away from the Reserve. Comparable figures for householders 45-55 and 55+ were 64 per cent and 37.5 per cent respectively. In total 64 per cent indicated that they would accept jobs away from the Reserve.] For those older people whose opportunities are fewer, and for those who do not wish to leave the Reserve, some sort of employment program should be started on the Reserve, so that they too can maintain an adequate standard of living.

All of the school children should be encouraged to continue their education insofar as they are able, and should be made aware of the opportunities available

to them both in trades training, higher education and eventual positions in society."¹

85. The study indicates, also, that "Indian parents place a high value (at least theoretically) on education, even although their children are not achieving it. Consequently, the causes of underachievement must be sought in the social circumstances of the family and Reserve life. One such possible inhibiting circumstance is the advanced age of the parents who have dependent school children. For instance, 29 per cent of the children who are at the grade 1-6 level are dependent on parents who are 55 years of age or over."² It is most important that high priority should be given, in any studies undertaken, to identifying and elucidating reasons for the noted underachievement. Do Indian students themselves lack motivation? Do home conditions prevent proper study? Are they forced to leave school for financial reasons? Do the schools dull their incentives? These are just a few of the questions to which answers should be sought.

¹Ibid., pp. 31-33.

²Ibid., pp. 18a-18b.

Poverty

1 : 99

Table 8
EARNINGS OF WAGE EARNERS, INDIANS ON RESERVES IN NOVA
SCOTIA COMPARED WITH NOVA SCOTIA AND CANADA, 1961

	Indians on Reserves		Nova Scotia		Canada	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
\$ 0 - 999	140	60.0	36,987	18.4	718,268	13.6
\$1,000 - 1,999	38	16.3	38,419	19.2	768,350	14.5
\$2,000 - 2,999	19	8.2	41,787	20.8	954,201	18.1
\$3,000 - 3,999	10	4.3	36,041	18.0	1,034,909	19.6
\$4,000 - 5,999	9	3.9	32,130	16.0	1,155,763	21.9
\$6,000+	6	2.6	10,746	5.4	469,655	8.8
Not Stated	11	4.7	4,430	2.2	184,036	3.5
Total	233	100.0	200,540	100.0	5,281,182	100.0

Source: D.B.S., 1961 Census of Canada.

Table 9
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME, INDIANS ON RESERVES^a,
NOVA SCOTIA, 1967

Household Income	Number of Households	Percentage of Total
-\$1,000	9	6.9%
\$1,000 - 1,999	43	33.1
\$2,000 - 2,999	31	23.9
\$3,000 - 3,999	29	22.3
\$4,000+	18	13.8
Total	130	100.0

^aComplete survey of Sydney, Afton, and Pictou; 30% sample of Eskasoni.

Source: Based on A. A. MacDonald, Community Resources and Dimensions of Alienation on Indian Reserves, (Antigonish, Nova Scotia: St. Francis Xavier University, Extension Department, 1967).

Table 10
EARNED INCOME AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME,
INDIANS ON RESERVES, NOVA SCOTIA, 1967

Household Income	Percentage of Earned Income			
	0 - 49%		50 - 100%	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
-\$1,000	7	8.3	2	4.3
\$1,000 - 1,999	35	41.7	8	17.4
\$2,000 - 2,999	20	23.8	11	23.9
\$3,000 - 3,999	17	20.2	12	26.1
\$4,000+	5	6.0	13	28.3
Total	84	100.0	46	100.0

Source: Based on A. A. MacDonald, Community Resources and Dimensions of Alienation on Indian Reserves, (Antigonish, Nova Scotia: St. Francis Xavier University, Extension Department, 1967).

B. BLACKS¹1. Introduction

86. An adequate explanation of poverty must usually be rooted in an analysis of social structural conditions of the larger society beyond the immediate control of the poor. This is especially true when discussing poverty among Nova Scotian Blacks on the threshold of the 1970's in one of the wealthiest societies mankind has seen.² Such an analysis presupposes the collating of a welter of descriptive materials establishing the socio-economic patterns that define and circumscribe poverty relative to the level of societal development.³ Historical trends and patterns have to be isolated and interpreted if we are to understand current socio-economic conditions and suggest effective anti-poverty strategies. On both counts, descriptive materials and historical trends, insufficient work has been done. On less than five fingers one can count the number of adequate descriptive studies dealing with any part of the Nova Scotia Black population. Only in recent years have scholars interested themselves in the historical settlement of Blacks in the Maritime Provinces.⁴ Yet it is relatively easy to

¹This section of the present brief is part of a larger forthcoming publication by Donald Clairmont and Dennis Magill, Africville: The Life and Death of a Black Community.

²Nova Scotia is itself economically disadvantaged, of course, vis-à-vis the broader Canadian society.

³Poverty has always to be considered within specific socio-economic contexts.

⁴There are a number of important exceptions, most significantly the work of C. B. Fergusson, A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia, Publication No. 8. (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1948).

assemble a bibliography of one hundred relevant articles or books. Most of these are worthless, but their existence reflects a superficial "on-again, off-again" interest in the plight of the Black man, as well as the dearth of locally nurtured Black intellectuals. (The "plight" and the "dearth" are intimately intertwined, of course, since the Black man has been kept down educationally.)¹ The tenor of the available literature has a "teeter-totter" rhythm, dealing now with scandalous socio-economic conditions, then with some isolated achievement or concern. This pattern has two important implications: first, very little is actually known about the Black man in Nova Scotia and, secondly, Black people feel they have been "studied" or researched far too much without effective attention being given to their legitimate complaints about neglect and oppression. These implications combine to hinder the solid grounding, in theory and fact, of anti-poverty strategies.

87. There are inadequacies in the following, for much basic information which should be gathered and collated is unavailable. The general picture, past and present, is clear enough: Black people in Nova Scotia are poorer than the average white Nova Scotian and, over the past hundred years, the white Nova Scotian has been poorer than the average Canadian.² It is appropriate

¹ The educational deprivation of Black people in Nova Scotia will be documented at several points throughout this brief.

² The socio-economic status of Black people throughout Canada requires complex interpretation. It appears that Blacks are well represented (in comparison with other ethnic groups) in the professional occupation category and in the middle-class status category. This pattern reveals not a good opportunity-structure for Blacks in Canada but, rather, the nature of Canada's immigration policy. West Indian Blacks and American-born Blacks, recruited as professional workers, account for these statistics. Canada has not opened its doors much to the poor Blacks from other countries nor have the native-born Blacks been given an equal opportunity with white Canadians.

in this brief to give particular attention to the Blacks, for throughout their settlement in Nova Scotia they have had to carry a special burden, the burden of the White man's prejudice, discrimination, and oppression; indeed, their poverty is rooted in the structural and historical conditions of Nova Scotian society. Structural conditions existed in Nova Scotia which forced Blacks, from their first settlement, to the bottom level of the social hierarchy. Some of these conditions may be summarized under origins and education.

2. Origins

88. It is impossible to understand the contemporary socio-economic conditions of Black Nova Scotians without realizing that Nova Scotia was at one time a "slave society" and without understanding the conditions of immigration and settlement of Free Blacks in Nova Scotia. One must appreciate, also, the educational deprivation which until recently has been characteristic of Black communities. These factors and their socio-psychological implications have combined to keep the Blacks in poverty, and to make it exceptionally difficult for them to acquire an equal share of society's wealth.

89. Given the lack of agricultural potential in the uneven and rocky terrain of Nova Scotia, slavery failed to develop on a plantation scale. As early as 1750, however, shortly after the founding of Halifax, slavery was practised by the wealthy and, over the next five decades, it was not a rarity in other parts of the province.¹ James Walker estimates that there were about 500 slaves in Nova Scotia at the outbreak

¹T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada", in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. X. (Halifax; Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1899.)

of the American Revolution, while slaveholding Loyalist immigrants raised that number to as many as 1,500.¹ As Walker points out, there can be no slavery without a slave society; i.e., a society in which values are such that slavery is at least tolerated. Although popular opinion and the benevolence of the courts were directly responsible for the weeding out of this practice at a relatively early date in Nova Scotia (after 1800, it rapidly became more and more difficult to retain slaves), the system did survive for over half a century. The major undermining factor was not so much a spontaneous public outcry against slavery; rather, it was the obsolescence of slave labour following the immigration of many hundreds of free Loyalist Blacks, whose services could be had for little more than it had cost to house and feed the earlier bondsman. The groundwork for the subordination of the Blacks as a people in Nova Scotia was laid by the early existence of a slave society. Insidious socio-psychological concomitants of this institutionalized oppression have included attitudes of White superiority which remain deeply rooted today² and a form of self-hatred and race-hatred among the Blacks themselves. The latter has been evidenced in

¹James Walker, private interview, August 2, 1969. Walker is a doctoral candidate at Dalhousie University, specializing in Black history. Smith cites a survey made of the Loyalists in 1883-84 which counted 1,232 "servants", and was not a complete count; op.cit., p. 32.

²See, for example, Jenne M. Tarlo, Racial Antipathy in An Urban Environment, unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, Department of Sociology, 1969. See, also, the "White superiority" remarks in the works of early historians such as Beckles Willson, Nova Scotia: A Province That Has Been Passed By, (London: Constable & Co., 1911); and Mrs. William Lawson, History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston, and Lawrencetown, Halifax County, Nova Scotia. (Halifax: Morton and Company, 1893). Willson, for example, declares of the Afro-Haligonians of his day, that: "On the whole they form a dirty, good-humored, retrograde feature of the population".

the usual patterns of hair-straightening and colour distinctions within the Black community.¹ There are clear indications of change in the attitudes of Blacks, but a recent study of relocation reports that some Blacks argue that their area is not a slum because "Whites live there too".²

90. Only about ten per cent of the Loyalists who fled north during the American Revolution were Black. Of these, a large minority remained as slaves. Free Blacks were promised equal treatment with their White peers, but the hundred-acre land grants which this promise would have provided, were never received by Black Loyalists. They found themselves settled, instead, on small and barren lots on the periphery of White Loyalist townships or in the remoter sections of the province. An example of this pattern is the settlement of the Blacks in Guysborough County. As Professor Rawlyk has observed, "it was virtually impossible for any man to eke out an existence on from ten to forty acres of perhaps the worst land in Nova Scotia."³ Refugee Blacks appear to have received a better official reception and more food, medicine, and clothing than their Loyalist predecessors, although the land that they received was similarly rocky and barren.⁴

¹See, for example, Donald Clairmont, in collaboration with K. Scott Wood, George Rawlick and Guy Henson, A Socio-Economic Study and Recommendations: Sunnyville, Lincolnville, and Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia. (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965).

²Clairmont and Magill, op. cit.

³Clairmont, et al., op. cit. Many contemporary observers (circa 1800) thought that the Guysborough Blacks are among the most well-off Blacks in Nova Scotia.

⁴Pearleen Oliver, A Brief History of the Colored Baptists in Nova Scotia (In commemoration of the Centennial Celebrations of the African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, Inc.) (Halifax: 1953).

91.

To the above noted conditions of the immigration and settlement of the Blacks in Nova Scotia were added prejudice and discrimination which kept the bulk of the Black population at marginal subsistence level. Periods of economic depression in Nova Scotia, whether after the War of 1812 or in 1929, wreaked particular havoc among these vulnerable Black communities.¹ Captain W. Moorsom, a British traveller, observed in 1830:

"Scarcely does a winter pass without the distressed situation of the negroes coming under the consideration and relief of the Legislature. Their potatoe crop fails; their soil is said to be incapable of supporting them; and disease makes fearful ravages. . . the negro settlements continue with numbers gradually diminishing. in summer miserable, and in winter starving. Their origin, their story and their condition, thus contribute to shed an almost romantic halo around them; and the first question put to anyone who has returned from their neighborhood is sure to be - 'How are the poor Blacks?'"²

A contemporary traveller could (allowing for changes in the level of well-being considered as basic poverty, i.e., starvation presumably no longer exists) today make similar statements, especially with respect to the rural non-farm Black communities.³

¹Ibid, p. 45. See also reports of the Earl of Dalhousie and other colonial administrators between 1815 and 1840 concerning starvation in the Black community.

²Captain W. Moorsom, Letters from Nova Scotia, (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), pp. 127-8.

³See A. Westell's account ("Shocking Poverty In Nova Scotia," Detroit Free Press, June 1969) of a visit by Minister of National Health and Welfare John Munro to one of the Black communities in Nova Scotia in June 1969.

3. Education

92. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, Blacks were in worse condition educationally than the rest of the Nova Scotian population, but there was not a qualitative difference between Black and poor-White communities. People could not afford schools, and those who did make the attempt were usually able to maintain only poorly trained and underpaid teachers. The government provided but partially effective measures to assist communities in this respect, holding back from a system of free public schools until the Tupper educational reforms of 1864 and 1865. Special grants were made frequently upon petition, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel established numerous schools for both Whites and Blacks.¹

93. Many "African Schools" were established at an early date, throughout the province. For instance, in 1790, it was reported that "the Negro school at Tracadie goes on well, the master (Black) teaches 23 black children."² Schooling was segregated, sporadic and irregular, and the substantive content dealt more with "souls" than with the provision of skills which might lead to socio-economic betterment. The de facto segregation maintained by this system was obviously, in these early times, a consequence of the prior fact of geographical segregation. Prejudice and discrimination

¹W. McFatrige, compiler, "A Documentary Study of Early Educational Policy", Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, (P.A.N.S.) Vol. 1, No. 1 Halifax 1937. Also, C. B. Fergusson, "The Inauguration of the Free School System in Nova Scotia, P.A.N.S. Bulletin No. 21, Halifax 1964. For petitions of residents of Hammonds Plains and Preston for aid in founding schools, see P.A.N.S. Manuscript Vol 422, Documents 22 and 33.

²Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for 1790, (London: F. Brooke, 1790), p. 44.

were additional factors operating in a complex causal fashion such that geographical segregation was maintained. A clear example of this pattern is found with respect to educational policy in the City of Halifax, where residential segregation would have been much less a factor; the following quotation from the Debates of the Legislative Assembly for 1881 point to the existence of legally sanctioned discrimination:

"A petition of George Davis and others, was presented by Mr. Harrington, and read, setting forth that they are colored citizens and rate-payers of the City of Halifax, that by a minute of the Council of Public Instruction, passed in December, 1876, all colored children were from thenceforth excluded from the Common Schools, and separate schools were established for their use, which are of an inferior grade, and in which they do not receive equal advantages with children attending the Common Schools; for which and other reasons, as detailed in the petition, they pray that such minutes of Council be repealed.-- Referred to the Committee on Education."¹

94.

In 1884, two petitions such as this evoked a round of fierce debate in the Legislative Assembly, which reached the plane of political partisanship. William S. Fielding, who championed the cause of segregation, "recited virtually every argument known to man then and since against mixing the races." Fielding's argument won the vote, but an amendment was passed declaring that

"coloured pupils could not be excluded from instruction in the section or ward in which they lived. The government could continue to establish separate schools for both sexes and for colours, although if no Negro school existed, admission to the public school was to be guaranteed."²

¹Robin M. Winks, manuscript "History of the Negro in Canada," Yale University, Chapter 3, p. 36.

²These debates are quoted in Robin M. Winks, "Negro School Segregation in Ontario and Nova Scotia," Dalhousie Review, Vol. L, No. 2, June 1969, pp.183-186.

In 1918, the Education Act was revised to allow

"that the Council of Public Instruction could 'receive the recommendation of any inspector for separate apartments or buildings in any section for the different sexes or different races of pupils, . . . subject to the provision that coloured pupils shall not be excluded from instruction in the public school in the section in which they reside'."¹

This was law in Nova Scotia until 1954.

95.

*During the latter half of the nineteenth century and continuing up to the post World War II era, the educational opportunities of the Black man remained inadequate and inferior. It was during this period that real qualitative differences developed with respect to education of the Whites and Blacks. Negro teachers in the dilapidated segregated schools were rarely properly qualified or paid,² attendance was irregular, and the schools themselves often were open on an intermittent basis. In recent years, there have been substantial improvements: segregated schooling has been almost eliminated, the standard of teaching has improved, governmental agencies are more sympathetic, and a new and progressive militancy has developed among the Blacks in Nova Scotia. The educational background of most Blacks who are out-of-school and in the labour market is such, however, that they find themselves deprived of economic opportunities. Discrimination and prejudice add further to their disadvantage.³ Moreover, while the Black community recognizes the value and importance of education, the socio-psychological

¹ Ibid

² Debates of the Legislative Assembly for 1881, p. 16.

³ See, for example, J. R. Oliver, "Final Report on the Problem of Unemployment for the Negro," submitted to Negro Employment Intermin Committee, 1969.

consequences of their historical oppression obstruct current educational achievement.¹ Factors other than disadvantage in access to educational facilities are usually responsible for a low educational level in a population. Such additional factors are rooted in this instance in current poverty; the vicious circle of poverty and low education itself can be seen as a function of historical oppression. The recent development in educational opportunities for Nova Scotian Blacks may alter the situation, but change will be slow. To quote Winks:²

" . . . the present Negro generation in Nova Scotia could not be liberated in any case. The cycle of poverty, ignorance, and unemployment had lasted far too long for anyone but the most idealistic to expect the Nova Scotia Negro to assimilate to Nova Scotian society quickly or easily, or for the Nova Scotian white, however much he might be prepared to concede the Negroes' inherent equality, to think of them as equal in fact as well as in potential. For Negroes were not yet equal in fact and were unlikely to be until the slow curative powers of equal education had made their impact. It was not this generation that had been liberated but the next."

4. Ecological Distribution

Nova Scotia's Black population is dispersed throughout the province, the single point of concentration being the Halifax-Dartmouth area where, within a radius of 20 miles, reside approximately 50 per cent of the total provincial Black population. Our preliminary observations, buttressed by the few data available,³ indicate that differential patterns of socio-economic well-being (and life-styles generally) are not

¹For a detailed description and analysis of these socio-psychological consequences among the Guysborough Blacks see Clairmont, et al., op.cit., Ch. 4.

²Winks, op. cit., Dalhousie Review, p. 191.

³See, for example, G. Brand, Survey of Negro Population of Halifax County: A Report to the Inter-departmental Committee on Human Rights, Province of Nova Scotia, 1964.

coterminous with the Halifax-Dartmouth area/rest-of-the-province division. Some Black communities within the 20-mile radius of Halifax are much more similar, in socio-economic conditions, to the settlements in Guysborough County than they are to the urban neighbourhoods. Also, Blacks in Sydney have a life-style much more like that of Halifax-Dartmouth Blacks than have Blacks elsewhere in Halifax County. A useful typology to delineate patterns of poverty and life-style is the Dominion Bureau of Statistics categorization of urban, urban fringe, rural, and rural fringe. We follow broadly such a categorization in this section, by presenting relevant data for rural non-farm Blacks (rural), a Black urban fringe community, and Halifax City Blacks. We do not possess, nor is there available, adequate data for precise comparisons.

97. According to official census data, the Black population of Nova Scotia increased from 6,212 in 1971 to 11,900 in 1961, an increase of 91 per-cent.¹

Table 11 was calculated to see whether

¹Census data must be interpreted cautiously. For one thing, the figures for total Black population in Nova Scotia have always under-represented the Black population. Most knowledgeable authorities put the 1961 census figures as being about 2,000 under the correct count. Moreover, there are often non-random errors in census data on the Blacks, errors which render comparative analysis dangerous; for example, the 1921 census makes no reference to Blacks in Guysborough Town but all other census counts, before and after this date, indicate that at least 200 Blacks were there. Moreover, the precise wording of the census' ethnicity has varied over the years. Census division officials acknowledge (private correspondence) that 1951 data on Blacks was particularly subject to under-representation because of the way in which the instructions to enumerators were worded. See, also, Daniel G. Hill, Junior, "Negroes in Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group," unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, 1960, pp. 48-52. Hill discusses additional problems with census data including the classification of West Indians (recorded as English in the 1951 census) and the classification of children of mixed marriages.

Table 11
 PERCENTAGE OF BLACK POPULATION IN HALIFAX-DARTMOUTH, CAPE BRETON COUNTY,
 AND "OTHER" NOVA SCOTIA, AT TEN YEAR INTERVALS, 1871-1961^a

Area	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Halifax-Dartmouth	17%	16%	*	15%	15%	17%	**	13%	*	19%
Cape Breton County	0.8	0.3	*	0.3	5	5	11	10	*	8
"Other Nova Scotia"	82	83	*	84	80	78	80	77	*	73
Base	(6,212)	(7,062)	(*)	(5,984)	(6,541)	(6,175)	(7,524)	(8,817)	(*)	(11,900)

*Census data are not available for 1891 and 1951.

**Census data on the number of Blacks residing in Dartmouth are not available for 1931.

^aDue to rounding, the percentages by year may not total 100%.

Source: D.B.S., Census of Canada.

the population increase had been accompanied by a change in residency patterns over a 90-year time span (1871-1961). The Table shows the percentage of Black population in three geographical areas: Halifax-Dartmouth, Cape Breton County and "other" Nova Scotia. This particular classification is not the same as the ideal discussed above, but it represents another and alternative categorization differentiating between the commercial-industrial complexes of Halifax-Dartmouth and Sydney, and the rest of Nova Scotia.¹ The Halifax-Dartmouth percentages were calculated because this area has historically represented the major Nova Scotian business, commercial, and industrial complex.² The other similar area is the mining-steel complex of Sydney, North Sydney, Sydney Mines, New Waterford, and Glace Bay, concentrated in less than a 50-mile radius.³ The "other" Nova Scotia is a residual category; it was used because census data for the 90-year time span does not permit more precise classification. Included in this category are Blacks living in three distinct ecological groupings:

¹For the value of such a distinction see, also, Pierre Yves Pepin, Life and Poverty in the Maritimes, ARDA Project No. 15002, March 1968, p. 6.

²In Halifax and Dartmouth the vast majority of Black residents are concentrated in a small number of city blocks. In Halifax, the concentration is on Maynard and Creighton Streets; in Dartmouth, at the extreme end of Crichton Avenue, between the city incinerator and the causeway. See W. P. Oliver, Brief Summary of Nova Scotia Negro Communities, mimeographed paper, March 1964.

³Census data by ethnic group from 1871 to 1961 are not available for these five communities; thus, the percentages in Table 11 are for Cape Breton County. As few Blacks in Cape Breton County live outside a 50-mile radius of these communities, the percentages for the County are a close approximation of the Black population in the steel-coal complex.

- 1) Urban Fringe Communities These seven Black communities are within a 20-mile radius of the Halifax-Dartmouth urban complex: Beechville, 300; Cherrybrook, 700; Preston North, 1,800; Preston East, 1,200; Cobequid Road, 110; Lucasville Road, 200; and Hammonds Plains, 500. Approximately another 130 Blacks lived either in Middle Sackville or along the old Guysborough Road.
- 2) Concentrated Black Population of Over 50 in White Communities¹ Following the typical population concentration of Blacks throughout most of Nova Scotia, the 2,576 Black residents in these 11 communities live in close proximity to one another.
- a) Amherst (Population in 1961: 10,788)
Approximately 300 Blacks are concentrated in the "Sand Hill" section of town.
 - b) Antigonish (Population in 1961: 4,344)
The 80 Black residents are settled on the fringe of the town.
 - c) Bridgetown (Population in 1961: 1,043)
The majority of the 140 Black residents are located outside the town on the Inglewood Road. Others are located in the areas known as "the pasture" and "the tracks".
 - d) Digby (Population in 1961: 2,308)
The 265 Blacks live in a community known as Acadiaville, off the highway at the entrance to the town of Digby.

¹Most of the following population figures were obtained from W. P. Oliver, op. cit. These figures are in essential agreement with those given by G. Brand, op. cit., the only exception being Amherst, where Oliver's count seems excessively high. In this instance we took Brand's count as being the more accurate.

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- e) Liverpool (Population in 1961: 3,712)
This community has 71 Black residents.
- f) Middleton (Population in 1961: 1,921)
The 90 Black residents are located in the community on what is called the "bog".
- g) New Glasgow (Population in 1961: 9,782)
The 650 Blacks live in areas known as "the Hill", "the Mountain", and "Parkdale".
- h) Shelburne (Population in 1961: 2,408)
The 166 Blacks are concentrated in the southern end of town in the Bell's Cove area.
- i) Springhill (Population in 1961: 5,836)
The 124 Blacks live principally on three streets.
- j) Truro (Population in 1961: 12,421)
The 500 Black inhabitants are concentrated in what is known as "the Island" and "the Marsh".
- k) Yarmouth (Population in 1961: 8,636)
The 190 Blacks are a "fringe" community concentrated mostly on back streets.
- 3) Rural inhabitants The 1961 census¹ reports that 5,316 or 45 per cent of Nova Scotia's Black residents live in a rural environment. Of these rural Blacks 8 per cent (382) are farm residents and 92 per cent (4,934) are rural non-farm residents. For the entire province of Nova Scotia, the rural non-farm inhabitants have the lowest total family incomes. For the province, in 1961

¹ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1961; Vol. I, Part 2, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), Table 36.

the percentage distributions of total incomes for rural non-farm families were: 52 per cent under \$2,999; 31 per cent \$3,000 to \$4,999; and 17 per cent over \$5,000.¹ Given this finding, it is possible to estimate that in 1961 the 42 per cent of the 11,900 Blacks (reported by D.B.S.) who were rural non-farm residents lived in "poverty pockets" hardly above the substance level. This generalization is supported by the following case study of three Black rural non-farm communities where virtually 100 per cent of the families had total annual incomes under \$3,000.

98. Census publications unfortunately do not supply the data enabling percentage calculations by the above three ecological groupings. The "Other Nova Scotia" category in Table 11 does not show, therefore, whether the Black population has increased or declined in rural areas or in communities with a small concentration of Black residents. The table does indicate that the percentage in "Other Nova Scotia" has declined over the ninety-year span, and probably underestimates the degree of this proportionate decline. Table 11 also indicates that, from 1871 to 1961, there has never been more than 20 per cent of Nova Scotia's Black population living in Halifax-Dartmouth. Our observations and other sources of data (i.e., interviews and isolated studies) suggest that in 1969 the percentage in Halifax-Dartmouth may actually be 25 per cent, the increase from

¹K. Scott Wood, Profile of Poverty in Nova Scotia, (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University 1967).

1961 being due to an acceleration of migration out of "Other Nova Scotia"¹ and to a more accurate estimate of the number of Blacks in the metropolitan area. In view of expected rural-urban migration, there has been over the past century, a steady movement of Blacks from "Other Nova Scotia" to Halifax-Dartmouth. The percentage of Blacks in the latter area did not alter noticeably because of: (a) the steady stream of migration of Blacks from Halifax-Dartmouth to the United States and Upper Canada; and (b) the migration of Blacks in "Other Nova Scotia" to the United States and Upper Canada as well as to Halifax-Dartmouth. (Not all of the predictable migration from rural to urban areas has been to the Halifax-Dartmouth area.) Table 12 indicates that in Cape Breton County the population increase started in 1911 and that, from 1921 to 1931, the number of Blacks jumped from 295 to 788. This increase was due to the immigration of Blacks of West Indian origin. On the whole, Table 11 makes clear that now and historically most Nova Scotian Blacks have lived outside the major centres of commerce and industry in Nova Scotia.

99.

We have observed that it would be desirable to discuss socio-economic conditions and life-styles among the Blacks according to ecological pattern. Ideally, such an analysis presupposes data collected at the same point in time of Blacks in urban, urban fringe, and rural non-farm settings. (The number of Blacks classified as farm is quite small, as noted above.) These kinds of data are not yet available, but we do have data about Halifax mid-city Blacks, Blacks in an urban-fringe community, and Blacks in the rural

¹See, for example, Brand, op. cit., page 12; Clairmont, op. cit., Chapter 5.

Table 12

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MID-CITY BLACKS, THE URBAN FRINGE
COMMUNITY, AND THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

Age	Halifax Mid-City	Urban Fringe	Rural Non-Farm
0 - 14	45%	52%	58%
15 - 34	28	22	20
35 - 64	22	22	17
65+	3	4	---
Total	100% (1,227)	100% (328)	100% (618)

Sources: Halifax Mid-City, data collected for the Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965; Urban Fringe, data collected for a survey completed by the Nova Scotia Department of Welfare, 1967; Rural Non-Farm, D. J. Carmichael et al., A Socio-Economic Study and Recommendations for the Development of the Rural Non-Farm Communities of Nova Scotia, Government of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965.

Table 13

HOUSEHOLD SIZE AMONG HALIFAX MID-CITY BLACKS, THE URBAN
FRINGE COMMUNITY, AND THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

Size	Halifax Mid-City	Urban Fringe	Rural Non-Farm
1 Person	9%	8%	11%
2 or 3	27	26	17
4 or 5	23	23	12
6 to 9	34	34	38
10 or more	7	9	22
Total	100% (226)	100% (62)	100% (90)

Sources: As listed in Table 12.

non-farm setting of Guysborough County. These data, although they were not collected at the same point in time,¹ are fairly representative of the different ecological types and can be interpreted cautiously to yield pertinent comparisons. Tables 12 to 17 summarize the comparisons.

100. Table 12 indicates the age distribution of Blacks in three different ecological settings. What is most noticeable is the very large proportion of children and older persons in the rural non-farm area; only 37 per cent of the population is between the ages of 15 and 64. Among Halifax mid-city Blacks the comparative figure is 52 per cent and, for Halifax as a whole,² the corresponding figure is about 66 per cent. Such comparisons show the larger dependency ratio among Blacks in rural non-farm and urban-fringe areas. From the point of view of anti-poverty strategies, the implication is that different strategies may be appropriate to the different ecological areas. Jobs, education and an end to racism may not be enough to overcome poverty in rural non-farm areas. Moreover the larger dependency ratio in rural non-farm and urban fringe communities means that there is a greater strain on familial and community resources and, consequently, indicates the necessity of governmental assistance.

¹The Halifax mid-city data were collected in 1959-60, under the auspices of the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. Data on the urban fringe community and the rural non-farm area were gathered, respectively, in 1967 and 1964-5. Observations in the field indicate that the patterns discovered in the latter two sets of data accurately depict present conditions. The Halifax mid-city data are ten years old; we think that this gives our comparative analysis a conservative bias, in that differences between mid-city and other ecological types are not as pronounced in our data as they are in fact.

²The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia, (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1962) p. 5. For purpose of this brief, the tables of Halifax mid-city Blacks were calculated from the raw data collected in 1959-60.

101.

Table 13 indicates that households tend to be much larger among rural non-farm Blacks than among either Halifax mid-city or urban fringe Blacks. (The latter two have about the same household-size distribution. Here is an instance where the time differential of data is probably blurring a difference; our surmise would be that large households among mid-city Blacks are proportionately less now than in 1959-60.) For the city of Halifax as a whole, household size of from two to five persons is much more common than among mid-city Blacks¹ and, correspondingly, the percentage of households with more than six persons is much less. The larger household size found among Blacks reflects both a higher birth rate and a pronounced tendency for Black households to include, more often, "other" relatives and boarders. Table 14 shows that both these patterns are more likely to be found among rural non-farm Blacks. It reflects a life-style adapted to both poverty and racism.² Large family size is particularly characteristic of urban fringe and rural non-farm Black communities which adds further disadvantages to their condition of poverty. We have to interpret cautiously the data on average family size among mid-city Blacks; our judgment is that the average family size would be smaller now than it was in 1959-60. It should be observed that, while urban fringe and especially rural non-farm Black communities are more likely to have extended family

¹The data for Halifax mid-city Blacks are probably representative (apart from the problem of outmoded data) of Halifax Blacks as a whole. More middle class and well-to-do Blacks live outside the mid-city area, but they were counterbalanced by the Africville Blacks, who were poorer than the mid-city Blacks.

²In Guysborough County, many Black households have "welfare children" who have come from outside the county.

Table 14
GENERAL FAMILY DATA FOR HALIFAX MID-CITY BLACKS, THE URBAN FRINGE
COMMUNITY, AND THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

	Halifax Mid-City	Urban Fringe	Rural Non-Farm
Total Population Counted	1,227	328	618
Number of Families	248	61	90
Average (mean) Family Size	4.9	5.1	6.6
Number of Families with Female Head	69	7	11
Percentage of Families with Female Head	28%	11%	12%
Percentage in Population with Relation to Family Head of:			
Child	52%	87%	67%
Other Relative	6%	7%	16%
Boarder	6%	6%	17%

Sources: As listed in Table 12.

structures, they also tend to have more stable families and fewer families with female heads.

102.

There are several anti-poverty implications of Black family structure and size. One might argue that birth control information should be made available, but it has been observed repeatedly that large families tend to be less common among people with higher socio-economic status and when there are adequate opportunities for socio-economic betterment. Moreover, to argue for birth control carries the implication that people are themselves responsible for their poverty, and that their poverty is due to a personal failing such as ignorance or imprudence. In view of the historical oppression of the Black people in Nova Scotia and the racist character of traditional Nova Scotian society, such an argument is at best naive. Of course, birth control and family planning services should be available and more effectively communicated. More important, however, there should be societal change; that is, change in the distribution of resources, in the structuring of opportunities and in the type of attitudes and behaviour which is tolerated if not legally sanctioned. When changes such as these are carried out, we can expect reductions in family size and in overcrowding due to the incorporation of boarders and other relatives into the household. When discrimination ends and people have financial resources, housing will be available more readily and family planning much easier. It can be deduced from the above discussion of family and household that anti-poverty approaches will differ somewhat by ecological type. In the city, where families tend to be less stable and where there are more female-head households, there will be a need for

day-care centres and special tax privileges for the single-parent family.

103. Table 15 presents data on male and female annual income among Blacks in the three ecological settings. The table indicates that only some two per cent of the Blacks in the rural non-farm communities who are in the labour force earn more than \$3,000 annually. The extraordinary economic marginality of this population is indicated by the fact that almost 80 per cent earned less than \$1,000 in 1964. Over the past four years there have been some economic improvements in the area, but the situation has not radically changed and it is apparent that radical change is necessary. The urban fringe data, collected in 1967, indicate that some 55 per cent of those answering the appropriate question earned less than \$3,000 annually. Since we did not ourselves conduct the survey of this urban fringe community, we do not know how to interpret the large percentage of no responses. We do know, however, that several of the females not responding worked intermittently as domestics and that some of the men not responding were unemployed; consequently, it does not appear that the distribution of reported income exaggerates the poverty in the community. The Halifax mid-city income data are untrustworthy on two counts: they are a decade old; there is a large percentage non-response. We believe that adequate up-to-date data would show that mid-city Blacks are better off than Blacks in urban fringe communities but that about 50 per cent earn less than \$3,000 annually, and that mid-city Blacks are much poorer than the average Haligonian. Almost twenty years

Table 15
 APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF ANNUAL INCOME AMONG MALE AND FEMALE HALIFAX MID-CITY
 BLACKS, THE URBAN FRINGE COMMUNITY, AND THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

Income	Halifax Mid-City		Urban Fringe		Rural Non-Farm	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under \$1,000	19%	58%	6%	33%	76%	86%
\$1,000 - \$1,999	29	33	3	0	17	7
\$2,000 - \$2,999	37	8	40	67	4	0
\$3,000 - \$3,999	13	1	37	0	2	7
\$4,000+	2	0	14	0	1	0
Total Responding	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No Response	(226)	(118)	(30)	(3)	(92)	(14)
	(60)	(213)	(18)	(12)	(0)	(0)

Sources: As listed in Table 12.

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ago, the average Haligonian earned about \$2,000 annually. Our observations over the past year, especially with regard to the former Africville population (now residing mostly in the mid-city area of Halifax), provide the basis for our judgment.

104. Occupationally, Blacks in all three ecological areas are concentrated heavily in the low-skilled and poor-paying categories. In the rural non-farm area, most men are involved in loading boats and/or marginal woods-work, while most women work as domestics. In the urban fringe community, the same pattern exists, although on a slightly smaller scale, with more men working in higher-status occupations while the bulk of the male labour force is engaged in unskilled work. In the Halifax mid-city Black population, there was in 1959-60 a larger percentage of both males and females in higher-status employment, although the majority of men worked in semiskilled and unskilled employment, and the majority of women worked as domestics or in comparable low-status jobs. Our impression is that the situation has not radically changed for the mid-city Blacks, although there has been a tendency for a larger number of Blacks to obtain more skilled, clerical, and professional work.¹ Anti-poverty strategies to enhance occupational opportunities for Blacks, such as an end to racism, payment of a living

¹It is an indicator of historical oppression that about the same percentage of mid-city Blacks in 1960 were in unskilled and semiskilled employment as were classified as laborers and unskilled workers in the 1838 census of Halifax Town Blacks. The occupational distribution of Black males in Halifax in 1838 showed approximately 80 per cent as labourers and unskilled workers. See Public Archives, Nova Scotia, Vol. 448, Census for the County of Halifax, 1838.

Table 16
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF MALE AND FEMALE HALIFAX MID-CITY BLACKS,
THE URBAN FRINGE COMMUNITY, AND THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

	Halifax Mid-City		Urban Fringes		Rural Non-Farm	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	1%	6%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Professional	4	10	6	8	0	0
Clerical	1	52	18	3	1	6
Service	10	1	7	10	0	94
Skilled	38	4	26	12	0	0
Semiskilled	45	26	39	66	5	0
Unskilled	1	1	1	1	93	0
Armed Forces	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Responding	(255)	(130)	(55)	(14)	(81)	(32)
No response	(31)	(201)	(1)	(3)	(0)	(0)

*In the urban fringe community the 16 unemployed are classified as unskilled; there are 4 housewives not employed; and there are 12 pensioners.

Sources: As listed in Table 12.

wage to people as they are taking the training that they want, and the provision for financial and educational resources conducive to establishing a context favourable to the achievement of occupational aspirations, apply across ecological categories. The anti-poverty approach in the city, however, should specifically include strong efforts to break down what appear to be "closed occupations" in some unions as well as in certain service occupations.

105. Table 17 points out the educational achievement of Blacks who are out of school in the different ecological settings. The pattern, again, is for educational achievement to decline as we go from mid-city to urban fringe to rural non-farm populations. Moreover, the difference between mid-city and the other sets of data is undoubtedly underestimated, for the former data were collected at an earlier point in time. Most noticeable about these data is that there are few Blacks who have received any senior high school training. Other sources have indicated that this lack of high school training is characteristic of Black communities throughout the province.¹ Educational achievement tends to be lower in Nova Scotia than in many other provinces; for example, a recent study prepared for the Atlantic Development Board indicated that only 24 per cent of the boys and 27 per cent of the girls reach Grade XII while, for British Columbia, the corresponding figures are 64 per cent and 62 per cent.² Even within the admittedly poor educational context of Nova Scotia, the Blacks have had poorer opportunities. We have shown this to be the case historically and, even now, school consolidation has not

¹See, for example, the summary analysis of Brand, op. cit., and W. P. Oliver, op. cit.

²Quoted in The 4th Estate, Halifax, Nova Scotia, September 18, 1969.

Table 7
LAST SCHOOL GRADE ACHIEVED BY MALE AND FEMALE HALIFAX MID-CITY BLACKS, THE
URBAN FRINGE COMMUNITY, AND THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

Grade	Halifax Mid-City		Urban Fringe		Rural Non-Farm	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1 - 3	10%	5%	15%	12%	30%	15%
4 - 6	28	26	32	27	56	44
7 - 9	44	50	38	51	13	34
10 - 12	16	18	15	10	1	7
Over Grade 12	2	1	0	0	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Responding	(234)	(294)	(58)	(63)	(117)	(92)

Sources: As listed in Table 12.

been carried far enough to provide Blacks with equal educational resources. It is apparent that, with regard to education, certain anti-poverty strategies which are applicable to the province as a whole (i.e., more money for education and more school consolidation) would also benefit the Blacks. We would argue further, however, that the Blacks and the poor should receive not merely equal, but special educational resources, for among them the obstacles to effective education imposed by their poverty and oppression are greater; thus specially trained teachers, special tutors, and more community involvement are imperative. An in-depth study of educational values and problems in the Guysborough communities indicated that the Blacks placed a very high value on education, but that most youngsters dropped out of school because they did not believe that many opportunities were available to them, because it was difficult to study in overcrowded homes among elders who could not relate to their educational experiences, and because the reward system of the schools left them discouraged and disadvantaged.

5. Rural Non-Farm Blacks

106.

It has been noted above that, for the entire province, the rural non-farm inhabitants have the lowest family incomes. It was also observed that almost all rural Blacks are non-farm. A good example of the poverty and of the problems associated with overcoming poverty is indicated in the case of the three Guysborough communities of Lincolnville, Sunnyville, and Upper Big Tracadie. It is not known how representative these three communities are of the total rural non-farm Black population. Although we believe that extrapolation is justified in the case of description of income, education,

and employment patterns, we are uncertain of extrapolation with regard to anti-poverty strategies.

107. Reference has been made to the condition of the Guysborough Blacks. It has been pointed out that, in comparison with city and urban-fringe Blacks, who are themselves a poor group, the Guysborough Blacks have a large dependency ratio, larger household size, bigger families, more complicated household structure, considerably smaller incomes, more unskilled workers and poorer educational achievement. Guysborough County is itself the poorest county in Nova Scotia, with a per capita income of approximately \$600 in 1961. (Inverness County, by comparison, had a per capita income of \$690 in 1961.) The Guysborough Blacks, with a per capita income of \$325, can be considered among the poorest of the poor.¹

108. The Guysborough Blacks are the descendants of Loyalists and their roots in the county go back almost two hundred years. Theirs has always been a difficult battle for survival, a battle in which they received very little assistance from either the government or their White neighbours.² In 1871, most Guysborough Blacks were attempting to eke out an existence on their rocky marginal farms. A large number of women worked as domestics in various White households. A small but significant number of Black males were fishermen or seamen, working out of Guysborough town which in 1871 was a shipping centre and fishing port. At the present time, almost one hundred years later, the Black population of Guysborough County is approximately the same in occupational distribution and in size as it was in 1871. A large number of women are still working as domestics in White households

¹The per capita income of \$325 was based on data gathered in 1965; the poverty of the Blacks is, comparatively, even greater.

²See Clairmont, *et al.*, *op. cit.*

as far away as Antigonish. Most of the men work as labourers, finding employment at Mulgrave some thirty miles distant, loading boats in the spring and summer and supplementing their incomes by selling pulp and Christmas trees from their small woodlots. (Many of these woodlot-owners do not have clear title.) Only slightly more than one-fifth of the labour force worked more than 40 weeks per year. None of the Guysborough Blacks can be considered a farmer, using Dominion Bureau of Statistics criteria, although some do so identify themselves.¹ Of the total labour force population of 149 in the three Black communities, 115 earned less than \$1,000 in 1964.

109. The Guysborough Blacks are clearly an oppressed people and have been for two hundred years. They are not unaware of their plight. Many have migrated, in search of a better life, to Halifax and to "Upper Canada". Some have narrowed their aspirations and have taken as their reference group the other poor in their communities. Neither of these "solutions" has been adequate (of course, it is a mark against society that such adaptations as lowering basic goals have been made) nor has there been effective collective action oriented to radical change; people have worked together to support schools and churches, but poverty and other concomitants of lack of power have limited cooperative efforts. It has been argued that an individual is poor as long as he feels poor, rejected, or alienated from the economic or the cultural mainstream.² Certainly the Guysborough Blacks are poor by this definition. Comparative analysis found that the Guysborough Blacks live their lives with

¹A "viable" farmer is one who has a gross income (from his farm) of \$5,000 or more.

²J. S. Reiner and T. A. Reiner, "Urban Poverty", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (Washington, D.C.: August 1965).

feelings of distrust, pessimism, anxiety, and resentment, all characteristics of alienation.¹

110. The tendency to look upon poverty as a problem of individual persons has hindered the search for effective anti-poverty strategies. To understand the causes of poverty and to locate sources of change, one must look beyond education and job training to basic structural and cultural factors. These latter would include the historical reality of a racist society which lingers on, and structural economic factors which maintain and perpetuate poverty. In discussing such structural economic conditions, it is important to see the plight of the Guysborough Blacks in the wider context of rural non-farm workers in the Maritimes. It has been noted that one-half the rural wage earners have annual incomes of less than \$2,000.² Elsewhere, it has been reported that, "one of the most striking features of the regional economy is the disproportionately large number of people working in marginal or submarginal activities in the Atlantic Provinces."³ These rural wage earners are locked into the countryside and form a residual group caught in the process of economic change taking place generally in the primary industries. They earn enough to maintain themselves, but they have no future and little prospect of improving their socio-economic

¹Clairmont, et al., op. cit. The comparative analysis was between the residents in three Guysborough Black communities and Whites residing in a sample of non-metropolitan communities in Halifax County.

²R. A. Jenness, The Dimensions of Poverty in Canada: Some Preliminary Observations, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, February 1965) pp. 52-53. Generally, "viable" non-farmers are those whose income level is \$3,000 or more.

³R. D. Howland, "Some Regional Aspects of Economic Development in Canada," in Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects (Ottawa: 1957).

well-being; moreover, the services and facilities available to them are clearly inferior and inadequate.

111. We believe that a strong case can be made for the position that rural non-farm workers constitute an exploited class of people.¹ They have, in effect, the burden of subsidizing the fishing, agricultural, and lumbering industries and the primary level of processing. Government subsidizes the large industrial-commercial complexes which gather and process resources, but it gives no subsidy to the poor who for a variety of reasons constitute a captive labour force without which the changing economic activity in the countryside could not take place. Pierre Yves Pepin has observed that "through governmental subsidies the fishing industry is doing well, but can the same be said of the men?"² With respect to the Guysborough Blacks, it appears that an analogous statement would be, "through governmental subsidies (including the leasing of Crown lands) the pulp and paper industries at places like Port Hawkesbury are doing well, but can the same be said of the men?" We have shown that the answer to the latter question is an emphatic "no"; the men are not doing well. Yves Pepin, in commenting on the condition of the small woodlot owner in Nova Scotia, noted that "observers interpret the apathy of the government towards the painful efforts of the small producers as support for the private companies."³

112. Reference has been made several times to the study carried out in 1964 dealing with socio-economic

¹A different view or interpretation is stated in a "Note on 'an exploited class of people!'" by Guy Henson, see p. 84 ff.

²Pepin, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

³*Ibid.*, p. 206.

conditions among the Guysborough Blacks. It should be added here that this study also suggested a coherent body of anti-poverty strategies ranging from desegregated schooling, preschool classes, and job-training to the creation of new jobs through negotiations between government and private industry. It was suggested that a community worker be appointed in order to coordinate these programs and to assist in the development of effective collective action. Now, four years later, it is possible to report that some significant progress has been made with respect to most recommendations. But the chief suggestion was not acted upon; namely, to make some change in the structural economic conditions that perpetuate poverty. Negotiations between government and private industry broke down as the latter demanded too much for the little it was prepared to do in order to alter employment conditions. On its side, the government did not press the case, although it well might have since the leasing of Crown land and the conditions of that leasing give government a wedge with which to press for change. The people themselves exerted little pressure on either government or industry, for they lacked information and organization (copies of the report were not made available to them or to the general public). The present situation is not much different than it was prior to the study conducted in 1964. There is still considerable underemployment; there is still very inadequate housing; in short, there is still the basic poverty which vitiates other worthwhile reforms.

113. We believe that the poverty of the rural wage earner in Nova Scotia is often the other side of the coin of economic policy established by government. The marginality of the rural worker is intrinsic to the kinds of economic developments that are taking place.

Pulp people dislike the idea of unionizing woodcutters or effective cooperation among small woodlot owners (action which is often necessary to counter exploitation), arguing that the creation of a strong union in a technologically obsolete activity might well mean no jobs at all and that surely this would be worse than the present marginality. The implication is clear: private industry is saying, in effect, if you want us in the province, you must accept the economic marginality of the small people who, in various ways, are involved in our operation. We believe that further study would show this position to hold true in most areas of primary processing, be they fishing or lumbering. To overcome the poverty induced by such economic arrangements, we must first appreciate the association between the two.

114

Several strategies can be readily advanced to alleviate poverty among the Guysborough Blacks:

- a) direct subsidization of the "marginal" worker who is involved in these operations. If the industry perpetrating the marginality is subsidized in a variety of ways by the government, then why not subsidize the workers who are at present carrying much of the burden? We recognize that there may be some problems associated with effecting such a program. It is fashionable and facile to refer to some form of negative income tax plan. Undoubtedly some such arrangement will have to be worked out. Here, though, our concern is the establishment of the principle.
- b) more land should be made available to the small woodlot owner such as one finds in the Black communities of Guysborough County. As part of this new arrangement, land should be surveyed

and titles given to the various households. Since the Guysborough Blacks are so poor and have been oppressed for so long, they should not have to pay for this process nor should they be held responsible for back taxes.

- c) part of the leasing contract the Nova Scotia Pulp Company has with the government concerning use of Crown land specifically refers to the company's obligation in the area of reforestation and maintenance. As the 1965 study recommended, the company should be required to develop an extensive forest management program in Guysborough County, giving permanent work to at least some residents of the area. (The 1965 work estimated thirty full-time jobs could be made available to the most oppressed group—the Blacks.)

115. The foregoing strategies are based on the premise that the Guysborough Blacks want to stay in the area if they could get an equal share in the nation's wealth and if they could have the full opportunities enjoyed by Canadians elsewhere. The 1965 survey of people's views indicates that this premise is valid. The most important fact is, however, that the Guysborough Blacks have been where they are now for 200 years, living without equal opportunities. Some would leave the area if assured of opportunities elsewhere, and perhaps the area will not be able to support all the people residing there now. The important thing is to end the racism and exploitation here and elsewhere, and to end it now.

116. Additional anti-poverty strategies can be found in the 1965 report. There are, however, two further points we should like to make here. In the 1965 report it was suggested that a housing program be undertaken in

the area in order that the people obtain necessary space and modern facilities. Such a program would have to be financed largely from governmental coffers. Many additional benefits would flow from such a program. Some may object to the kind of governmental financing that would be necessary to achieve this new housing but such action would be an important symbol of good-will to the Black community and can readily be justified in terms of compensation for the special oppression and exploitation to which the Black man in Guysborough County has been subjected. Finally, we think one of the best anti-poverty strategies is to help foster organization and collective action among the poor themselves so that they can gather relevant information, apply appropriate political pressure, and communicate more effectively their own wants, needs, and definitions of the situation. For the Black man in Guysborough County and in Nova Scotia generally, this is especially important in view of the prejudice and discrimination that still persists. If such organization had existed, and if the 1965 report had been made available to the people, we feel that conditions in Guysborough County would now be substantially better than they were in 1964.

6. Conclusion

117. Blacks, like their fellow White Nova Scotians, have been migrating to "Upper Canada" in increasingly large numbers since the end of World War II. Migration, though, does not solve the basic poverty problem; the Black migrants have a hard time making progress in places like Toronto,¹ and most persons (particularly older persons and those with familial responsibilities) perceive the risks entailed by migration to be too great, given their lack of marketable skills. The fight against poverty

¹Hill, op. cit., pp. 246-253.

must be fought, therefore, in Nova Scotia. It is clear that the resolution of Black poverty is often part of the larger problem of Nova Scotian poverty; this is especially true, for example, in the case of the poverty of Springhill Blacks or of those in Five Mile Plains (where a gypsum plant closed down several years ago). We have observed that the problems of the Guysborough Blacks are illustrative of the larger problem of the rural non-farm workers. It is clear, then that socio-economic conditions of the Blacks are correlated with those of the particular areas in which they reside.

118. Yet Black poverty is more severe than White poverty in Nova Scotia. Historical precedents indicate that the Blacks' share of an area's wealth is by no means assured. The additional factor here is of course White racism. This racism is still a reality as is evidenced by Ku Klux Klan-like threats made recently against a former Africville resident who moved into a White suburb¹ and by the barbershop practices in many Nova Scotian towns. Blacks in Nova Scotia who live in integrated areas appear to be less poor than those living in segregated communities,² but this is due to both the dearth of resources and services in these isolated segregated communities and the absence of effective Black organization in Nova Scotia. If this racism and poverty are to be successfully confronted, a progressive militancy and an effective province-wide Black organization representing Black people and exerting pressure for radical change seem imperative. The recent federal grant to the Black United Front seems to be a positive step in the right direction. In fact, such action may lead to effective strategies against poverty

¹"Women Fined For KKK-Type Threat", Halifax Mail-Star, February 20, 1966.

²Brand, op. cit.

generally with the Black United Front representing a vanguard, a new mechanism in the fight against poverty, based on the premise that poverty in societies such as our own is to a high degree a function of political processes and differential power.

119. Housing is an important aspect of Black poverty, that should be mentioned. Throughout most of the province, the housing condition of Blacks is deplorable. Housing tends to be substandard, and sewerage and water inadequate. Three factors account for this condition, the original patterns of settlement, whereby Blacks were settled in isolated areas or on the fringe of White communities; White racism, which has limited housing opportunities for Blacks and often has prevented their obtaining services which their White neighbours received (A classic case of this is the neglect evident in the treatment of Africville by the City of Halifax.); low incomes and poor employment opportunities. Clearly this is one area of Black poverty where immediate and extensive governmental assistance is necessary. Cooperative housing programs at Beechville and North Preston appear to be the direction that governmental assistance should follow, although the commitment will have to be greater than at present if the very poor in these and other communities are to obtain decent housing. As a sign of good-will and as compensation or reparation for past neglect and oppression, surely decent, safe, and sanitary housing should be provided, even if the government has to foot most of the bill.

NOTE on "an exploited class of people" See p.78 ff.

120. While I subscribe in general to the preceding valuable outline of the situation of the Black people in Nova Scotia, I do not subscribe to the interpretation, stated on page 78 and in the following several pages,

that rural workers (the terms "rural non-farm workers", "small woodlot owners," "small producers", "woodcutters", and "the men" are used in the text) "constitute an exploited class of people." Here the paper deals with that group of the general population of which the rural Black people form a part, but not with Black people themselves.

121. In this brief, such words as "exploit" are used in their accepted sense. In that sense, "exploit" means "utilize (person, etc.) for one's own ends" (OED). The meaning and implication of "exploit" in the text are clear (even though the word may be deemed to have other connotations in certain technical literature).
122. I support the following propositions:
- (1) that industrialization under present economic development policies may provide a substantial number of jobs but, nevertheless, leave out large numbers of the rural poor who, as the present brief emphasizes, are not able to benefit from economic growth.
 - (2) that historically a pool of unemployed or under-employed workers has created opportunities for exploitation, and that cases of exploitation, recent and current, undoubtedly exist.
123. My objection to the generalization "that rural non-farm workers constitute an exploited class of people". and to certain supporting statements, is that it misinterprets the situation and gets in the way of the clear assessment of the problem which is required for devising effective remedial programs. In general, rural workers, both farm and non-farm, have become a stranded group of people, stranded by the collapse of subsistence agriculture

(associated with forestry and fishing) and by other historical forces in a region of lagging growth or decline.

124. The problem is, actually, how to create an upward spiral out of a general condition of marginality against which people (having low wages or incomes), companies (having low profitability), and governments (having low tax revenues for public services) have all been contending.

125. In the preceding section, a presumption appears to exist that exploitation is equated with the marginality of rural workers. The statement that governments "give no subsidy to the poor" (the "poor" evidently meaning here the identified groups in the rural labour force) does not accord with current and historical facts. For many years, governments have been subsidizing rural workers, farm and non-farm, through policies of the Departments of Agriculture, Fisheries, Highways, Public Welfare, Education, Manpower, Public Works (breakwaters, wharves, etc.), among others. In fact, a frequent criticism is that governments have been subsidizing uneconomic marginal producers and workers as well as companies, in unsound ways, and thus have been tending to perpetuate conditions of marginality, rather than bringing about the rationalization of primary industries in such ways that productivity, competitiveness, wages and profitability will be brought up to current Canadian standards.

126. The statement that certain subsidized industries (that is, companies) are "doing well" is questionable. Given a condition of relatively low profitability or marginality in these industries, a governmental subsidy tends to support the whole operation, including wages

and prices for raw materials.

127. In lagging areas such as the Atlantic Provinces, the people displaced by mechanization or stranded by collapse of subsistence living in the primary industries have not been adequately absorbed by industrialization and urban growth centres, regional or distant. Mechanization necessary for survival of primary-industry operations, usually in larger units, has exacerbated the problems of people dependent upon those industries as a result of historical land-settlement patterns. At the same time, industrialization and urbanization have worked to render obsolete the skills of the stranded people and to leave them less mobile and trapped in outmoded settlement patterns. It may be argued that such subsidies as cited above, and the subsidy approach or the subsidy state of mind, have failed to lift the rural poor out of poverty and even have left marginal producers sinking into poverty. It may be said, also, that the poor do not know how to utilize, or cannot utilize subsidies or services available to them. "Exploitation" is inadequate in providing either a key to understanding the complex forces underlying the present situation or, even more important, a key to the kinds of personal self-help, group mutual aid, and public action likely to bring about improvement.

128. The implications of certain statements on page 79 and of the statement that "the marginality of the rural worker is intrinsic to the kinds of economic development which are taking place (p. 79) is that conscious or unconscious efforts of government and of industry combine to perpetuate present low-income conditions for purposes of current economic development

policy. The fact is that, for thirty years at least, governments have promoted efforts of woodlot owners to organize for cooperative marketing and currently are doing so. The pulp and paper companies have to face the fact that woodlot owners may, and very possibly soon will, organize effectively for cooperative marketing. The great majority (in fact, practically all) of the new industries entering Nova Scotia with governmental assistance are unionized. A major fishing company has recently recognized voluntarily a local of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers that represents some 600 fishermen on its vessels. While a minimum wage (especially a low one) may be a weak instrument of economic development, the fact is that the minimum wage levels in Nova Scotia are closer to the average wage levels in this province than is the case in most, if not all other provinces.

129.

In further refutation of the statement that "the poverty of the rural wage earner in Nova Scotia is often the other side of the coin of the economic policy established by the government," an interesting fact is that the present writer was asked last winter to present views (predictably advocating unionization of farm labour and warning against an "attempt to make a depressed condition of agriculture viable by trying to get along with low-paid, untrained, unproductive, and exploited farm labour") at meetings on "Farm Labour - Ways to Improve the Situation" which were attended by larger-farm operators and held under government auspices at the Nova Scotia Agricultural College. A more substantial fact is that for many years governments have given grants to universities of this region to enable them to assist rural workers to organize themselves into producer and consumer cooperatives.

130. The present writer has believed and advocated for many years that the more working people organize into unions and cooperatives, the healthier democratic societies will be. He is unable to accept, however, the contention that business and governmental institutions combine in seeking to maintain in Nova Scotia a pool of poor rural workers as a device of economic development policy. What, indeed, would they gain in doing so? The brief recognizes the validity of Galbraith's argument that poor people cannot and do not participate in economic growth and benefit from it. Of what use to existing or new industries is a pool of chronic rural poor? Can modern or modernizing industry rely upon primitive and uncertain sources of raw materials and labour? The answer to both questions is negative.

131. What, then, can be the motivation of government and of industry, especially in the light of the drain upon the economy of public services needed by all citizens and especially the poor, in maintaining an "exploited class" of poor rural workers? (The fact that governments may carry out programs required by political expediency cannot be construed as evidence of conscious or unconscious efforts of government and large industry in combination to maintain "an exploited class of people.")

132. No suggestion has been made, although it well might be made, that the enterprise system and the existing mode of society do not produce satisfactory results for people. Given acceptance of the existing social form (perhaps acceptance in the light of alternatives), the question is, can it evolve and be made to work better and, if so, how? In the light of this approach, "subsidies," incentives, or grants (compensatory or other) to industries or companies can be evaluated detachedly and critically.

133.

The statement that subsidized large industries (companies) "are doing well" will find ready acceptance, even though the balance sheets of the public companies in this category may not encourage investors to buy shares in such companies. The fact is that when a company makes an investment in a subsidized or grant-aided operation, usually it walks a kind of economic tightrope; and the government making a subsidy or grant walks an economic-political tightrope. While thorough documentation is lacking, the common facts of the industrial development experience in the Atlantic Provinces indicate that some such subsidized or grant-aided operations fail, some barely survive, some have moderate financial success, and some become quite profitable. It is in the nature of industrial development aided by governments that, in a given negotiation, a government is subject to censure if the operation turns out to be a failure ~~and~~ public money is lost (to say nothing of setbacks to individuals and communities), or if the operation is highly profitable and taxpayers' money is then added to the profits. Such risks run by governments, as distinct from risks undertaken by companies, are inherent in the process of publicly-assisted industrial development, often carried on under circumstances of severe social pressure bordering on desperation in slow-growth areas, and in competition with other governments, in slow-growth as well as fast-growth areas.

134.

Such problems as these, as well as the historical processes which have left people economically and socially stranded, are not recognized in the rationale of the conclusion that rural poor or marginal workers "constitute an exploited class of people."

35. The Institute group's brief as a whole supports a two-pronged attack on poverty, through creation of economic opportunities for people and through enabling poor people to take advantage of opportunities (together with supplementary welfare programs for the handicapped or specially disadvantaged). Such a two-pronged attack will be rendered ineffective, if compensatory or other grants for industrial development are viewed as subsidies by governments to industries under some combination or system whose net effect, conscious or unconscious, is to cause rural workers "to constitute an exploited class of people." Various industrial development efforts of governments are subject to strong criticism, but on other grounds.
136. Granted that hindsight is easy, it is becoming increasingly apparent that a highly sophisticated level of policy, knowledge, and method on the part of governments in negotiating with industry is necessary, both to make industrial incentive programs work well in slow-growth areas and to enable the public to understand and accept such policies in application over time. Suitable disclosure of information, appropriately timed early in the operation or as it proceeds, and with necessary adaptations for non-public as well as public companies, is necessary if the taxpayer is to be satisfied that his money is being well and properly used, and if he is to have the trust necessary for long-term application of such policies. Likewise, he may well feel that if the government to which he pays taxes is going to take risks of this kind, then the government, by means of some equity reservation or otherwise, should share in the gains; unless he can be convinced that his government, and he as an individual, are going to get adequate return through corporation and other taxes and

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various benefits to the economy. To the extent that past and current subsidization or grant-aiding policies for industry in slow-growth areas are not well developed, well applied, well understood and effective, it is understandable that the poor themselves and others concerned with problems of the poor will contrast "subsidies for industry" with "subsidies for the poor." Particularly as a span of years is needed for effective results from policies necessarily gradual in application, these considerations can be of critical importance. - Guy Henson

VII. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

137.

Poverty in Nova Scotia needs to be viewed in a perspective of modernization and growth. The standard of living, although it remains behind the national average, is rising steadily and in line with the Canadian experience. Despite well-recognized problems of adjustment, and overdependence upon defence expenditure, various sectors of the Nova Scotian economy include examples of successful competitive enterprise; for instance, the growth being experienced in the Halifax-Dartmouth Metropolitan area, which is being shared in varying degrees by certain other urban centres. Both the federal and provincial governments are making important efforts to modernize the economy and induce growth. It is not enough, however, to assume that growth and modernization in Nova Scotia will take care of the residual population in the primary industries (coal-steel, farming, fishing, forestry), or will eradicate the persistent pockets of urban, urban-fringe, and ethnic poverty. Some of Nova Scotia's poor may be recent entrants to the poverty category, but others have been there for generations.

138.

The several studies to which reference has been made in this brief indicate the following basic causes of poverty: (1) a relatively low selection of job opportunities for unskilled workers, associated with a general lack of local economic activity; (2) a lack of basic education and technical training; (3) a lack of mobility; (4) a lack of sufficient public services to help people in need; (5) a feeling of alienation and discrimination (whether the poor be Black or White) resulting in lack of motivation, feelings of hopelessness and, in many cases, inability to take advantage of work opportunities when they are present.

A. EDUCATION

139. Virtually all studies of poverty draw attention to the low level of education among the poor. Obstacles to attainment of higher education grow disproportionately with poverty. According to the 1961 census, over 64 per cent of all low income non-farm families in Nova Scotia had heads with an elementary education or less. The results of the Nulife Study show that in Halifax City over 61 per cent of the low income group have, at most, an elementary education. In contrast, only 12.5 per cent of the comparison group in the Nulife Study in Halifax have an elementary education or less.
140. It is obvious that limited education and poverty interact to perpetuate each other and that earning power is restricted by limited education. If the poor could increase their educational level, they would stand a good chance of increasing their income and of lifting themselves out of poverty. The Nulife Study reports, that over 50 per cent of the low-income group state that their reasons for leaving school is financial. Less than 17 per cent of the comparison group indicate that they left school for financial reasons. Over 90 per cent of the low-income group started their first permanent job before the age of 21. This was true for less than 40 per cent of the comparison group. It appears clear that the low-income population have a limited education because they are forced to leave school early and seek employment; yet, it is precisely their lack of education that perpetuates their low-income condition.

141

It would further appear from the Nulife Study and from other studies, that lack of interest in education is not the problem with the low-income population. According to the Nulife Study, in all places surveyed, including Halifax, a higher percentage of the low income group express interest in acquiring education for a different type of job than does the comparison group. A larger percentage of the low-income group than of the comparison group feel, however, that it would not be possible for them to get additional training; this is one of many indications in the Nulife Study of the kind of alienation experienced by the low-income population.

142.

Free elementary and secondary education is of little value to the poor, if they cannot avail themselves of it. Although it "costs" the poor nothing to attend school or to participate in training programs, the low income family needs the money which would be foregone if its children remained at school. It appears important that an alternate source of income be provided to compensate for the income that would have been earned had the children left school.

143.

The recent expansion of the comprehensive school system in Nova Scotia and the establishment of regional vocational schools do not necessarily assure a better education to substantial numbers of the poor and should not be deemed sufficient to supplant for additional remedies, such as income supplements.

144.

The Nulife Study shows that the children of low-income families tend to be older for their school grade than do the children of comparison group families, which suggests that children from low-income families advance through school at a slower rate than do children

of the comparison group. Required are the provision of pre-school and headstart programs; community study and recreation centres to overcome, in part, the lack of private study facilities; and tutorial services at the Grade VI to VII level, where most of the dropouts occur.

145. There is a disproportionate accumulation of difficulties to be overcome by the poor seeking higher education. This is a most urgent problem given a pattern of economic development that places, as it does in Nova Scotia, a high premium on educated employees. If the problem is not overcome, post secondary learning institutions, in effect, perpetuate the status quo.

146. Of Canadian wage-earner: families with less than \$3,000 income, only 12 per cent of children 19-24 years old were attending school (college or university); this contrasts with 50 per cent for those families earning \$7,000 or more. The percentage of population 15-19 years of age attending school in Nova Scotia, in 1961, was 57.3 per cent; Canada, 58.5 per cent. The percentage of persons 20-24 years of age attending school in Nova Scotia was 5.9 per cent; for Canada, 8.0 per cent. The Nulife Study showed that only 1.7 per cent of the children of low-income families were in college, compared to 10.6 per cent of the children of the comparison group. It is clear that children from poverty families are seriously disadvantaged at higher levels of schooling. The Nulife Study indicates that the disparity between low and high income children begins after one year of high school and, thereafter, worsens rapidly.

B HOUSING¹

147. Housing is a critical variable when dealing with poverty, particularly rural poverty. Many of the poor in the rural farm and non-farm areas of the province own their own houses. These houses have little market value, but they are of considerable value to the people living in them when they consider alternative sources of housing. Housing becomes a major, if not the major, obstacle to the relocation of families into settings where income potential could be considerably improved. In addition, the fact that many of these people are locked into the countryside thwarts a rational system of rural land use. A first step in the solution of the problem is to conduct land-use inventories of the kind mentioned earlier in this brief. Beyond this, and taking into account the dual benefits of improving the earned-income potential of family units and of improving land use, effective programs should be developed to move people who want to relocate.

148. In Halifax, in contrast to the rural situation, the majority of the low-income families live in rented or leased accommodation. According to the Nulife Study, 91.0 per cent of the low-income population rent or lease shelter, in contrast to the comparison group of which only 42.9 per cent rent or lease. The Nulife Study suggests that, if a low-income family does not own its own house, the likelihood of purchasing one is slim. While 28.6 per cent of the comparison group are buying the dwelling in which they live, only 1.7 per cent of the low-income are purchasing their present shelter.

1 This part of the brief incorporates findings of the Nulife Study conducted in 1967 by the Canadian Welfare Council. The study sampled 543 households in low-income areas of Halifax, and 48 households in a middle-income comparison area. The low-income sample was split evenly between an area of predominantly public housing and another area without public housing.

149.

Public housing may not be considered ideal, but the Nulife Study concluded that, in Halifax, public housing does contribute to the alleviation of poverty. Of people living in the survey areas that are predominantly public housing, 82.5 per cent believe that their present housing is better than their previous housing. In contrast, the same view is held by only 59.2 per cent of the comparison group, and 49.1 per cent of the low-income group not living in public housing areas. It is notable that nearly twice as many of the people living in public housing, compared with low-income people not living in public housing, cited "public housing" as an "ideal

150.

The Nulife Study suggests that economic freedom (measured as ability to choose how income may be spent) is greater for people who are supplied adequate housing, such as that provided by public housing. While 48.5 per cent of the low-income families living in non-public housing areas indicate that they would spend additional income on housing, only 19.3 per cent of the people living in public housing would spend additional income on housing. Of people living in public housing, 28.6 per cent would spend additional income on food, and 15.6 per cent would spend it on clothing. Of low-income families not in public housing, 16.1 per cent would spend additional income on food, and 9.9 per cent would spend it on clothing. Among the families not in public housing, nearly 75 per cent of additional income would be spent on food, shelter, and clothing; among those in public housing, less than 63.5 per cent would be spent on these necessities.

151.

Despite the financial improvements which public housing appears to bring to the low-income population, the Nulife Study indicates that people in public housing tend

to agree less often with a number of positive observations about themselves (e.g., "I am doing things that make full use of my abilities."), than do low-income families in non-public housing. When asked how the future looks for the family, 10.4 per cent of the people in public housing answered "very good", as compared with 22.8 per cent of people not living in public housing.

152. The findings reported above suggests at least two important points about housing and poverty. First, the provision of housing clearly upgrades the shelter of the people living in poverty and, at the same time, it increases the portion of income that is discretionary, (that is, the income which can be allocated to items other than food, shelter, and clothing). Secondly, there seems to be an unfavourable impact on the attitudes of people living in public housing.

153. Adequate housing for the low-income population is most important, and every effort should be made to improve the quality of housing available to the poor. It would appear, also, that a different approach to the problem is necessary if we are to negate the unfavourable effects that public housing appears to have on the attitudes of those living in it.

154. Cooperative housing projects of the type financed by federal-provincial funds remain largely beyond the means of people who are the most in need of such help. Needed is a special housing program related to exceptionally long-term low-interest mortgages enabling interested welfare families to become eventual homeowners; public money otherwise paid in rentals could be used to retire mortgages and effect ownership. This kind of program could be extended to people, not dependent

upon public welfare, who have special problems (perhaps the prospect of becoming welfare recipients) when their homes are demolished as part of urban renewal; frequently, money derived from expropriation settlement although representing "fair market value," is insufficient to provide other adequate accommodation.

C. TRANSPORTATION

155. Lack of adequate low-cost transportation influences directly the economic and social situation of low-income groups; yet, as the more prosperous community relies increasingly on private modes of transportation, the "economic" need for public transportation declines. Without adequate transportation, however, groups caught in the "poverty trap" will become even more deeply ensnared; growth of economic opportunities has become predominantly urban-oriented, and travel to work over considerable distances is an increasing necessity. The dependence of low-income groups on public transportation can be readily demonstrated. (Figure 3) Only 26 per cent use private cars, compared to 78 per cent in the comparison group.

156. Lack of adequate transportation provides a physical barrier to the possibility of drawing the poor into the mainstream of economic life and gives rise to a variety of disadvantages:

(a) The range of work opportunities for the poor are limited, possibly to a neighbourhood district.

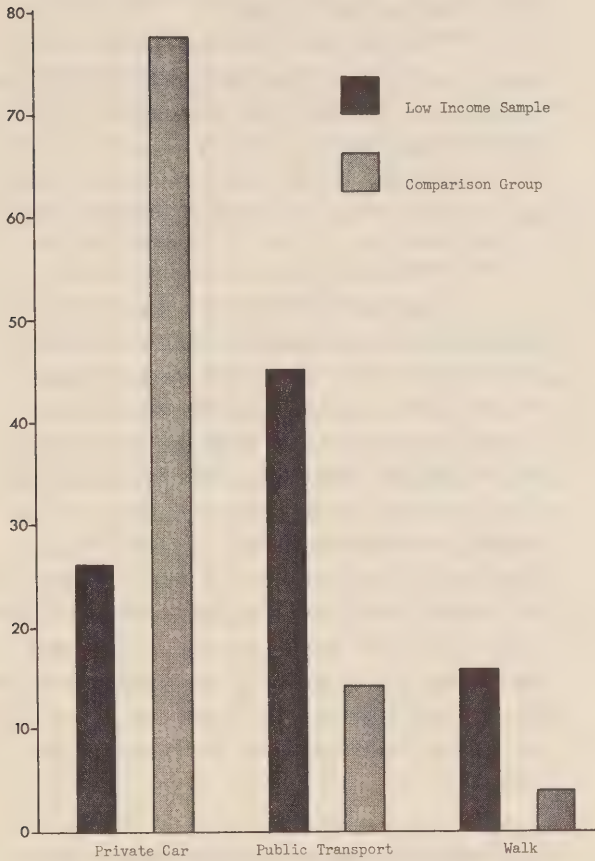
(b) The range of leisure activities is limited.

(c) The poor are susceptible to local monopolies for work and for purchases of supplies.

(d) The poor may be forced to purchase cars, which can incur onerous indebtedness and subtract from other necessities; e.g. housing maintenance.

FIGURE 3

USUAL TRANSPORTATION, HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, 1967



Source: Nulife Study, Canadian Welfare Council, 1967.

(e) The dependents of the poor are isolated from educational opportunities, particularly at higher levels and are deprived of leisure activities which might broaden personal outlook.

(f) The lack of adequate transportation can promote the growth of urban ghettos as the poor minimize transportation costs by either using the only available public transportation, (i.e., city transit) or walking to central points. At the same time, the more prosperous people locate outside the city and commute by car.

D. EMPLOYMENT

157. It is clear that many of the causes of poverty in Nova Scotia are interrelated, and the fundamental association between meagre education, unemployment, and limited income is well established. The challenge is to equip Nova Scotians with marketable skills and to provide year-round markets for those skills. A source of new employment for displaced labour is within the secondary manufacturing and service industries. Experience in the United States, however, indicates that, "on the whole people have not left the industrial sector to find work in the service sector . . . the industrial employed are not taking jobs in the service industries to any considerable degree, and the services should not be seen as a source of employment for unemployed labour from industry."¹

¹Manpower Problems in the Service Sector, (Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1967), p. 35.

E. RETRAINING AND RELOCATION

158.

Further attention needs to be given to the problems of retraining and relocation. Even when they are aware that technological change will benefit society as a whole, workers tend to fear that change will create serious personal problems for themselves. There exist the fears of loss or reduction in income, of change to a job inferior in status, of removal to a new employer and unfamiliar work associates, of establishing in a strange community, and of other uncertainties. These fears are reflected, in turn, in protective labour union policies which tend to restrict change.

159.

Efforts to retrain men and women for work with other, or new employers have proved largely ineffectual. "Workers rarely, if ever, show much willingness to bear any portion of the cost of such retraining whether in the form of lost earnings or tuition fees. Even where companies provide such opportunities without cost to their employees, workers seldom take advantage of these programmes Workers are willing to retrain for a specific job with their own firm and often beg for the privilege. Some workers have shown a willingness to undertake retraining once unemployed but even here the drop-out rate is quite high. Retraining programmes that focus on developing academic or general use technical skills rather than specific skills geared to a specific job appear to be the least successful. Yet it is precisely such general training that receives the blessing of most of our self-proclaimed authorities on manpower policy To get workers to make the effort, a specific job opportunity must be shown and the training closely related to success of retraining in the case of in-plant job

transfer."¹ Programs have tended to assume that relocation and retraining are effective means of combatting poverty, but acquired skills are not necessarily an economic advantage, unless they are linked with a commitment to provide new job opportunities.

160. The fact that many workers move "back home" at the earliest opportunity, or revert, even at personal economic disadvantage, to former occupations, suggests need for further examination of the fundamental effectiveness of these programs. It might be profitable to examine the experience of World War II veterans who entered the armed services from relatively "closed" communities. Did lengthy exposure to a totally different environment lead to substantial change in postwar living patterns for them and their children, as compared with the patterns of men who had remained at home either because they were disabled or unfit by reason of age? A study of this kind might indicate whether substantially long change of environment can accomplish what a short period of rehabilitation training either fails to accomplish at all, or effects only temporarily. Further, it could identify some of the constituents of changed environment, that might be used productively to combat unemployment and poverty.

F. TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES

161. Agreements about technological change, worked out by labour and management under prevailing economic pressures in Nova Scotia, reflect in part the concern of both labour and management with the skills that will make

¹ Kruger, Arthur: Human Adjustment to Industrial Conversion (Draft study prepared for Task Force on Labour Relations, Privy Council Office, Ottawa, Canada, April 1968) pp. 69-71.

industry in Nova Scotia more productive and competitive. Special measures are clearly required when change involves, either within an industry or within a given enterprise, as much as a 25 per cent reduction in the labour force. Special measures may well exceed the resources of a given industry or company and require government intervention and assistance; in recent years there have been basic structural changes in the economy of Nova Scotia (notably, in the coal and steel industries) with which labour unions cannot be expected to cope. A report adopted by the Nova Scotia Joint Labour-Management Study Conference describes an intelligent and practical approach to the pre-planning and implementation of technological change, with special reference to increasing productivity at minimum social and economic cost to individual workers. Union representations and greater management awareness have led to an increase in the number of collective agreements requiring that technological change be approached along the lines indicated in the report.¹

G. GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

162. If insufficient income is the root cause of poverty, the obvious way to eradicate poverty is to ensure everyone a "sufficient" income. Already, private and public measures have been taken to increase economic and industrial growth and, thereby, to increase the number and variety of employment opportunities. At the same time, enormous sums of money have been spent on various training and retraining programs. In addition, special assistance for persons

¹Automation and Worker Displacement (Part I: The Impact of Change Within A Company; Part II: The Impact of Change Within A Community) adopted by the Nova Scotia Joint Labour-Management Study Conference (Halifax, Canada: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1966)

wholly or partially unemployable by reason of physical or mental handicap has become available and can be expected to increase.

163. The great majority of the poor, however, are employed persons. In 1961, three of every five heads of poor families were in the labour force. In Nova Scotia, a percentage of the labour force is unemployed, but how many of the employed are poor? The prevailing minimum wage scale, introduced in August 1969, is \$1.25 an hour for male workers and \$1.00 an hour for female workers in six zones of the province; elsewhere in the province, the wage is \$1.05 an hour for male workers and 90 cents for female workers. Many minimum-wage workers find it possible to support themselves and their families in other than poverty circumstances. How unacceptable to them must sound the common appeals for wage restraint as a hedge against inflation!

164. Whether everyone is to be provided a guaranteed income is a matter for political decision. A related problem is determination of the level of income that should be maintained as a matter of public policy. A budget study and cost-benefit study are required, in order to avoid the discriminatory effects of a uniform guaranteed income; for income related to poverty is influenced by many factors, an important one being place of residence. Needed is an acceptable rationale for adoption of a universal guaranteed-income program, for moral and other objections will continue to be heard from people who are unaware of evidence that the majority of poor families helped to maintain reasonable standards of comfort, strive for greater economic self-sufficiency,

rather than fall irresponsibly into further dependence upon others.¹ We submit that a program of guaranteed annual income be tried experimentally with a defined population group; for instance, with persons in need of a minimum income who, for reasons of physical or mental handicap, old age, family or social reasons, have not been related successfully to an existent program of training or rehabilitation. An important component of the recommended experimental program would be a continuing effort to relate persons to programs which would make them eventually self-supporting. In short, specific objectives of a pilot program would be aimed at chronic welfare groups and at potentially viable units.

165. It is alleged that a percentage of the poor are unwilling to work. The plight of this group, which has received relatively little of the study and probing accorded the unemployed in general, merits further attention. What factors condition their attitude? Why do they lack motivation? What is the source of their dispiritedness? In many instances, alcoholism is a complicating factor. The incidence of alcoholism is distributed evenly throughout the general population, irrespective of socio-economic category, and 80 per cent of alcoholics are gainfully employed; nevertheless, alcoholism (or drinking beyond ones means) induces poverty by its high

¹ "Lingering beliefs that the poor generally lack motivation are being undermined by a growing range of studies and evidence to the contrary. On the basis of careful investigations, it would appear that most of the poor are ready to seize appropriate job opportunities when these are available." Economic Council of Canada, Sixth Annual Review (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969) p. iii.

direct costs and by disorientation of the excessive drinker from his livelihood.¹ The poverty victim who lacks personal motivation presents problems in behavioural psychology which have been recognized, so far, only in dim outline. In many instances, the children of persons lacking formal training suffer a lack of motivation to achieve beyond the parental level. Much additional research is needed to devise methods of bringing under-vocationally trained adults into meaningful and personally rewarding training programs and work situations.

H. ORGANIZED AND UNORGANIZED LABOUR

166.

The average size of the Nova Scotia labour force for 1968 was 254,000; union membership in December 1968 totalled 60,000. Thus, approximately a quarter of Nova Scotia's labour force belong to a labour union. This situation presents organized labour with a challenge to bring unorganized workers to the level of the organized. In order that collective bargaining can embrace larger sectors of employee and employer groups and be extended into new problem areas, both management and labour need to organize into larger units. This step would tend to reduce piece-meal contracts and wide diversity in benefits received.²

I. CREDIT UNIONS AND COOPERATIVES

167.

Special attention should be given to the present and potential role of credit unions and cooperatives in contributing to relief of poverty in Nova Scotia. This

¹Report of the Alcoholism Research Foundation.
Halifax, Nova Scotia: Queen's Printer, 1961.

²The Swedish experience in collective bargaining is impressive. It has been a subject of recent study by labour and management in Nova Scotia, and has useful implications for their mutual benefit.

province has a long-established cooperative and credit union movement concerned traditionally not only with money supply and the production and consumption of goods and services but, as well, with fundamental development of people. The deprivation of the poor encompasses social functions far beyond those of simple consumption of goods and services, and the transformation of people and their attitudes remains essential to the eradication of poverty. Under-participation by the poor may relate to a wide range of economic educational, social, political, and cultural activities. The poor's inability to attain a meaningful role in society's organized processes of production is but one aspect of their alienation.

J. PROGRAMS OF SOCIAL EXPERIMENT

168. Canada's annual poverty bill can be reckoned in billions when account is taken of invisible productive losses reflected in lower consumer demand and other losses in the private and public sectors. In addition is the direct burden of welfare payments and administration. Total social welfare expenditures (after elimination of intergovernmental transfers) of all levels of government for the fiscal year ending nearest December 31, 1966, amounted to \$2,641 million, 14.1 per cent of total consolidated government expenditure. The federal government accounted for \$2,096 million, and provincial and municipal governments for \$545 million. In this context, the development of a well-conceived, multi-million dollar investment in trial welfare policies and systems, in order to test the best ways of enabling people to emerge from poverty, would be sound economic reasoning. Surely the state of political sophistication

among the public as well as the politicians, and the level of administrative and scientific competence, have advanced in Canada to the point where test programs of this kind can be established relatively quickly, in order to provide a basis, now lacking, for needed new welfare approaches and policies. The alternative is to continue with public decision-making based often on poorly informed argument, arising from various interest groups using popular half-truths and stereotypes developed from subjective impressions largely unrelated to objective understanding of the poor.

169. The present, expensive, welfare-assistance programs cannot be abandoned, at least until they can be replaced by something more effective. There is a forceful argument to substitute some kind of guaranteed annual income (mentioned elsewhere in this brief), lacking the stigma of charity and with positive incentives to move the alienated or "locked-in" poor into the mainstream of modern economic and social life. This brief does not undertake to delineate the optional form which a program of that kind should take. We submit, however, that there is need for immediate programs of social experiment, funded nationally, to test the validity and predict the effectiveness of various new or improved system of welfare being advocated now by competent academic, professional, and political sources. The NewStart program in Canada, and anti-poverty programs encouraged by the Ford Foundation in the United States, may serve as instructive administrative models. We submit that in selected localities across Canada, special boards (composed of representatives of the poor, organized labour, business, social scientists, professional and volunteer welfare personnel, local government, and public administrators) be entrusted to administer test funds

through programs designed to attack poverty at its roots. In practice, these programs could be implemented in conjunction with existent programs of retraining, relocation, and educational enrichment.

170. To recommend further study and analysis may be regarded as a tactic of delay; if a problem is studied often enough and long enough, it is sometimes alleged, issues will blur, sense of urgency weaken, and inaction ensue. It is clear, however, that continuous and intensive study of conditions underlying poverty in Nova Scotia is essential to maintaining a dynamic approach to the problem of poverty. Poverty is not a static condition, and study is necessary to reveal more about the factors which increase or diminish the severity of its impact and how those factors can be marshalled to eradicate poverty. Seemingly worthwhile efforts in the past have been too often sporadic and uncoordinated.

171. In short, the usual arguments of lack of time and money do not hold. Any great private or public project (for instance, Churchill Falls, and flights to the moon) require months and years of planning and experimentation through model-testing and other means. Effort no less massive is required to create a serious and effective program to bring poor people into the mainstream of society and to eliminate the roots of their poverty.

K. THE TOTAL SITUATION

172. It is not easy to dissociate the poverty problem in Nova Scotia from the province's total economic situation, and causes and effects of poverty interact in a way that makes short-term uncoordinated measures bound to be ineffective. Related to problems of poverty in Nova Scotia are the much broader problems of comprehensive national and provincial economic policy.

Further attention to the Report of the Royal Commission on Taxation (The Carter Commission) 1966, and its recommendations is needed, possibly with a view to maximizing the economic growth rate by encouraging additional resources for capital investment, and further appraisal of the national protectionist policy. Economic growth is necessary but, by itself, cannot be expected to solve the poverty problem; however, if people are to be brought out of poverty, surely the total economic situation must be sound. There are parts of Canada where pockets of poverty can be dealt with by direct anti-poverty measures, without altering the whole economy, but in Nova Scotia poverty is part of a wider context of regional economic deficiency.

173.

We would endorse and urge, with special reference to Nova Scotia, application of the following considerations recommended in the Fifth Annual Review (1968) of the Economic Council of Canada (pp.131-133):

- "(1) The maintenance of high employment and strong and stable economic growth is crucial
- "(2) No effort should be spared to generate a widespread sense of public commitment to and involvement in the elimination of poverty. . . .
- "(3) Apart from general employment and growth policies, anti-poverty policies should have a strong orientation towards people. . . .
- "(4) Anti-poverty policies should also be strongly oriented towards poor people
- "(5) The achievement of a correct blend of income-maintenance policies and other anti-poverty policies that seek rather to improve people's capacity to participate more effectively in Canadian economic life is extremely important. . . .

"(6) In fighting poverty, great emphasis should be placed on economic use of available funds and skills, and on the maximum development and employment of modern techniques of policy evaluation. . . ."

174

Canada has a grievous problem of poverty, all the more reprehensible because the nation is young and wealthy. Some countries have virtually eliminated poverty, and so can we. A rigorous, comprehensive, and intelligent systems approach, employing test programs as suggested above, can in a few years, pave the way to unequivocally productive public policy and private action. A ~~systems~~ approach is a realistic and sensible alternative to the vast, hastily conceived, and improvised experimentation which eager public opinion has impelled federal and provincial governments to adopt. A preliminary requirement, in providing for genuinely concerted approaches to the solution of poverty problems, is the comprehensive identification, examination, and re-evaluation of programs, in order to identify gaps and effect improved coordination.

175.

Scientific and technological research programs are an accepted responsibility of the federal government. The support for such programs which has increased significantly during the last decade, has been both intramural and extramural in a variety of fields: agriculture, fisheries, forestry and medical research, as well as the wide range of activities of the National Research Council. Identifiable expenditures in these areas totalled, in 1967-68, about \$317,500,000. An additional amount of approximately \$80,000,000 was expended on research and development activities associated with the Department of National Defence.

176

In contrast, the money available from the federal treasury for support of research in the social sciences is modest. An attempt is not made in this

brief to identify the components of federal expenditures in support of research which may relate to the problem of poverty, since there are difficulties of classification. For 1967-68, however, the Treasury Board lists expenditures of \$24,100,000 as "Social Science Research", although no portion of the \$20,400,000 Canada Council budget classified under "Culture and Recreation" is included under this heading.

177. In view of the fact that charges against the federal budget directly related to problems of poverty, in the form of welfare and other transfer payments, amount to some \$800,000,000, it is reasonable to contend that increased research into the economic, social, medical, and psychological, as well as political aspects of poverty should be a matter of high national priority.¹

178. The real cost of poverty is not merely the public money siphoned to the poor but, also, the much more substantial economic loss of the potentially productive portion of the poverty community. In many instances, the democratic process in Canada has not been supported by will or know-how, or both, sufficient to enable people to rise from the morass of their poverty. We must anticipate that if great gains are to be made in eradicating poverty in Canada, the present social unrest will increase. This is part of the process of getting things done. But if we have the will, the know-how can be found.

179. Galbraith reminds us:

"There must be no doubt that the means of rescuing the victims of chronic poverty or their children—investment to conserve and to develop resources, assistance in relocation of workers, assistance to new industries, vastly

¹Brief submitted by the Treasury Board, February 6, 1969, reported in Proceedings of the Special Committee on Science Policy of the Senate of Canada, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), pp. 3715-3796.

improved education, training and re-training, medical and mental care, youth employment, counselling, urban recreational facilities, housing, slum abatement, and the assurance of full civic equality—will require public effort and public funds. Poverty can be made to disappear. It won't be accomplished simply by stepping up the growth rate any more than it will be accomplished by incantation or ritualistic washing of the feet. Growth is only for those who can take advantage of it."¹

¹Galbraith, op. cit., p. ii.

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summary of the original proposal and all the instruments used in carrying out the study. The project was designed to study systematically the members of our society defined as poor, in order to collect knowledge about their attitudes, beliefs, aspirations and life patterns; to determine the correlation between health and income, housing and income and health and housing; and to establish the meaning that they ascribe to social structures such as government agencies, welfare departments, and programs such as that of the manpower department. The answers obtained were to aid in policy decisions." *III

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- 1) Towards a Theory of Selective Migration and Residence, an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1963;
- 2) A Theory of Selective Migration and Residence, a paper to the Canadian Political Science Association annual meeting, 1964;
- 3) Selective Migration and Residence - A Theory with Implications for Rural Resource Development, a paper to the Rural Sociological Society annual meeting, 1964.

- 4) "Selective Migration and Residence - A Theory with Implications for Practitioners", International Migration (Geneva), Vol. II, No. 2, 1964.

The author is a sociologist and agricultural economist at St. Francis Xavier University." *

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Part II "is the second phase of a study initiated by the Nova Scotia Joint Labour-Management Study Committee. It is directly

concerned with those problems of automation and worker displacement which cannot be handled internally by labour and management within an individual company. On the community level, problems of worker displacement through automation may often become merged, in terms of resolution, with more general problems of unemployment and potential future unemployment. Consequently the recommendations set forth suggest and require a frame of reference which is designed to cope with a broad range of activities." (p. 21).

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A Socio-Economic Study and Recommendations: Sunnyville, Lincolnville, and Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia. Halifax, Nova Scotia: 1965.

This study proposes alternatives for government assistance. Entry to the social system of the area is suggested through the economic base, forestry. At present the majority of the jobs are part time. Building up the economic base will provide more jobs and better incomes. Subsidization is suggested for two particular problems, housing and education.

Kitchen, H. W. A Preliminary Study of Demographic and Socio-Economic Factors in the Atlantic Provinces and Their Relationships to Measures of Educational Output. Ottawa: Atlantic Development Board, November 6, 1967.

"The educational patterns of retention, completion and retardation are linked importantly to the social and economic patterns of the Atlantic Provinces." (From Summary)) The study stresses the consideration of the culture, values and social structure of an area when plans for intervention and possible disruption of that structure are being formulated; e.g., relocation of families. Financial assistance to an educational program is not sufficient.

Levitt, Kari. Population Movements in the Atlantic Provinces. Fredericton, New Brunswick: Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, November 1960.

"Commissioned by the Atlantic Provinces Research Board, table of Contents includes 'Historical Trends of Migration from the Atlantic Provinces,' 'The Age Distribution of Migrants,' 'Cultural Differentials Among Migrants,' 'Migration and Educational

and Educational Attainment,' 'The Shift from Rural to Urban Areas,' and 'Net Migration from the Counties of the Atlantic Provinces.' A methodological note and bibliography are included." *

MacDonald, A. A. Community Resources and Dimensions of Alienation and Indian Reserves (Preliminary Report). Antigonish, Nova Scotia: St. Francis Xavier University, Extension Department, May 1967.

This study is a descriptive presentation of data collected from the seven Micmac Indian Reserves of Eastern Nova Scotia. "The primary objective of the study was to obtain the relationship between alienation from the economic, political and leadership aspects of the community and such socio-economic variables as level of income and living, aspirations for level of income and living, and expectation for government support. . . . The secondary objective was to obtain a description of the human and the institutional resource situation on the Reserves." (p. 1)

MacDonald, A. A., A. D. MacLean and W. B. Clare. Eastern Counties Co-operative Housing Survey. Antigonish, Nova Scotia: St. Francis Xavier University, Extension Department, June 1965.

"This is a study of cooperative housing in the seven Eastern counties of Nova Scotia, to determine its value in meeting housing requirements for low-income groups." *I

MacDonald, A. A. and W. B. Clare. Rural South Inverness Resource Survey. ARDA Research 22002. Antigonish, Nova Scotia: St. Francis Xavier University, Extension Department, March 1966.

"The report evaluates the region in terms of a resource model constituted by four broad categories: natural, physical, human, and institutional." *I

_____. A Survey of Human Resources and Their Rural Environment. ARDA Research 32012. Antigonish, Nova Scotia: St. Francis Xavier University, Extension Department, 1966.

Three Reports:

Report 1: North Inverness Resource Survey,
September 1966.

Report 2: Guysborough Shore Resource Survey,
December 1966.

Report 3: Socio-Economic Comparison Between an Offshore Fishing Community and Inshore Fishing Community . To be completed January 31, 1967.

These reports evaluate each region in terms of a resource model consisting of four broad resource categories: natural, physical, human, and institutional. *I

Maclean, Donald F. and Thomas M. Jones. Feasibility Study of Centres for Residential Adult Education in the Maritime Provinces. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965.

This study establishes the feasibility of creating centres for residential adult education in the Maritime Provinces; defines residential adult education and states advantages; indicates uses, including various types of retraining programs; and presents recommendations.

Majury, Ernst. An Abridgement of the Report of a Survey of Child Welfare Services in Nova Scotia and Recommendations. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Department of Public Welfare, October 1964.

"This survey report suggests joint services and partnership between the municipality and the children's aid societies in policy and finance. It sees the Province in a major role of responsibility and in leadership for recruitment in the social work field. Recommendations are intended to span a period for the next fifteen to twenty years." *

Nova Scotia, Department of Municipal Affairs. Municipality of Shelburne Housing Study. Halifax, Nova Scotia: October 1967.

This study is the result of a housing shortage in Shelburne municipality caused by industrial development. Accommodations were needed for various income groups, and the Community Planning Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Municipal Affairs were requested to investigate the feasibility of developing, through provincial and federal housing legislation, serviced lots and housing units.

Oliver, W. P. The Advancement of Negroes in Nova Scotia. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Department of Education, Adult Division, 1949.

This paper evaluates the factors relating to the Nova Scotia Department of Education program of adult education among Negroes, and suggests supplements to the existing programs in the twelve Negro communities.

_____. Nova Scotia Negro Communities. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Department of Education, Adult Division, March 1964.

This is a nine-page statement about the Negro communities in Nova Scotia under the following headings: (1) location, (2) population, (3) social resources, (4) educational facilities, (5) present employment status and opportunities, and (6) trends.

Pepin, Pierre-Yves. Life and Poverty in the Maritimes. ARDA Research Project 15002. Ottawa: 1968.

This is a study of five Maritime counties, including Inverness and Digby/Yarmouth in Nova Scotia, chosen

as the most typical of the depressed areas in the Maritime Provinces. The people's way of life and adaptation to their economic structure were studied by interview. The study undertook to evaluate the ideas of comfort and poverty in typical counties in the Maritimes, to define depressed areas, and to discover the common factors in the depressed areas surveyed.

Renouf, Harold. The Financial Situation of Certain Depressed Municipalities: Westville, Dominion, New Waterford. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1964.

This study provides information for dealing with certain municipalities depressed by loss of revenue or lack of revenue from industrial assessment. Findings show that financial problems of these towns are due not to extravagance or mismanagement, but to the absence of a tax base sufficient to provide the necessary services.

Rimington, Gerald T. The Resources of the Shubenacadie - Stewiacke Area of Nova Scotia. Wolfville, Nova Scotia: Acadia University Institute, October, 1966.

This socio-economic survey includes areas within two municipalities, Shubenacadie and Stewiacke, Nova Scotia. A household survey of six sample communities established living standards and income. The study presents a basis for future development plans.

Schafer, Paul and Robert Comeau. Economic Survey of the Kejimikujik Park Area in Nova Scotia. Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, 1964.

This study was completed for the Canadian Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, after a decision to establish a National Park in the Kejimikujik Lake area. It studies the economic base of the area and the economic implications of changes that might be caused by a park.

Shand, Gwendolyn V. Adult Education Among the Negroes of Nova Scotia. Reprinted from Journal of Education, Nova Scotia Department of Education, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1961.

This study discusses the progress, since 1946, of adult education among Negroes in Nova Scotia. The aid programs existing in the communities of New Road, East Preston and Hammon Plains have progressed to the point where the communities are now able to appoint their own leaders to solve their own problems instead of relying completely upon the Province. The study indicates that the majority of the Negro population is unaware of services available to them.

Walinsky, L. J. Evaluation of Economic Research Relating to the Atlantic Region. Fredericton, New Brunswick: Atlantic Provinces Research Board, June 1967.

The basis of this report is examination of economic research relating to the Atlantic Provinces for 1956-1966. Agreement and disagreement in these works were indicated as well as areas of further economic research.

Wood, K. Scott. Profile of Poverty in Nova Scotia. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965.

This study analyses poverty according to an ARDA definition using income levels. Using the ARDA guidelines, the poverty group was divided along the following lines; urban, rural non-farm, and rural farm families; size of family; broken homes; male or female family head; age, education and occupation of family head; and geographical location.

Wood, K. Scott and Harold Verge. The Problems of Certain Cape Breton Communities. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1966.

This is a sequel to the study by Harold Renouf of the financial problems of New Waterford, Dominion and Westville, Nova Scotia. It deals with the economic and social aspects of Dominion and New Waterford and adjustments necessary with the decline of such key industries as coal mining and steel.

Conference Papers and Briefs

Anselm, Sister M. Rehabilitation, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia Department of Public Health and Welfare, 1965.

This paper discusses the factors to be considered in applying social measures to the needs of specific persons, families and communities.

Atlantic Development Board. The Problem of Declining Communities. Ottawa: 1965.

This paper was prepared by Bernard Sufrin for the Federal-Provincial Conference on Poverty and Opportunity, December 7-10, 1965.

_____. Regional Economic Planning. Ottawa: 1965.

This is a brief prepared for the Federal-Provincial Conference on Poverty and Opportunity. It discusses the conflicts of regional planning with federal planning and suggests coordination of government and private agencies.

Black Man in Nova Scotia. Teach-In Report, January 24-25, 1969, Chairman: Gordon Earle. St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, 1969.

The reported Teach-In was sponsored by the X-Project, a group of 100 students at St. Francis Xavier University, engaged in social action

with local minority groups. The purpose of the Teach-In was to provide a platform for Black people to discuss their problems and to inform students of a pressing social problem in Nova Scotia. The speakers were: Dr. W. P. Oliver; "Rocky" Jones; Henry Bourgeois, Director of the Halifax Neighbourhood Centre; Donald Oliver, Halifax lawyer; Joseph Drummond, President, N.S.A.A.C.P.; and Leonard O'Neil, member of Guysborough A.R.D.A. Committee.

Boone, Terrance. Semi-Annual Report of Community Development on Indian Reserves, Antigonish, Nova Scotia: St. Francis Xavier University, Extension Department, September 30, 1965.

Canada Department of National Health and Welfare. Employability of the Individual: 1. Health, paper for the Federal-Provincial Conference on Poverty and Opportunity, Ottawa: December 7-10, 1965.

This paper examines the role of local, provincial and federal health programs in relation to the development and maintenance of employability in low-income families. Mention is made of the total range of health services including hospital care, medical care, and rehabilitative care, with emphasis on their accessibility to deprived elements of the population. Included also is a review of the relationship between poverty and disease, and of health expenditures and utilization of services by low-income groups.

• Financing of Personal Health Care for Recipients of Public Assistance in Nova Scotia. 1956-57 to 1963-64. Memorandum, Ottawa: June 1965.

• A Program for the Elimination of Poverty in the Atlantic Provinces, a brief by the Ministers of Welfare for the Atlantic Provinces, August 1969.

This brief is a discussion of the depressed condition in the Atlantic Provinces. The tax base does not support the programs and services necessary to keep the people off welfare. The brief suggests a revision of the tax-sharing agreement because present arrangement does not help enough, considering the depressed state of the Atlantic Region.

Canada, Privy Council. Special Planning Secretariat. Meeting Poverty. Papers from the Federal-Provincial Conference on Poverty and Opportunity, December 1965. Ottawa: 1966.

1. One Attack on Poverty - Family Planning Department
2. The Dimensions of Poverty in Canada - R. A. Jenness.
3. Regional Economic Planning - Atlantic Development Board
4. Profile of Poverty in Canada: Summary - Special Planning Secretariat.

These selected papers are part of a series of 16 papers on poverty in Canada issued by the Special

Special Senate Committee

Planning Secretariat to encourage better understanding of poverty in Canada and of measures to eliminate it.

_____ . Profile of Poverty in Canada. Ottawa: November 1965.

This is a series of papers prepared for the Federal-Provincial Conference on Poverty and Opportunity, December 7-10, 1965, by members of the Special Planning Secretariat. Subjects covered: - Employment; Education; Aged; Family Size; Disability; Health; Housing; Attitudes; Community Factors.

Dymond, W. R. "Our Changing Labour Force - Canada and the Atlantic Provinces", Dalhousie Labour Institute for the Atlantic Provinces, May 27-31, 1963. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1963.

This paper examines the pattern of economic, technological and social changes on manpower requirements, and the causes and consequences of unemployment.*

Halifax Welfare Council. Brief Submitted to the Nova Scotia Minimum Wage Board by the Mayor's Special Committee. Halifax, Nova Scotia: November 1964.

Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, "Human Rights Projects and Activities," Human Rights Conference, December 9, 1965, Halifax: 1966.

This paper is a compilation of comments received from 21 reporting organizations engaged in activities concerned with Human Rights in Nova Scotia.

_____ . Maritime Conference on Residential Adult Education, Halifax, Nova Scotia: 1966.

The Conference stressed the need of establishing adult education centres in order to improve employability, to help the culturally deprived, and to meet the adult education need, of the respective areas in which the centres are situated.

Jenness, R. A. The Dimensions of Poverty in Canada: Some Preliminary Observations. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, February 1965.

"Poverty is a relative concept, it has persons, environmental and time dimensions." The writer posits for alternative methods of identifying the low-income groups (a) Lorenz curves and proportionate earnings (b) budgetary studies. (c) ratios of expenditure to income and (d) institutional criteria. He finds that regardless of the techniques employed the minimum income need for a family of four in an urban environment is \$2,600-\$3,400; for 2 adults, \$2,000 to \$3,000; and for a single person about \$1,500 to \$1,800; and applying the American ratio, farm families would require 80 percent of the urban level. Major statistical difficulties, e.g., problems of aggregation, definitional problems and gaps in data and secular change over time are discussed.**

Lang, R. E. "The State of Community Planning in Nova Scotia," Nova Scotia Community Planning Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965.

This paper discusses the need for community planning, the necessity of training planners, and the importance of establishing Regional Planning Commissions in co-ordinating development agencies.

Lang, R. E. and H. Foerstaal. Housing and Poverty in Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia Department of Public Health and Welfare, Halifax, Nova Scotia: 1965.

This paper examines the dimensions of poverty in Nova Scotia and analyzes poverty in terms of the physical and social environment, with particular reference to housing. Existing programs are outlined and new solutions are advanced as part of a larger anti-poverty campaign.

Miller, G. P. "Public Housing in Nova Scotia," Nova Scotia Community Planning Conference. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1966.

This paper discusses the process preparatory to undertaking a public housing project. There are four categories of housing consumer, according to income group; public housing is needed for the two groups below the \$3,000 level. Housing improvements are seen as one means of breaking the poverty cycle by providing an improved environment for family life.

Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, Action Against Poverty. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Department of Public Health and Welfare, 1965.

This action program comprises four basic projects in which, it is suggested, participants should be involved from the planning stage; an education centre, a counselling centre, a youth program, and a training program.

Nova Scotia, Department of Public Welfare, "Years of Activity, Days of Leisure," the proceedings of the Nova Scotia Conference on Aging, Halifax, Nova Scotia: March 12-15, 1967.

This statement indicates that the aging are not a homogeneous group and that, therefore, programs (whether for housing, leisure-time activities, or other needs) should be sensitive to differences. There are dangers inherent in isolation and segregation of the aging, who should be encouraged to participate in programs designed for their benefit.

Papers prepared for the Federal-Provincial Conference on Poverty and Opportunity, Ottawa, December 7-10, 1965. Halifax, Nova Scotia: 1965.

This is a collection of papers gathered by the Department for the Conference on Poverty:

1. K. Scott Wood - Profile of Poverty in Nova Scotia.
2. Sister M. Anselm - Rehabilitation.
3. R. E. Lang and H. Foerstal - Housing and Poverty in Nova Scotia.
4. NSAACP - Action Against Poverty.
5. Department of Labour and Department of Education - Services.
6. Department of Trade and Industry - Services.

Weeks, Dr. E. P. Submission to the Senate Committee on Poverty.
Ottawa: Atlantic Development Board, 1969.

Periodicals

Baetz, Reuben C. "The Causes of Poverty," Canadian Labour.
Vol. 14, No. 7-8, July-August, 1969, pp. 18-19,
33-34.

This article presents excerpts from an address given by the author, Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council, to the 1969 Education Conference of the Ontario Federation of Labour, held in Niagara Falls, February 15-16, 1969. Before ours will be a "just society", the author suggests, poverty must be alleviated and its causes identified. Mr. Baetz identifies six causes: life cycle poverty, depressed area poverty, long term dependency, inner city poverty and the "culture" of poverty.

Bernard, M. "For Negroes in Halifax: Black Power vs Ping Pong," Maclean's. 57:49, 51-2, January 1967.

Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Annual Report, 1965-66. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966.

_____. Indian Affairs: Facts and Figures, Ottawa: Queen's Printer: February 1966 and September 1967.

Clark, A. "Blackman et al.," Maclean's, 76: 18, 55-8, Toronto: April 20, 1963.

Connor, Desmond M. "Rural Anti-Poverty Policy for the Future," Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. XVI, No. 3, 1968, pp. 51-60.

This article outlines ten elements in a more effective rural anti-poverty policy for Canada. Focus is on an approach with channels for rapid and self-correcting feedback so that policies and programs may be modified to meet functional needs. An appendix lists the 160 policy suggestions obtained at the Canadian Agricultural Economics Society annual meeting, June 25, 1968.

_____. "Training for the Poverty War," Canadian Welfare, 43:3, May-June 1967, pp. 20-24.

The author outlines and evaluates the method employed in training social development officers to handle a program of community development in rural Nova Scotia communities.

Cram, J. S. "Our Forgotten Citizens: Blueprint for a Better Deal," Family Herald, No. 13, Toronto, July 18, 1968, pp.28-29.

The article discusses the Indian situation in terms of health, education, employment, housing, and the conditions under which Indians still suffer. The program of the Indian-Eskimo Association is outlined and its recommendations for complete change of the machinery for dealing with native peoples in Canada.

Crane, David. "Study Shows Atlantic Area Students' Failure Drop-out Rate Highest," The Globe and Mail, Toronto, August 28, 1969.

This article discusses the content of a recently released ADB study on education. It alleged a deplorable condition in all aspects of education in the Atlantic Provinces, and observes that "education problems in the Atlantic Provinces are rooted in the way of life."

Davis, Morris. "Results of Personality Tests Given to Negroes in the Northern and Southern United States and in Halifax, Canada," Phylon: Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture, 1965.

This article is a repeat of B. Karon's The Negro Personality, showing similarity between Canadian and northern United States Negro scores on the T.A.T. and their dissimilarity to scores of southern United States Negroes. The article indicates also, the similarities of scores of Halifax respondents across classes and their differences, on denial of aggression from response patterns in either the northern or southern United States."

The author, formerly of Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, is a political scientist at Tulane University, New Orleans.

Dexter, Susan. "Black Ghetto that Fears Integration," Maclean's, 78:16, 36-8, Toronto, July 24, 1965.

This is a report of what happened in Africville in the three years since Alan Borovoy, an Ontario lawyer, attempted to organize civil rights activity in Halifax.

Doyle, R. V. "Facing Community Poverty: The Halifax Neighbourhood Centre," Canadian Welfare Magazine, 43:30-3, September - October 1967.

This is a report on the Halifax Neighbourhood Centre Project, begun in 1965, which aims to assist neighbourhood residents in the overcoming of social inequalities.

Doyle, Robert V. "The Poor in Canadian Cities," The Bulletin of Catholic Charities Council of Canada, 2, July 1967, pp. 10-14.

The associate director of the Halifax Welfare Council presents a thumbnail sketch of poverty, under the

headings: the pattern of poverty; what does it mean to be really poor; family pattern of the poor; the learning environment of the poor; and the problem of change.*

Economic Council of Canada, Annual Reviews, Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Second Annual Review, 1965 - Chapter 5 - Regional Growth and Disparities.

Third Annual Review, 1966 - Chapter 7 - Economic Expansion and Regional Development.

Fifth Annual Review, 1968 - Chapter 7 - Regional Aspects of Federal Economic Policies.

Sixth Annual Review, 1968 - Chapter 8 - Trends and Regional Differences in Education.

Fraser, Sylvia. "The Slow and Welcome Death of Africville," Star Weekly, Toronto, January 1, 1966, pp. 2-8.

Halifax Neighbourhood Centre: Second Year Report, November 1967 to October 1968.

The report contains evaluations of programs started by the Centre in the past two years:

- Canada Manpower Centre
- Day Care Centre
- Adult Education
- Housing
- Housekeeping Classes
- National Film Board
- Clergy
- Uniacke Community Association
- Maritime School of Social Work
- Youth Programme
- Legal Aid
- Medical Services

Hinds, Barbara. "Black Power: Has Halifax Found the Answer?" Atlantic Advocate, 59: Fredericton, N. B. January 1969, pp. 9-15.

This article is an account of events before and during a Human Rights Conference held in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on December 6 and 7, 1968.

Laidlaw, A. F. "We need a New Concept of Housing," The Maritime Co-Operator, Vol. 33, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, March 1, 1965.

Leighton, Alexander H. "Poverty and Social Change," Scientific American, Vol. 212, May 1965, pp. 21-7.

This is a sociological study of the Digby, Nova Scotia, area which establishes a high correlation between the conditions of life in a depressed rural community and the prevalence of psychiatric disorders. The study encompasses a ten-year period (1952-1962); changes in "socio-cultural integration/disintegration" were recorded.

Oliver, W. P. "The Negro in Nova Scotia," Journal of Education, December 1949.

This paper is a historical description of the Negro settlement in Nova Scotia and its development from silence to demand for recognition as a part of society and the right to better education, housing, and employment.

Parks, Arthur & F. R. Drummie. "The Atlantic Provinces Research Board," Canadian Public Administration, VIII: 1, March 1965, pp. 1-7.

The A.P.R.B. was given two responsibilities: a) to coordinate economic research conducted by the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, by universities in the Atlantic region, and by other bodies; b) to initiate research projects which "in the opinion of the Board and with approval of the provincial governments should be carried out and are not undertaken elsewhere."

Paton, A.I. "The Regional Approach in Pictou County, Nova Scotia," Community Planning Review, 17:1, Spring 1967, pp.12-15.

This study outlines events which lead to the adoption of a plan for regional development by six independent municipalities and the establishment of Pictou County Regional Urban Renewal Agency to direct it."*II

Poetschke, L. E. "Regional Planning for Depressed Rural Areas: the Canadian Experience," Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 16: No. 1.

Rawlyk, G. A. "The Guysborough Negroes - A Study in Isolation," The Dalhousie Review, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Spring 1968.

Stabler, Edna. "Would You Change the Lives of These People," Maclean's, Toronto, May 12, 1956.

This article describes a Negro community, New Road, Halifax County, Nova Scotia, where the author found untrue many of the reported stories about the community.

Stewart, Walter. "Can Union Save the Maritimes?" Maclean's, Toronto, August 1969, pp. 21-26.

The author depicts the life of three Maritimers; a farmer, a fisherman, and a coal miner; and from their stories of subsistence builds an argument for Maritime Union.

Van Steen, M. "Nova Scotia: Model in Race Relations," Saturday Night. Toronto, Vol. 12, 1959.

Winks, Robin W. "Negroes in the Maritimes," The Dalhousie Review, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1968.

Theses

Beaton, Sarah M. "Effects of Relocation". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1969.

This study investigates the feelings of ten families who were relocated from Africville between 1964 and 1966. The relocation involved approximately 80 families and was based on the welfare model. The study did not attempt to find answers, but rather to raise questions concerning whether the method of relocation was considered successful by the relocatees.

- Brookbank, C. R. "Afro-Canadian Communities in Halifax, Nova Scotia". Thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto, July 1949.

This thesis comprises a preliminary sociological survey of Nova Scotia in general and Halifax County in particular. It includes references to geographical and cultural factors; social organization; attitudes, values and behaviour; and social change.

- Campbell, Carol. "Economic Implications of Mothers' Allowance, in the Family Where the Father is Disabled". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1958.

This thesis is presented primarily by statistical analysis supplemented by case illustrations. The manner in which these families meet basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter are considered, as well as family debts, and the provision made for extras. The Mothers' Allowance is examined along with the various pensions and other salaries which constitute the total family income of the eighty cases studied.

- Conlogue, Mary B. "Socio-Economic Status and Emotional Disturbances in Children". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1963.

This study found a high correlation between material deprivation and acting-out aggressive behaviour.

- Dolin, Martin M. "The Halifax Slum". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1968.

This study concerns itself with a comparative typology of Halifax slum dwellers in contrast with the residents of public housing and with a middle-class control group.

- Frew, Catherine. "The Health of Colored Families in Halifax". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1959.

This thesis is a statistical analysis, with case illustrations, of the health and diet of the colored people against a background of culture, income, and living conditions. The findings indicate that the health of the colored group studied varies little from that of the general Canadian population but is influenced by social and economic factors of income and living conditions.

- Gorligh, Paul B. "Employment or Public Assistance for Families Headed by Women". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1956.

- Johnston, Michael K. "A Study of Municipal Welfare and Its Contributions to the Phenomenon of Generation to Generation Dependency on Such Assistance". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1968.

This study investigates the influence of municipal welfare, as it is applied in Nova Scotia, on the mobility trends of people receiving assistance. The findings establish that welfare dependency is transmitted from generation to generation.

MacDougall, Bernard. "A Study of the Influence of Urban Relocation on Displaced Residents, with Particular Respect to the Africville Relocation". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1969.

This study examines the changes which occur in people's lives as a result of urban relocation.

MacLennon, Phyllis Melvina. "A Study of the Coloured Community". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1959.

This thesis is a case study analysis, with statistical illustrations, of the attitudes of the people toward their neighbourhood and neighbours. Education, family disorganization, and employment are considered against a background of culture and present living conditions.

Matthews, George H. "Employment of the Colored Man in Halifax". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1959.

This thesis is a study of colored men over the age of 16 and not attending public school, with reference to educational level, types of employment, unemployment, and employment aspirations.

Prevatt, Dianne. "Self Initiation in Public Housing". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1969.

This thesis investigates whether there is a change in the attitudes or basic orientations of slum residents when they are moved into public housing; or whether the slum attitudes are perpetuated in public housing. It was found that since the physical conditions are only part of an interrelated culture of the slum, the change in physical surroundings was inadequate to change attitudes.

Quigg, Richard Alan. "Social Services in Public Housing". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1969.

This thesis examines two questions: What social services should be offered directly to public housing residents? Who is responsible for providing these social services in Halifax, Nova Scotia?

Reichwein, Baldwin Peter. "A Study of a Municipal Welfare Population." Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1969.

Russell, Christeen A. "Child Welfare Problems in the Colored Community". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1961.

This thesis focuses on selected child-welfare problems. The hypothesis is that colored residents of Halifax City have the same range of child welfare problems as have the white residents, but that they tend to limit their use of child caring agencies to requesting concrete services when their attempts to find a solution with friends and relatives fail.

Ross, Jean B. "Negroes of Halifax". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1959.

Sheridan, Marion. "Housing as a Factor in the Life of the Colored Family". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1959.

The writer evaluated the housing conditions in relation to the type and quality of housing, composition of households, economic aspects, and pathology within the family life.

Sutherland, Betty-Ann. "A Study of the Relationship Between Relocation from Physically Inadequate Housing Conditions to Public Housing and Social Behaviour Patterns." Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1968.

This study found insignificant the difference in school conduct between a group of children living in public housing and a group recently relocated from substandard housing to public housing. A higher proportion of the group originally in public housing passed in school and had a better attendance record.

Thompson, Dianne E. "The Pre-School for the Culturally Deprived Child". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1967.

This study investigates the advantages of a pre-school enrichment program for culturally deprived children, as measured by performance on intelligence tests. Results show that children who attended the pre-school had an average increase in I.Q. of 11.0 points and that children not attending had a mean loss of .4 points following their first year in public school.

Thompson, Ruth Irene. "A Study of the Relationship between Poverty and Chronic Illness." Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1966.

This thesis investigates the relationship between poverty and chronic illness in terms of the stress factors in poverty which may cause, perpetuate, and aggravate chronic illness. It was found that there is a significant relationship between poverty and chronic illness: 46.9% of chronically ill patients are in the poverty group as compared with 8.2% of the acutely ill patients. It was impossible to tell, however, whether the patients were ill because they were poor, or poor because they were ill.

Tyszko, Sister Lydia. "Family Life and Family Stability of Negro Families in Halifax". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1959.

The focus of this thesis is upon family interrelationships. The hypothesis is that there are racial attitudes and pressures which affect family life and influence family stability of the Negro families living on Maynard and Creighton Streets, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Williams, Eugene Edward. "Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1969.

This study is an historical review of the Association from its inception in 1945 to the present. Specific attention is given to the Association's role in education.

Yeadon, Marjorie. "Stress of Adolescence in a Colored Community". Thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1959.

This thesis focuses on the symptoms of stress as seen in the behaviour of ninety adolescents in social, recreational, and educational areas, with reference to family structure, socio-economic conditions of the family, participation in clubs and groups of church and neighbourhood, participation in academic and social life of school. It was found that racial discrimination and cultural pressures increase the stress of adolescence.

Books and Other

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APPENDIX "B"

Brief to the

Special Senate Committee on Poverty Prepared by the 11-A Class, Sydney Academy, and Submitted by:

William Neil MacKenzie,
11-A History Teacher;
Greg O'Neill,
Student Chairman.

11-A Brief

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INTRODUCTION

Forty-one people, all with different ideas working on a brief is indeed a very difficult proposition. The task is made all the harder because no one involved has had any experiences with Senate hearings.

If all forty-one of us were to submit a brief individually each one would be different. This paper will attempt to fuse together the important principles of what the class has submitted.

Cape Breton—the island of scenic wonder, the picturesque Cabot Trail and the restored Fortress of Louisbourg, oozing with Canadian history, ready to feed the imagination. Cape Breton is all this and more.

Although the tourist industry is important, it is seasonal and of minor importance. The tangerine orange dust rising from the steel city of Sydney rivals the beauty of the autumn foliage—in quantity.

The only unpleasantness the leaves create is the chore of raking your yard, which is easily replaced by the joy they bring.

The ore dust erodes the paint jobs of automobiles and reddens the housewife's sparkling wash hung on the line to dry. Although it adds to the beauty of the sunset it is not worth the inconvenience it causes.

As in all cities the disparity from the obvious rich and the obvious poor is quite evident. Why does the poor child, playing while his alcoholic mother or father sleeps off his drunken stupor, have little or no other choice

but to remain in the same niche in life carved out by his parents or grandparents?

Why does the child drop out of school at the age of sixteen with little or no education? Why does he end up the same as his parents? Why doesn't he do something about it?

It is easy for us, from our comfortable position of the "haves" in the middle class to criticize the lack of personal ambition in the "have-nots". But if we were in the same position what would our reaction be? How would we conduct ourselves? Would we continue on in the same road of life?

And what about the not so poor? The families that are struggling along on a bare subsistence level. To us if they have the status symbols of our day, the television, the car etc., they might not seem poor. But do we know what they are doing without to obtain the items that allow them to identify with the middle class.

But material poverty is not the only type. Cultural poverty does not respect classes. It is found in the low, middle and upper classes. In the upper or middle strata of society it is spiritual poverty that often makes us complacent about the lower portion and lackadaisical in acting.

All Canadians should be developed spiritually. A great portion of their life is wasted if they do not develop their aesthetic values.

It is the responsibility of the middle class to see the lot of these people improved. The path may be strewn with thorns and stoned with no clear destination in sight but it is one that must be travelled. We must help these people.

Poverty is almost impossible to define. The definition depends whether you speak of material or cultural poverty, spiritual or physical poverty.

However, we believe that poverty is the cause and reason *why* an individual is poor. This contains a large scope of ideas. Is a person poor because of a lack of adequate education or no place to use his skills?

Can people function and live in substandard housing conditions? What is the government doing to help the aged, the ill, and the widowed? Are their programs really efficient and as effective as they must be?

Are the existing labour laws to the workers to their advantage or disadvantage?

Certainly all these questions must be answered—not in theory but in practice. If getting ahead in the world is the creed of the North American of today, our poor in Canada are not exempt from this desire. They must be helped to advance.

In this brief we are trying to delve into the problems of the poor and to offer recommendations for a solution.

Remember! The youth of today are concerned, if not why would we attempt such a large undertaking in such a short period of time. We play a major role in the country today and we are the adults of tomorrow.

The eleven-A class would like to acknowledge the various government agencies who have forwarded information concerning this brief. We feel also that the individuals who took time out to talk to us should be thanked for their kindness.

There were, however, several agencies who either sent no information or sent it too late to be useful.

resources are unquestionably the most precious."

It is our belief that through education much of Canada's unutilized human resources can become a productive element of our society. As it exists today, our system of education consists mainly of primary, secondary and high schooling with a divergence at this point for either university or technical training. The basic structure is sound, but the fabric does not suit the climate or temperament of youth today.

The present school structure is shouldered by teachers. Teachers are perhaps the most important profession in our society, since it is their responsibility to discover and utilize the human resources which run the country. In poorer families, the teachers are not assisted in these duties by parents, who have enough troubles of their own. They may even be detrimental by instilling backward notions into the children. Unfortunately many teachers are not capable of doing so. As a student, who has been taught by more than twenty different ones, I feel that there is a serious shortage of responsible teachers.

At the present time, there are teachers within the system with Normal College education. Here are people, themselves only two or three years out of high school, running our learning institutions.¹ Such young, uneducated persons with narrow outlooks on life are harmful rather than useful to the school system.

A child from a poor family is absorbing by osmosis the unhealthy environment in which he lives. His world is a restricted one. It is essential that as a child his outlook is broadened by tours, games, and understanding teachers in whom the student can confide.²

Invariably the Normal School teachers are left waiting for children in primary school who suffer in the end. But how can they be expected to perform these essential tasks?

For the most part, the situation degenerates in secondary school. At this point, the work load at school increases considerably. During adolescence the students require understanding from their teachers, especially if they do not receive this at home. In poorer families, there is aggravation due to lack of space where a person can concentrate and work.

POVERTY

By:

Jamie Allen	Ruth MacDonald
Stan Ardelli	Kathy MacKillop
Jeff Burchill	Blair MacKinnon
Judy Canning	Fred MacLeod
Cheryl Conrad	Dave MacNeill
Bonnie Creaser	Allan MacPhee
Richard Crooks	Gary MacPherson
Beverly Davis	Wayne MacVicar
Arlene Dubinsky	Colin Mathieson
Anne Marie Gardiner	Nanci Monroe
Tish Graham	David Nagy
Greg Hart	Lynn O'Brian
Richard Haysom	Greg O'Neill
Marguerite Hearn	Christine Penny
Shirley Henderson	Debby Reid
Dave Johnston	Liamus Roach
Tony Kolanko	Leonard Siller
George Lohnes	Marie Smith
Faith MacDonald	Sheila Spencer
Marie MacDonald	Avil Watson
Patsy MacDonald	

I. EDUCATION

"A country depleted of its natural resources soon becomes a wilderness, a waste. But of all a nation's resources, its human

¹ See Appendix A:1

² See Appendix A:2

High school level learning has the greatest influence on a young adult. The atmosphere at school is one of vitality, but is this vitality being channelled in the right direction? In many cases I think not. The impersonality of teachers, including many who teach me, alienates students from their work. For fifteen or so years teachers are the link between a student and the outside world, yet these teachers introduce a world straight from textbooks. Thus the student faces life alone and ends in frustration.³

But where does all this lead? Firstly, Normal College education should not be considered adequate. Every teacher must have at least a B.A. or B.Sc., with a minor in Psychology. This background is essential for anyone working with people. A teacher cannot *help* a student when he cannot *understand* the student. Guidance and the teaching of self-discipline is most important in the younger grades, when a person learns easiest. This is the time to guide young ones who are often abused because of shabby clothing and lack of school equipment. Under a proper atmosphere these children will turn to a teacher for help and the teacher will be able to be of assistance. In this way the fight against poverty is taken up actively by members of society other than social workers.

Another point is that teachers should be emotionally sound.^{4, 5, 6} The teacher must be tested and his or her background investigated before being allowed to handicap children for the rest of their lives.

Once there are teachers who fit these qualifications, children from poor families can be taught to think and be aware of the world around them. It might seem self-evident that a high school graduate knows how to think, but very few are able. By thinking, I mean the faculty of analysing almost any situation presented and coming to conclusions independent of others. Once a decision is made, it must be open to attack and defended against any criticism. Arnold Toynbee's theory of challenge and response applies to more than the fall of the Hellenist world. Without a challenge the mind stagnates. A child from a poor family is faced with problems about life, family, housing, employment, and if he has never been taught to think, intelligence on his part will not help.

Besides classes to make a student aware of life today, a teacher should present challenges

which vary according to the ability and needs of the class. In this way a student of high school age can cope with the problems he faces.

As the students enter into their junior and senior high school years, it is essential that specialized guidance be implemented into the school fabric. The counselling operation in a number of schools in our area is extremely antiquated, because the students are compelled to seek the guidance officer.

For those adolescents who are able to discuss their future rationally at home this is not a serious handicap. But what of the child from a poor family where all time and energy is devoted to either making ends meet or the parents are unwilling to cooperate?⁷ He may not understand how very important his decision will be or realize his own potentialities and the numerous fields in which they could be exploited.

Throughout his life he has probably absorbed only the narrow-minded views of his environment. If he has never experienced anything beyond these closed walls, how can the youth be expected to even know what to ask the guidance officer? Before one can inquire one must have a wide scope from which to select discussions.⁸ Without proper counselling the child will often choose incorrectly his course of studies, leading to confusion, boredom or failure.⁹

Lack of qualified guidance is a serious matter, for it may be detrimental to the person's future. Many must depend on the advice they so receive.

It is adamant that guidance counsellors have an M.A. and at the very least a minor in psychology.¹⁰ Once the guidance officers become effective, guidance classes must *absolutely* must be introduced.

The guidance sessions would have to divert from the humdrum routine of daily classroom and act as a stimulus for the students.¹¹ The subjects of discussion would cover a widely varied area.¹² The youth of today must be given the chance to exploit their potentials.

³ See Appendix A:3

^{4, 5, 6} See Appendix A:4, 5, 6

⁷ See Appendix A:7

⁸ See Appendix A:8

⁹ See Appendix A:9

¹⁰ See Appendix A:10

¹¹ See Appendix A:11

¹² See Appendix A:12

Many are willing and able but have not the opportunity or *facilities* with which and in which to acquire knowledge.

By the time a student has reached the secondary level under proper guidance, he knows whether he is suitable, to aim towards university or trade school.

The pupil of average or greater intelligence will likely choose an academic career. In this case, he must take high school and university education. Poor families cannot afford the texts necessary. Furthermore there is the stigma of shabby clothes and no money for social activities. Often the student will leave school at sixteen, due not to preference but to the fact that the family could use the few dollars he would make if he obtained a job.

The Student Loan Programme, although being a very great aid, is insufficient and too restricted. An expanded student loan programme would prove to be an invaluable aid in educating the poor.

The greatest problem with student loans is that they are solely for people who wish to go to college. To get through high school is often a great problem for poor people because as we have stated their family wants them to get a job after they are sixteen and leave school. Such loans should be made available to poor people who are unable to continue their high school studies because of economic pressures at home. These expansion programmes should be extended at the university level.

For those whose abilities do not lie in university fields, there are or should be vocational trade and technical schools. Trade and vocational schools are already located in our province but are unfortunately over-crowded. Therefore we feel there should be more of these retraining centres for our unemployed, low-income or so called "poor people."¹³

But to have these institutions is not enough. It has been proven in the United States, that the unemployed who are training, need more attention to their social and financial problems than average pupils. There is a lack of both teachers and guidance counselors at these centres.¹⁴

Due to this overcrowding there is often a lowering of skill in the different trades.¹⁵ This leads to difficulty once they have completed their course. If more of the schools were built and the standard of training raised, industry might be willing to invest in this area; thus a

larger percentage of the qualified labour would remain in the area.

For those who do not wish to take day training and retraining there are night classes. There are courses in academic and technical studies¹⁶ but there are no classes offered on food values, credit cards, finance companies and interest rates in Cape Breton. As a result, what little money and personal belongings the people have is being unwisely spent or taken away from them.

The time has come for greater cooperation between the Federal and Provincial governments in the field of education. Education costs are spiraling across the country. This situation is placing the so-called "have not" provinces (the Atlantic provinces, Quebec) at a great disadvantage. It is rapidly becoming almost impossible for them to provide modern educational programs for their residents. As a result the people will suffer and are suffering at the present time.

Most school systems follow basically an academic program at least up to the start of high school. No opportunity is given to those students whose interests lean more towards trade schools. Thus, a great deal of time is wasted and these students become disinterested in the ordinary type of education. Eventually, they will probably drop out of school and having no trade likely enter the ranks of the unemployed.

If this problem is to be solved on a national level there must be a complete review of Canada's overall educational system. A basic standard must be set for the nation as a whole with a common curriculum for the country's school system. The provinces and the Federal Government must take on education as its responsibility.

Thus, in the long run more money would be available for the improved facilities which are greatly needed. Not only could the regular schools be updated, but trade and vocational schools would also benefit. A greater number of these schools are a necessity. Thus a student who would normally end up as a dropout could receive training in the skilled trade of his choice. Therefore, instead of being a liability he would be an asset to the nation.

¹³ See Appendix A:13

¹⁴ See Appendix A:14

¹⁵ See Appendix A:15

¹⁶ See Appendix A:16

However, the courses provided by the trade and vocational establishments must meet the standard that industry requires of the job applicant.

A new academic curriculum would improve the chances of the student attending school to adopt an interest in his studies and a better opportunity to eventually go into university. Special attention should be given to the student from a poor family or troubled in his studies. An improved set of studies with different programmes would enable such a student not intending to go to university to obtain an education.

Thus, greater cooperation between the Federal and Provincial governments is essential if the ranks of the unskilled are to be reduced.

"We are not saying that Education will completely eliminate all forms of poverty, but we do believe that it will help many improve their lot; thus, the number of poor people will decrease."

II. LACK OF JOBS

The problem of lack of jobs is a very serious matter in Cape Breton. You do not have to look far to see an unemployed steel worker and a coal miner. When there is a lack of jobs young and old alike move to greener pastures in everlasting hope to find jobs. With time and money maybe some day your relatives, friends and even enemies might not have to move from their native home, CAPE BRETON. Maybe some day Cape Breton will not be referred to as a declining area but as one of Canada's most important industrial areas known world round.

See Appendix B

III. HOUSING

In the past two decades in the Atlantic Region, as in the remainder of Canada, there has been an improvement in housing conditions. However, in degree, the rate of improvement in the Atlantic Provinces has lagged behind improvement in other areas of the country. Relevant circumstances of low income, level of academic opportunity, demographic trends and geography have inhibited the achievement of a standard comparable with national averages.

The home is the place where people in general fulfill the basic domestic and personal

functions of family life. Physical and mental health, working efficiency, emotional security and social status are all likely to be influenced by housing conditions. Suitable accommodations are vital to the family of today but some families cannot afford this necessity. Because of this we have to come to recognize that the existence in the community of such disadvantaged persons or families involves a tremendous social and financial cost as well as a threat to the well-being of the entire community. These people with their dreary apathetic lives, their ill health, the poor prospects of their children for education and economic opportunity, their anti-social behaviour, the delinquency of their children, the marital conflict and the alcoholism cause us concern.

At the national level, housing is important not only because it affects health and welfare and is closely related to such political principles as "equal opportunity" and "minimum standards" but also because it is a vital factor in employment (construction) directly or indirectly, so therefore is important to the national economy.

The rate of population increase is about 400,000 persons per annum and because of this we need to build at least 125,000 dwellings per annum in our cities and towns. It is because of this rate that many large numbers of our fellow Canadians are plagued with the problem of housing. For those who have visited my home city, Sydney, they should have seen, if not realized, the conditions in which some people are forced to live. There is certainly no reason for any of us to be complacent or satisfied with what we find in some cities. We cannot go on indefinitely improving the average standard of housing conditions (90 per cent of entire housing output has been provided for middle and upper class society) and seriously try to do something worthwhile for the large number of people, who are forced to put up with accommodation that in some instances, at least, offends even the most rudimentary sense of human dignity.

The purposed solutions below help and bring hope for low-income groups, for elderly persons, for those who have to bring up their children in slums or near slums and for university students. One of the most important solutions to solve the housing problem is more low-rental housing which is reported to be working quite well. More housing cooperatives and public housing. The Federal and

Provincial governments should have more joint housing projects. No matter which methods the government choose to eliminate the housing crisis, they should keep in mind that the quicker they are in solving it the sooner a better and healthy Canadian society is formed.

See Appendix C

IV. GOVERNMENT FAILURES

In the following section are the ways the Government tries to help the people who are unable to live without financial help from the Government. In most cases of the payments of Government Welfare, we, the Eleven-A's of Sydney Academy, feel that the Government should improve by granting more money which will be used by the people who really need it.

The following section deals with the Canadian approach to welfare and the American approach. In some cases the American approach seems and is better. Canada is a young and beautiful country filled with people who need welfare and are receiving welfare and they need much more than what they are getting. Steps should be taken to improve this serious problem and maybe even whip it out of the hearts of all Canadians connected with it. This is a great goal but with time and especially MONEY it can be accomplished so not only the people who earn a comfortable sum of money yearly but also poor people today will live happily without the worry of losing their furniture, etc. Every Canadian should band together and accomplish this goal.

See Appendix D

V. PROBLEMS IN LABOUR LAWS

At this time in history unskilled labourers are in the same battle that labour as a whole was in fifty years ago. That is, they have not the right to collective bargaining or as it is popularly (or unpopularly) known as "Unionism."

Part time workers are not covered by the Minimum Wage Act or The Workman's Compensation Act. This means: (1) Uneducated people who usually get these unskilled jobs end up just as poor as if they got unemployment for doing nothing. (2) They receive no compensation if they injure themselves while on the job. They do not qualify for unemploy-

ment insurance if they have not been employed for six months. (3) A worker has to wait three months before he receives the minimum wage. A manager of a business *can* therefore hire and fire on a three month basis.

The Nova Scotian Minimum Wage Act paves the road to regional disparity because it differentiates between minimum wages being paid in designated area.

Organizing unions in areas of unskilled labour is virtually impossible for two reasons: (1) When a strike could be called, management holds the threat of calling in scab labour. (2) Management of a unionized institution would fight bitterly to oppose it.

An example of number two would be when the local steel workers' union tried to organize an aluminum products installers company. The management simply said that his workers were salesmen and not aluminum workers. The judge upheld the claim and unionism went down to defeat.

"Unionism is the cause of inflation" was a popular catch phrase and still is among some people. What people failed to see is that without unions, workers would still make about fifty cents to one dollar an hour.² If part-time workers and unskilled labourers could become unionized, a great part of poverty would be alleviated.

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

(1) If people receive more money because they are poor, to substantiate their incomes, then conceivably in pockets of poverty, prices would rise accordingly.

(2) To alleviate this possibility a "prices control board" could be set up. To accompany this, higher taxation of the upper twenty-five percent of the income bracket would be mandatory to help finance the extra cost.

(3) It is a step in the right direction because it stops payment of welfare in forms of baby bonuses to people who do not need the money and it also eliminates

¹ This also applies to handicapped, domestic and menial servants.

² Approximately the present part-time wage scale.

the bureaucratic welfare system which presently exists.

"The statement that at least one Canadian in every five suffers from poverty does not appear to be a wild exaggeration."—Fifth Annual Report to the Economic Council of Canada.

The first step should be to establish co-ops where four employed families subsidize one unemployed family. The head of the unemployed family could be educated and retrained thus making him suitable for the labour market. The four families who are subsidizing this one family have a personal interest in what this one person is doing and would give him incentives.

To make money more plentiful for the five families, the four families who subsidize the fifth, will work under conditions where they elect management and can get more benefits through increased pressure which can be exerted on the management.

This system will give five instead of four people buying power, thereby giving increased benefits to farmers and other producers.

APPENDIX A

1. A new teacher had in her Grade Five Class a mathematically inclined student. She had never been taught new mathematics with which the class was accustomed. Her mistakes in class bored him so much that he began to work ahead on his own during school hours. The teacher reprimanded the boy and forbade him to work ahead. Her excuse was that he must be getting assistance at home, for how could he do math she did not understand. In this way the teacher displayed her ignorance to a young class and lost their respect by doing so.

2. In some primary grades in Toronto, the students are taken to places of interest. One Grade Two Class visited the zoo and a maple syrup farm. This was an exciting experience about which the youngsters are still talking. I have never been on a tour which included all the members of my class.

3. Of the twenty teachers who have taught me, only two have in some way succeeded in introducing outside stimulation. Most were over the age of fifty-five, and used 1930 school methods. Certain teachers were so oppressive that in one case two girls in my grade took nervous breakdowns. A less domi-

neering teacher could not cope with 1960 youth (she was over sixty) and took a nervous breakdown herself.

4. One teacher taught me after she had been to a mental hospital for treatment. Her attitude had a disturbing effect on many students and developed introversion in many pupils, myself included.

5. The first time I "thought" was in Grade Ten, when I was confronted with term papers and projects. By doing research I became aware of methods of procedure. Class questioning during another project was an important lesson in quick-thinking and self-confidence.

6. The Sydney school system is definitely lacking in facilities for tours and outings. One project which our class planned last year—an outing to Louisbourg—was handicapped by red tape in all quarters. In the end we did not go.

7. In one particular family of ten, the father was employed, receiving a fair income. However, the mother spent the money unwisely, continually buying liquor and attending bingo. The children were found stealing food from garbage cans. In such an environment, the children are unable to communicate intelligently with their parents.

8. Having been to the guidance office myself, I realize how ridiculous and futile such a meeting can be. I wished to drop a science course so as to continue on with a language course begun in Grade Ten. The guidance officer did not see why a person would want four languages, but said it was up to me. He was only concerned with fixing schedules for students wanting to alter subjects and so forth. Although I shall be able to cope and decide with help at home, many students from poor families, who just can't communicate, are at a very great disadvantage.

9. In some cases students in junior high have been advised by teachers to enter a General Course, which is a useless pursuit for most in this day and age. A boy had graduated with his Grade Twelve General and once out in the world found an extremely narrow channel of opportunity for work. He has now returned to the Grade Eleven and Academic Course. When he decided or rather was advised to go into the General course, he apparently did not know where it would

leave him. Many think they can go on to University and Technical Colleges. Too many think this way. If it is at all possible one should enter an academic course, for the jobs still in existence, requiring a General diploma are very scarce. What of tomorrow?

10. A guidance officer must be aware of the working of the mind and how people act and react to different situations. He must be a very broad-minded individual and associated with the generation in which he works. Understanding and complete dedication are adamant. To insure that such individuals are hired a very thorough study must be made of their background, particularly in association with people.

11. The counsellor would have to present and explain the topic to be discussed. But he must not drill. Such a class is conducted for the benefit of the students. Therefore, they must be allowed to question statements, inquire further into the subject and give opinions. This would definitely not be a grading or examinations course.

12. Naturally types of jobs in the working world and their requirements should be dealt with. There should also be a type of Family Course in Living. Those students who have known nothing but squalor, may inherit the attitudes of their environment.

There is a family of twelve whose father doesn't work only because he does not want to labour. Whenever a job is obtained for him he finds an excuse to remain idle. Every week the Salvation Army provides food etc. for this family. Now are the children supposed to realize that they should strive for an education in order to some day support themselves?

A course such as the one mentioned above would entail teaching the basics of money—management, household care, and consumer values. The students must begin to think of these problems, for one day they will be faced with these situations.

13. Both Point Edward Trade School and Nova Scotia Institute of Technology have lengthy waiting lists. It took much too long for the technical school to be built. Cape Breton needed it long ago. When it was built, it was poorly situated. Its location is a barrier for students from rural areas of the island, who cannot afford the bus fare.

14. At Point Edward Trade School there are up to twenty-five pupils per teacher.

In the way of guidance, there is also a shortage. This lack is mirrored through the poor discipline. Once, when a speaker was at Point Edward, he was shown disrespect from students, who sat with their feet on their desks, smoking cigarettes.

It is essential that highly-qualified staff is employed at trade schools, where persons from poor families can receive attention.

15. (a) Point Edward graduates are not well qualified for most modern industry. Many trainees go to Toronto only to find their skills insufficient to enable them to obtain jobs.

A diploma from the Nova Scotia Institute of Technology has a very high rating but is limited in attendance by the higher entrance qualifications.

(a) A training program in the United States is an example of what a successful program must consist:

A program by Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in Georgia screened and rejected twenty-five percent of the applicants because they had less than Grade Five education. Ninety-eight men started; seventy completed the course and forty-three men were hired. The main reason for dropouts was poor attendance and lack of interest. The workers during training were exposed to real working conditions.

(Another similar company in California (one hundred eleven started; one hundred eight completed it) put the trainees on company payroll with starting rates for their particular trade.)

The trainees were hired at various companies, not necessarily at Lockheed. According to some employers, these men were their best trained and most productive workers. This compliment is due to the fact that the trainees knew for what they were being trained and were actually overtrained. The method used by the instructors was to show the trainees how to do something by much repetition.

Over fifty percent of the instructors' time was spent on the trainees' personal problems.

A main reason for the success of the program was due to the fact that the trainees had a job waiting for them. Enormous amounts of time put on the trainees' family life enabled them to study well. There were no more than six pupils per trainer.

16. Adult Education Classes are held at Sydney Academy, Xavier College, Vocational High School, Point Edward, Maritime Tel. & Tel., Banks and SYSCO.

A Cape Breton plan in adult education has been carried out during the last five years proving to be very successful. Coal miners with...

LACK OF JOBS

In discussing the problem of lack of jobs we must examine three aspects:

1. The extent of lack of jobs in Cape Breton.
2. The reasons why this is so, and
3. Solutions to solve it on a *long-time* basis.

The topic of poverty as caused by a lack of jobs is of particular importance to everyone since a great portion of the adult poor in Canada have income earning potential. As a result there is a high economic cost to our society by having failed to discover effective policies and programs to cope with the problem. Most people will agree that higher production is the creed of North America. Therefore the fact that such a large number of poor are in the labour force definitely shows our economy is not producing as much as it should or could.

As students, we are mainly dealing with the problem of poverty in our area of Cape Breton. A good proportion of us, having lived here most of our lives, having been born here, have first-hand knowledge of the severe unemployment problem. Many of us have known about and seen unemployment in our own families and relatives or in neighbours. Through the years in the Sydney area we have seen families time after time being forced to live on benefits of unemployment due to closures or lay-offs in our local industries (shown in the example of the Steel Plant).

APPENDIX B:1

Unemployment is almost accepted as a way of life in Cape Breton for we are constantly aware of it every minute of our lives. Poverty reports, newspapers, radio, and television constantly refer to us as one of the declining areas of Canada.

It should be well understood there is definitely a very serious problem here and before

we can even attempt to solve it we must see reasons that have caused and are still causing the problem. The two broad or main reasons of unemployment in the Cape Breton area are: 1. poor education (lack of skill) 2. not enough jobs available. The education factor, a huge problem itself, has been discussed so we will continue to concentrate on the jobs which are lacking.

APPENDIX B:2

In Cape Breton, even a person who has skills which are useful can find no place to use them. In a local example of this can be pointed out rather vividly. Only eighty-one percent of one of the recent graduating classes of Sydney's Business College are working. Of this number fifteen percent are working in non-related jobs, which shows clearly that they could not find places which wanted their skill. The percentage that do not get work are the very ones who leave Cape Breton for greener pastures. Likewise it is the same with a high number of skilled people who are forced to emigrate to other places, draining the area of valuable skilled workers. This only aggravates our economic situation by reducing our local output and really creating more unemployment for those who cannot leave the area. It almost seems that Cape Breton is only an educating school of thousands of emigrants (Brain Drain).

This emigration only discourages industries who see no potential in an area where many skilled workers are leaving. The strange fact is that there is definitely no lack of brains in the area but still we do not improve. From our experiences as students, we know of many people who sincerely want to stay in Cape Breton but are forced by reality to pack their bags and leave. (Whenever a person does go to college in Cape Breton or on the mainland of Nova Scotia, it is customary to ask where he is going to live after his education is completed; not if he is leaving!)

There is no clear cut reason why a lack of jobs exists in Cape Breton. For one, many of our present industries are old ones (Steel Plant & Coal Mines) that have not kept up with modern changes. These industries did not require a great number of skills years ago that exist today. They do not require the high skills that Cape Bretoners have to offer and so people must leave.

APPENDIX B:3

In our area when we do get new industries that are modern, many of the people hired are brought from away because there is no one left here to fit the industries' particular qualifications.

Seasonal employment in fishing, lumbering and construction work greatly adds to our problem. In other words the proper skilled force is not available in Cape Breton when it is needed if it is needed at all.

The solution to the whole dismal situation sounds simple but it is very difficult to get any action to carry it out. Education, one of the major solutions, has been discussed.

The industries can be encouraged to come to Cape Breton if they know there is a great potential here. Likewise, if students in colleges and technical schools, etc. know there will be definitely good opportunities.

APPENDIX C

A definite plan should be taken up by the government to bring a diversified program of industries so that Cape Breton will not be dependent on the success of one or two main industries (e.g. the Sysco situation). A commission should be set up to study the potential of a certain industry and its value as a long time solution in the Cape Breton area. If it is decided that the industry will be feasible, a program of the jobs to be offered by the industry should be made known to Cape Bretoners. In this way people will train for a job that they will be certain to obtain and the industry will be sure of getting its labour force.

In this way greater expansion will occur and fewer and fewer people will have to leave the area. The government must fully realize that only long-term plans will alleviate the ever-lasting problem of unemployment. (Not like Louisbourg plan).

There is nothing peculiar about the Cape Breton area for it has supplies of minerals and an expected superport to promote industry.

If government and the people work together in close alliance, *the problem can be successfully solved.*

APPENDIX D:1

The Welfare Department in Canada covers the following areas: FOSTER WIDOWS (including wives whose husbands have desert-

ed and unemployed widowers), DISABILITY, OLD AGE PENSIONS, UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE and FAMILY ALLOWANCES.

In the Provincial Welfare Department the officials grant \$25 a month for the care of the first foster child and \$20 a month for each child after the first one. Everyone knows \$25 a month for a child is not much, so the Government should improve this section of the law.

In the Widow's Department the set amount each family receives is far from being fair. The maximum a widow can receive per month is \$175. A family of a widow and two children receive \$175 a month while a family of a widow and ten children have to live on the same amount. That is far from being fair! This is one way the Government is causing hardship and maybe POVERTY. Another fault in this system is when a widow's child becomes eighteen her and her child's benefits stop. The benefits will still stop when the child is eighteen even if he should still have six months left of school.

In the United States widows' children receive benefits until they are finished school or college if they attend full-time and are not or have no intention of getting married while attending school. The United States has more money but it also has more people, more problems and more world projects. Their system is better than the Canadian one.

A report by the student must be made out to the U.S. Social Security telling his intentions of returning to school full-time the following year.

Widows in the United States receive much more than the Canadian widows. Their payments are based on their late husbands' yearly salary. A chart to show the different payments is provided in Appendix D:2.

In Canada if a woman's husband left an insurance she cannot claim any money until the amount of the insurance is down to \$2500. She could bring it down to the required amount by putting \$1500 per child away to be untouched for educational purposes. She has to wait two to three months for her first check. She can get financial help from Municipal Assistance, but the amount is very low, until her first payment arrives. Why couldn't she receive her benefits right away? This is another fault of the Government.

The Disability payments in the United States like the Widows' Allowance are based on salary if the person has worked (see Appendix D:2). Payments may start in the

month the person had become disabled. If the person remains disabled until he is sixty-five the disability pension changes to retirement at the same rate.

In Canada the maximum payment for a disabled person is \$88 a month. The United States minimum payment is \$55 which shows the maximum is higher than Canada's. In both countries proof must be shown that the person is really unable to work.

Canadian Old Age Pension is granted to anyone who is sixty-five and it does not matter if the old person has ten thousand dollars or one cent. This is not right. A person who is well-off should not receive this pension. That money not sent to these people should be sent to people who are old and are in much greater need of it. The payment is \$75 a month or supplements can be added to \$109-\$120.

In the United States the retired worker receives money in accordance to the amount he earned when he was younger yearly. In some cases the amount is lower than the Canadian one but it is a bit more sound proof. (Appendix D:2).

Unemployment Insurance is one of the major things in Canada that a great amount of people take advantage of. Some work the required amount of time and then get fired and apply for unemployment insurance. The government should check on these people. The money that is not there for other government Welfare Branches is given to these people who just live to get the unemployment checks while others must but should not, suffer.

In the United States unemployment is a major problem. People go to the States and have no intention of working while the other people's taxes rise sky-high.

In the field of Family Allowances, improvements should certainly be made. Well-to-do

families are receiving checks which are far from needed. Their checks should be cut off and then divided among families-in-need decided by the Economic Council of Canada. The well-off families who lost their checks could have their taxes lowered by half the amount they lost.

Youth Allowances should not stop when the teenager reaches eighteen if he has passed every year and has a couple of months of school left after he is eighteen.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Government should make laws to suit everyone. The way it is now, one law is for all types of people with all different types of problems.

2. Make improvements so there is more money for the welfare offices.

3. The Government should educate the people on problems of welfare, housing and especially POVERTY.

4. Welfare officers should be picked or even elected very carefully and in earnest.

5. The Government should take aims to watch for people who take advantage of government payments.

WELFARE is a very important topic in Canada. People who need welfare should be made to not to feel ashamed that they are receiving welfare from the government for welfare is certainly a PRIVILEGE and a right of being a Canadian citizen. Welfare should be certainly improved but who are really desperate could not live without it. As a Canadian citizen a person should not misuse it for they are not the ones who are going to suffer but the people who count the days until their next cheque is due. Maybe with time everyone will be happy and not hungry going to bed in this wonderful country of ours, CANADA.

APPENDIX D:2

EXAMPLES OF MONTHLY CASH PAYMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES**

Average yearly earnings	\$899 or less	\$1,800	\$3,000	\$4,200	\$5,400	\$6,600	\$7,800
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Retired worker (65 or older).....	55.00	88.40	115.00	140.40	165.00	189.90	218.00
Disabled worker (65 under).....	27.50	44.20	57.50	70.20	82.50	95.00	174.40
Wife 65 or older.....	44.00	70.80	92.00	112.40	132.00	152.00	174.40
Retired worker at 65.....	20.70	33.20	43.20	52.70	61.90	71.30	78.80
Wife at 62, no child.....	55.00	73.00	94.90	115.90	136.20	156.70	179.90
Widow at 62 or older.....	47.70	63.30	82.30	100.50	118.10	135.90	156.00
Disabled widow at 50, no children.....	33.40	44.30	57.60	70.30	82.70	95.10	109.20
Wife under 65, one child.....	27.50	44.20	57.40	146.40	165.00	190.00	214.00
Widow under 62 and one child.....	82.50	132.60	172.60	210.60	247.60	285.00	327.00
Widow under 62 and two children.....	82.50	132.60	202.40	280.80	354.40	395.00	434.40
One child of retired or disabled worker....	27.50	44.50	57.50	70.20	82.50	95.00	109.00
One surviving child.....	55.00	66.30	86.30	105.30	123.80	142.50	163.50
Maximum family payment.....	82.50	132.60	202.40	280.80	354.40	395.60	434.40

**These rates were raised when President Johnson was in and will increase again in April 1970.

Material Completing the 11-A Brief
to
The Special Senate Committee on
Poverty

Containing:

- (A) Dissenting Opinions from the Main Brief
- (B) Master List of Recommendations for Action

Submitted by:

William Neil MacKenzie
Greg O'Neill

SUBMISSION OF DISSENT

In the reading of the brief already submitted to the Senate Committee there has been a serious omission, one covering the work of an entire committee. This omission dealt with a form of poverty resulting from the improper management of money. The following is a report of the findings and solutions of this committee.

It must be realized that until the class was presented with this project we knew very little about existing conditions or programs concerning poverty. In order to provide adequate solutions one must first determine the causes of poverty.

Poverty results from not using available money to the best advantage.

Managing money is important because:

- A) It lets you know where your money is going.

B) It gives you an idea of things you can and cannot afford.

C) It allows you to know how much money you have for extras.

There are many factors contributing to money mismanagement.

A) *Ignorance*: Sometimes there are families who try to make the most of their income but lack the knowledge to manage their money.

B) *Family disputes*: If parents do not get along spitefulness and greed may result in the overspending of money.

C) *Bad habits*: One member of the family may be an alcoholic or a compulsive gambler.

D) *Medical reasons*: Medical fees result in the strain on a budget which can lead to the neglect of basic needs.

E) *Middle Class Morals*: The fact that people are considered poor is because they cannot meet the needs of society. We are living in a middle class society and it is the middle class who sets the values. And what are these values—a TV, a fancy car, transistor radios? It is fine for us to say no, but in our society don't these form an important role? Therefore we must not condemn them for wanting these so-called necessities. Morally and psychologically they need such things. Since the middle class sets the standards shouldn't some of the responsibility of its consequences lie on their shoulders.

Not necessarily financially but morally at least.

As important as the causes are, the solutions and recommendations are more important. Solutions can be called short or long termed.

LONG TERMED

A) *Education*: This has already been dealt with but there are serious omissions. It does not provide for the implication of a family planning program in the schools which would make the adults of tomorrow aware of the importance of proper money management.

B) A *Committee* should be set up to examine the part played by finance and loan companies in their treatment and aggravation of poverty.

C) On the *Municipal Level* centers are necessary to provide adequate recreational activities for the underprivileged youth!!!!

SHORT TERMED

A) *Publicity*: Many programs which are available to remedy money mismanagement the people are just not aware of. Either because they cannot see their need or are not willing to take initiative. An extensive publicity campaign to reach both those to be aided and those who want to help must be set up. It should make people more aware of what is being done for the poor and of what they can do to help. To condemn a person because he has little education or because he has ten children does more harm than good. What is needed is **AFFIRMATIVE ACTION!!!!**

B) *More Publication* of the work done by various organizations set up to help those people such as alcoholics and gamblers.

C) A complete review of *Medical Services Insurances*. It is not adequate!!!!

In conclusion we cannot stress firmly enough the need for the participation of the poor in providing solutions. It is their problem and they have definite views of what they need done. They are smarter than we think and can provide workable solutions.

WE MUST HELP THEM TO HELP THEMSELVES!!!!

Submitted by:

Debbie Reid

Judy Canning

Marie Smith
Tish Graham
Tony Kolonko
Anne Marie Gardner

DISSENTING OPINION

It is recommended that in this brief too many unrealistic problems have been placed unnecessarily on the "shoulders" of the government, that this should be altered in the direction, that the **PEOPLE** themselves *learn* how to cope with their *own* problems.

The opinion that one decides upon after reading through the brief is that money grows on trees, and that the government has a forest of these extraordinary trees. What people fail to realize is that these "trees" are frantically being chopped down by the people, who have acquired the impression that they are entitled to do so. Did the B.N.A. act or did it not, produce this? Surely it most certainly did.

How about turning the tide?

In other words let the government play off the people. How do they do this? Let us look at these suggestions.

First of all, the government has to *do* this. No other group can do it, no one but the government can commence this with the best result.

Give the people *pride*.

Give the people *culture*.

If the government could seed this, then once established the people would make it their *own* duty. What happens? "The tide turns!"

Example 1. The "Cape Breton" Indian

Let the government give pride to the Indian. Put posters and signs up saying the Indian is a craftsman, fisherman and hunter. Give him his tools and what happens, once again the Indian has his pride. He now begins to pave his own roads. Government assistance to this fellow drops, till he completely lives for himself. His pride is in "full bloom". He can even now go to a doctor, pay his bill and give pride both to himself, and the doctor who hasn't been in this situation for years.

Example 2. All steel workers in Sydney, are beginning to see a light for a golden future. Give them pride by posters in public places, saying, "**SYDNEY IS STEEL**".

For every human in Canada there is a pride of some sort in his soul, dig it out and **USE** it.

Once the people take more interest in their own lives, then such things as Education can be improved. The people would be in a situation where school would now mean something.

What use is it when the economy is at a serious level to build trading schools, etc., as suggested in the brief, when the pride, moral and culture of the people remains at the present moment? None, it is of no value to anyone, just a wasted drain on the economy of a new nation.

If their attitudes were different, as I have expressed, much more would be achieved.

Many more people shoving their weight for a new life would naturally booster the economy of the country, THEN and only then, will other measures be of any use to us Canadians.

Let's have a national booster campaign.

Richard Hayson.

DISSENTING OPINION

Concerning the Indians we believe that the following facts should be brought to light.

Life expectancy of a Canadian Indian is only 34 years. This is due to the unhealthy environment in which they live.

46 percent of Indian families earn less than \$1,000 a year. This is because of complacency brought about by federal money that is poured into the people.

50 percent of Indian children fail to reach grade seven; 61 percent—grade eight; 91 percent—grade twelve; only 150 Indians are in universities in Canada. The reason for this is that the children are not forced to study by parents and because of this, work becomes hard, so they drop out of school.

Indians are entitled to:

- (A) Family and Youth Allowances
- (B) Old Age Security Pension
- (C) Guaranteed Income Supplement

If they contributed they are entitled to:

- (1) Unemployment Insurance
- (2) Veterans Pension Plan

Also eligible for: (1) Certain provincial and territorial welfare allowances (as for blind, disabled, aged, child welfare in Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Ontario and Manitoba).

Other help given (if consent of tribe is given):

- (1) Local Assistance
- (2) Institutional Care for Adults
- (3) Child Care

- (4) Community and Home Improvements
- (5) Recreation Programs
- (6) Relocation for employment, vocational training and housing
- (7) Leadership Training

To gain all this, they must stay on reserves.

Submitted by:

Sheila Spencer
Nancy Munroe

DISSENTING OPINION (GOVERNMENT FAILURES)

I don't agree with the way the Unemployment Insurance section is written because the strength of the report is not strong enough to get the idea across. It has no reasonable solutions or remedies. It should be written as I first submitted it as follows.

Unemployment insurance, a benefit given to those out of work and needing financial assistance, is a government program very much abused by many people. The ones abusing the program find that the government pays them a fair amount of money but enough to live on. Therefore why should they work all year around when they can work for a few months (or as long as required by the Unemployment Insurance Office) quit their job and go on unemployment insurance? This is happening all over the nation. In Cape Breton alone there are cases where men may work through the summer and then stay off work as long as they possibly can. With unemployment insurance an idle man with low income (when he is working) can live almost as good as if he did work.

REMEDY:

In each electoral district a committee should be set up to study each individual who applies for unemployment insurance. By questioning each one who applies, the lazy unemployed can be detected and forced to go back to work. This will save the government millions of dollars; money that could be used to provide the people who cannot possibly work with more financial assistance through old age pensions, welfare for the blind and sick, etc.

In the section on "Lack of Jobs" some solutions were given but nothing was mentioned about where the money is coming from. In the following a recommendation for having money available for this purpose is expressed.

By the early 1970's the present External Aid Program is expected to give one percent of the national income to foreign aid. This

would amount to six hundred million dollars. At least half of this could be used in Canada to help the one-fifth of the population that is under the poverty level. With this money, industry could be introduced in poverty areas where unemployment and low income people could work permanently. These industries just have to be light industries. Those who have physical handicaps, etc. could thereby be given more money through the three hundred million saved.

In the section on housing nothing was mentioned about the eleven percent Federal Tax and the seven percent Provincial Tax on lumber. This tax should be cut out for how can a low income family build a house with a seventeen cent tax on the dollar for the lumber.

Richard Crooks

DISSENTING OPINION (LABOUR LAWS)

I would recommend that, in the section of Labour Laws, Guaranteed Annual Income should not be regarded as a good thing for poor people because it does not provide enough incentive for the people. I think that there should be more stress on the co-ops. It should be shown that it does not use the government's money as the Guaranteed Income. Guaranteed Annual Income requires an increase in taxes while the co-ops could provide for a decrease in taxes. Also, the prices control board should be used in connection with the co-ops and not the Guaranteed Annual Income.

Wayne MacVicar

REASONS FOR DISSENTION

"Although the tourist industry is important, it is seasonal and of minor imp."

Besides the contradiction contained within the sentence itself, I don't agree with the implication of tourism being a minor industry. It is a major source of income in Cape Breton during the summer months and the realization of this will only serve to further its development. Obviously, it is seasonal since we live in the same temperate belt as most of North America but this is so, only because no attempt has been made to attract winter vacationers. Steps taken in the direction of promoting a longer tourist season would, thus, create many new jobs. For example, the Keltic Lodge depends too much on college students to make up its staff. Whereas, if other employees were utilized and

new ones brought in, the Lodge could remain open the desirable two months longer.

"For fifteen years or so teachers are the link between a student and the outside world, yet these teachers introduce a world straight from textbooks. Thus, the student faces life alone and ends in frustration."

Presuming that this statement is taken literally (which, to me, leads to misinterpretation), I'd conclude that all teachers were narrowminded bigots who didn't know any better than to teach directly from textbooks and that the students textbooks were his only communication with the outside world. This was very possibly true a hundred years ago, but today, seems to be a radical and aphathetic viewpoint.

In regard with page four, too much is concerned with the campaign against the sanity of our teacher and the role a guidance counsellor should play in the school. This latter point is slightly irrelevant and avoids the issue as to where the counsellor fits in with the under-privileged child. I think it is up to the counsellor to treat each problem as it is presented, regardless of social class. If the problem deals with poverty directly, then fine, but he can't take it upon himself to cater particularly to a poor student's needs, thereby neglecting the rest of the student body. An increase in counselling staff is a suggested solution.

Tish Graham

DISSENTING OPINION

Section on Education

We, the undersigned, members of the Education Committee for the Senate brief on Poverty wish to dissociate ourselves with some, if not all, of the views given in the name of this Committee on the grounds that they do not represent a true summation of the facts gathered and prepared by the Subcommittee on Education.

Colin Mathieson	Jeff Burchill
Avril Watson	Gary MacPherson
Stanley Ardelli	George Lohnes

What we disagree with is that the factual information to substantiate the conclusions was not included and those which were included were not realistic.

The definition of poverty was severely lacking in detail—it made little sense at all.

Because of the editorial like quality of the Education Brief, the desired recommendations did not come across well. Rhetorical questions were asked and situations presented but no solutions were clearly given.

Additional Material: Appendix A-16—Education

A Cape Breton plan in adult education begun three years ago is proving to be very successful. Selected coal miners are sent to college with all university fees paid.

In a certain case known to the Committee on Education a man who had been working in the mines for fifteen years had a grade twelve education. While he was at college his family of nine children was paid a substantial living allowance. During the summer a job was given to this man and the job does not always force him to return to the mines.

If any of the men on this program who begin the course are unable to complete it, their jobs at the mines are still waiting for them. This year only twelve men are taking part in the plan.

RECOMMENDATION TO SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

1. It is recommended that a family training program be incorporated into the curriculum by cooperation between federal and provincial governments.
2. It is recommended that a Royal Commission or Senate Committee be set up to investigate finance and loan companies.
3. It is recommended that youth centres be set up in municipalities by federal government.
4. A Royal Commission or Senate Committee be set up to investigate Medical Services Insurance.
5. It is recommended that through greater stimulation by Federal Government, the provinces will come together with a unified education policy concerning curriculum. This would bring lower grade schools up to par and make available more money to launch programs to aid in the education of the poor.
6. It is recommended that cultural centres be set up with federal and provincial aid. It is unfair that the lower classes are unable to afford the cultural needs of our society. Art, reading, music appreciation, singing and dancing are not luxuries but are necessities. They are something that should be inherent in all children's upbringing.
7. In the regard to Indians we recommend:

- (a) The Government should send more help and social workers to the Indians.
- (b) The Indians should be encouraged to be proud of their ancestry and given a better view of life.
- (c) Give them the drive to gain more education. Educate the adults.
- (d) Make them work for what they get. If they get money for nothing they will not try to earn more money.
- (e) Educate the other Canadians to make them see the Indians' problem. Make them realize that the Indians are no different from anyone else.

8. It is one of our recommendations that the teaching profession be made up of highly qualified men and women who are able to understand and communicate with the student.

9. We recommend that more qualified guidance counsellors are required in the junior and senior high school level. These counsellors must be able to advise students on careers they are interested in and help them select the most favourable. The present guidance officers are overworked and therefore cannot perform their duties as they should.

10. It is recommended that the one teacher-one class system now being used in many lower grades should be abolished. A number of different teachers will expose the children to various ideas and views thereby stimulating interest in school.

11. It is recommended that information centres should be set up in each community. These centres can supply the information required by adults and young people who have dropped out of school as to the various programs available for the upgrading of their education.

12. It is recommended that each local school system should have qualified social workers on its staff. The social workers can help those students who are under some strain due to problems at home or in other areas.

13. It is recommended that a greater number of federal and provincial grants should be made to high schools, colleges, and universities' scholarship funds. Those students who have attained a high academic standard should be rewarded with scholarships of an amount which would release his financial burden.

14. It is recommended that proper stimulations at the appropriate ages so that their intelligence will be unimpaired. If children are deprived of sufficient physical and intel-

lectual challenges in the first fifteen years of life the brain dulls and becomes sterile. An excellent example of this is in orphanages.

15. It is recommended that the age at which a student can leave school should be raised from sixteen to at least eighteen. The government does not believe that teenagers are responsible enough to drive a motor vehicle at sixteen but are they responsible enough to make the important decisions of their lives and leave school because the usual poor student finds it a drag, anyway. A program that provides money for students who wish to continue their education would support this proposition.

16. It is recommended that an expanded Student Loan Programme would help educate the poor. More money is needed to loan to college students who can get no financial support at home. Also student loans should be made available to high school students so that they can be supported if their family is unwilling or unable to do so while the student completes his education.

17. It is recommended that the Education Act of Nova Scotia be amended so that children under the age of sixteen should not be allowed to work during school hours.

18. It is recommended that more technical schools, trade schools, and vocational schools be established. Assistance should be provided for those attending especially the family man. The courses provided must meet the standards required by industry for that particular skill.

19. It is recommended that a program should be carried out to make people aware of existing government services. This could be done by radio, television and newspaper ads as well as by the distribution of literature in the mail or by other means.

20. It is recommended that an increased number of adult night classes be set up so that one may upgrade his or her academic education.

21. It is recommended that teachers be highly qualified in their profession. They must be able to communicate with the student and aid those who are less fortunate than others. Teaching should be regarded as a dedicated profession by the teacher, not a mere job.

22. It is recommended that an alcoholic referral centre be established in each area where assistance and treatment can be given to the chronic alcoholic.

23. It is recommended that pollution control be placed on industry as well as private concerns so that the overall appearance of industrial areas may be improved, thus providing a more favourable situation for those living in the area.

24. It is recommended that people should earn their "Welfare Cheques". People who cannot find work should be employed by the government for at least a long as necessary to earn their "Welfare Cheques". By adopting this policy the government would not be giving out money with nothing in return and the poor person's morale will be boosted since he is now working. Also, since this is no longer charity, pride will not be affected.

25. In regard to housing, it is recommended that:

(a) Besides more low-rental housing, cooperatives and public housing, more student housing should be made available at universities.

(b) The government should provide low interest loans for the repairs and modernization of existing homes.

(c) The Government should drop existing sales taxes on building materials.

(d) There should be lower interest rates on mortgages for families with low incomes.

26. It is recommended that a provincial commission be set up that is closely allied with trade and technical schools. It should be made up of:

(a) One section which brings a diversified program of industries to the Cape Breton area. This section of the commission will see if there is a *long-term* potential for that particular industry.

(b) The second section of the commission sees to it that enough men are trained in the particular fields needed by the industry. In this way the men being trained have definite proof of a job waiting for them when they are finished training.

(c) The *provincial* commission which would be financed by the *Federal Government* should be made up of at least some Cape Bretoners who know the local situation best.

(d) There should be absolutely no rich tycoons on the commission who are only interested in seeing what riches they themselves will derive from the new industries.

27. It is recommended that the industries brought in should be federally financed (no private industries). Once the industry is established complete union management should take over thereby enabling most of the profits to be turned to the employees (not to the employers as is the case in so many Cape Breton industries).

28. It is recommended that nation-wide publicity be made of the potentials of Cape Breton. The potentials can be heightened if it is known that a highly skilled force is available in Cape Breton. This publicity should be

the concern of the Federal Government for it is their job to develop all parts of Canada.

29. It is recommended that the Minimum Wage Act be amended to include handicapped, casual and domestic workers. The same applies for Workmen's Compensation.

30. It is recommended that Manpower should not hire people on to a strike ridden institution.

31. It is recommended that co-ops as described in brief should be set up.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
ON
POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 2

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4th, 1969

WITNESSES:

Halifax Tenants' Protective Association: Canon F. M. French, Co-Chairman.

Halifax Neighbourhood Centre: Leslie Cuning, Executive Director.

Mr. David Critchley, Social Worker with the Maritime School of Social Work.

Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia: Rev. G. E. Topshee, Director; and Rev. W. E. Roach, Assistant Director.

APPENDICES:

A.—Joint Brief submitted by the Halifax Tenants' Protective Association and the Halifax Neighbourhood Centre.

B.—Brief submitted by David Critchley.

C.—Brief submitted by St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Fergusson	Lefrançois
Carter	Fournier (<i>Madawaska-</i>	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	<i>Restigouche,</i>	McGrand
Croll	<i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Pearson
Eudes	Hastings	Quart
Everett	Inman	Roebuck
		Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969.

"The Honourable Senator Croll, moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban; rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Dalhousie University Auditorium,
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Tuesday, November 4th, 1969.
(2)

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.15 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Croll (Chairman), Belisle, Connolly (*Halifax North*), Cook, Eudes, Fergusson, Hastings, Inman, McGrand, Pearson and Sparrow. (11)

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

HALIFAX TENANTS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION:

Canon F. M. French, Co-Chairman.

HALIFAX NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRE:

Leslie Cuning, Executive Director.

The presentation opened with a brief statement by Canon French, a video-tape submission, followed by remarks by Mr. Cuning. Canon French then introduced an unscheduled speaker from the Public Housing Tenants of New Waterford, Glace Bay and Sydney, Nova Scotia, namely,

Miss Sheila Gardner, assisted by Mr. Angus MacDonald.

At the conclusion of Miss Gardner's statement, the Committee resumed its questioning of the Halifax Tenants' Protective Association and Halifax Neighbourhood Centre.

The Chairman then invited the public to participate in the question period.

At the conclusion of the questioning, the Chairman thanked the two participating Associations.

The following witness was then introduced and heard:

David Critchley,
Social Worker with the Maritime School of Social Work.

At the conclusion of Mr. Critchley's presentation, the Chairman thanked him for his most informative submission.

At twelve noon, the Committee adjourned until two o'clock in the afternoon.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the Committee resumed its hearings.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

EXTENSION DEPARTMENT, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY, Antigonish, Nova Scotia:

Rev. G. E. Topshee, Director; and

Rev. W. E. Roach, Assistant Director.

In Attendance:

Dr. A. A. MacDonald, in charge of the Antigonish Office; and Miss Elizabeth Tower, Community Development Worker with the Micmac Indians.

(Biographical information respecting the above witnesses follows these Minutes.)

At the conclusion of the questioning, the Chairman thanked the representatives of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University.

The joint brief submitted by the Halifax Tenants' Protective Association and the Halifax Neighbourhood Centre, together with the briefs received from David Critchley and St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, are printed as Appendices A, B and C, respectively, to these Proceedings.

The following briefs were received too late for presentation but were duly acknowledged by the Chairman:

Messrs. Leo MacKay for the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour; Robert O'Haley for the Mainland Branch, Nova Scotia of Social Workers; and Leonard Smith.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Committee adjourned until Wednesday, November 5th, 1969, at 9.30 a.m.

ATTEST:

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

**BIOGRAPHIES RESPECTING EXTENSION DEPARTMENT,
ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY,
ANTIGONISH, NOVA SCOTIA**

Topshee, Rev. G. E.: Director, Extension Department. He has twenty years' experience in extension work in Nova Scotia and has also worked with poor people in Southern Africa and on several Caribbean Islands.

Roach, Rev. W. M.: Associate Director, Extension Department, Sydney. He has his M.A. in Sociology from Boston College, and has ten years' experience with programs of the Extension Department in Nova Scotia.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Halifax, Nova Scotia,
November 4, 1969.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I will call the meeting to order. This is a meeting of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. We have a statement and video tape presentation being made on behalf of the Halifax Neighbourhood Centre and the Halifax Tenants Protective Association, with the support of the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, and I will call on Canon F. M. French to open the meeting.

Canon F. M. French (*St. Mark's Parish, Co-Chairman of the Halifax Tenants Protective Association*): This is a two-part statement, and the first part I will make, and I am Canon F. M. French, Co-Chairman of the Tenants Protective Association, and a statement will be made at the conclusion of the video tape film, and Mr. Leslie Cuning, Executive Director of the Halifax Neighbourhood Centre.

What you are about to see is, perhaps, self-explanatory. However, we of the Neighbourhood Centre and the Tenants Protective Association feel we must provide at least a brief prologue to enable you to appreciate it fully.

It is an unusual kind of presentation, and we think that it is essential that you know how it came about.

When it became known that the Senate Committee would be coming to Halifax to hold public meetings it was agreed by many concerned individuals that some kind of presentation should be made by the groups involved directly with people suffering from conditions of poverty.

At the time, we were concerned about the nature of the presentation. We felt that it was essential to give a voice to those who know poverty as it really is: the poor themselves. However, the poor do not write briefs. The

people do not appreciate formality. Its colourful trappings are not part of their own daily existence. Still, formality was a requirement laid down by your Committee.

Consequently it was suggested that a film, depicting explicitly the conditions of poverty, providing a medium for the expression of the views of people living in those conditions, should be produced for showing at these hearings.

Accordingly, representatives of Halifax's poverty community met with members of our organizations, social workers, and other professionals, to discuss the preparations of such a film.

It is perhaps important to underline the fact that this discussion included those who work closely with people in poverty and some of the poor themselves.

That was, to say the least, an extraordinary meeting. One might have expected that the film proposal would have been adopted readily—that the idea of giving poor people a voice in all of this would have been embraced unanimously. But such was far from the case. Instead of unanimous approval, the meeting was characterized by a sense of anger and frustration—a mounting feeling of helplessness perhaps best summed up by the words of one of the participants: "How dare we, or anyone else, use people in this way," he asked. "It's inhuman—cruel to say the least. People around here—the poor—they've bled enough. They've been asked what it's like to be poor over and over again. So now we are going to ask them to open up their wounds and bleed some more, this time before some cameras, just because some senators from Ottawa don't know about poverty in Canada."

That, members of the Senate Committee, was our initial discussion of the film proposal. It was painful. It was agony. We were torn—in fact, we were shredded—between a feeling on the one hand of what's the use, and on the other hand that we must keep trying.

Finally, it was suggested and generally agreed that although we could not ask people to bleed once again for the sake of yet another

er presentation to yet another investigation of poverty, the senators should at least have been listening to and observing the anguish of that meeting. And that, members of the Senate Committee on Poverty is what you will witness today through the medium of video tape. The frustration and growing bitterness of many people who have been battling with poverty with no promise of an end in sight.

Our purpose in appearing before you today is neither to define what poverty is nor offer a slickly-prepared presentation of proposed cures. Most of these must surely be well known to you all by now.

Through this film presentation we are endeavouring to communicate to you something of the feeling and perspective—the human perspective—of poverty.

What you are about to see is in no way contrived. This is not acting. You are asked, by way of video tape, to listen in on, to see, and, hopefully, experience some of the deeply-rooted feelings of the poor and the people who work most closely with them.

The film is not sympathetic to Committee investigations in general, or this Committee in particular. In the past this area has been researched, investigated, dissected, with no tangible results. We appear before this Committee today with some doubt in our minds about the power of this Committee and the Senate to which it is responsible to effect necessary change. It is our most fervent wish that our doubts will be proved unfounded.

The Chairman: Thank you.

(Video tape presentation shown to Committee.)

The Chairman: Mr. Leslie Cuning, Executive Director of the Halifax Neighbourhood Centre, will now speak to us.

Mr. Leslie Cuning (Executive Director, Halifax Neighbourhood Centre): Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, the senators were invited to come to the Neighbourhood Centre this afternoon at four o'clock, and I was informed last night that they would not be able to fit this into their schedule. Canon French and myself respectfully submit that they reconsider this as we have a number of questions to ask of the senators.

The Senate Committee has been, and will be, presented with innumerable pages of well-documented and substantial evidence. Instead of presenting you with another state-

ment of recommendations we wish to communicate to you the frustrations of the poor. In the film which you just saw we are not attacking the Senate Committee as much as the political arrangements which use the Committee as an excuse for action. The Committee was set up to conduct investigations and to recommend legislation; not to create it. This form of political activity is totally inadequate to meet the needs of the poor.

In the short period of time since April your Committee has received a number of excellent briefs. You have had some time to consider the recommendations presented to you. You are aware of the extent of conditions which define poverty. You are aware that the government had access to untold numbers of documents concerning poverty, housing, taxation, and income. Hopefully, you will become aware that this problem cannot be solved by continued investigations. The poor cannot, or will not, wait another generation for the government to move. Your Committee will not table its report for one and one-half years, and who knows how much time will elapse before parts of the report are tabled in the House.

If the Committee members are sincere in recommending appropriate action we submit that the Senate Committee, realizing the extent and seriousness of poverty in Canada, recommend to the House that on the basis of information already received and available to this Committee and the government legislation be enacted immediately.

If you are unwilling to move now this Committee might as well dissolve itself.

Canon French: We have deliberately shortened up our second part as we have a request to make. There are two people who left at twelve o'clock midnight and drove all the way here from Cape Breton; we are asking that they be given a few minutes. Miss Sheila Gardner and Mr. Angus MacDonald.

The Chairman: Proceed.

Miss Sheila Gardner (Spokesman for the public housing tenants in New Waterford, Glace Bay, and Sydney, Nova Scotia): Mr. Angus MacDonald and I have been working and trying to organize, and trying to get information on the low-income housing program, and the brief is not simply documented because we couldn't get documents, and I think if you listen to it it is very short and will explain for itself the problems that the tenants in low-income housing in industrial cities face.

We are speaking for all the tenants in the Waterford public housing, and we have been meeting with the tenants in the Glace Bay public housing, and we have received the endorsement of the brief of the tenants in Sydney public housing. The only other group of public housing not represented in the brief are the people in their houses for less than a month. We have come directly to you to express our views on public housing as tenants in a poverty area. We have been in the homes for almost a year and have been having a wide variety of difficulties (some small, some very serious) ever since.

Because of the local housing conditions most of us have no choice but to come into public housing but have no choice to accept all the condition of entry.

We have a difficult time in analyzing our complaints and documenting them, as few facts are available to tenants. We are admitted on a point system; our houses are open to inspection at any time. We are charged rent by a rent scale we are still not sure of. All of this information we are working toward obtaining, but it is hard and frustrating dealing with our local authority on an equal basis. They must feel threatened by our constant complaints, and we are confronted with a wall of inaction and disinterest. So we are saying to you what we can now, since it is urgent that some changes be made in the present housing program.

First of all, on the construction of houses. Doors have blown off because they were not put on in such a way that the wind grabs them out of your hand. Bathroom sinks have fallen off at a surprising rate. Their pipes are outdated, unreplaceable, and break easily. Most of the windows leak water when it rains, so we couldn't put up a decent curtain if we had them. The walls are by no means soundproof. Our laundry lines don't hold a family wash, and we are not allowed to put up our own lines.

Fences are only wire and don't stand up to maintaining the element of privacy that they were put there for. Flat paint covers the upstairs, and it is impossible to keep clean (as the lease says we must keep clean), but we are not allowed to get proper paint.

Our floor tiles are peeling and they cannot be replaced. We report our complaints to the manager and he has recorded them. The authority tells us that they have very little money for repairs. When repairs can be done one must wait until the part-time repair man can come.

We depend totally for understanding on the manager, who comes by once a month for the rent. Once we report complaints they are out of our hands and out of our control. And they continue.

Each family unit costs \$20,000 to build; the materials are cheap; the construction very poor. Some of us found empty wine bottles in the floor vents and basement when we moved in. The construction company was contracted by tender. We had no say in this and should not suffer for it. We have no say in who we deal with. We have no official recourse. Nor do we have the choice to leave. There are simply no other houses available.

We suggest therefore that the government habit of calling tenders has in our case backfired and that in future local construction companies with standard replaceable materials and known reputation be united to construct local projects.

The second point has to do with rent. As you may know, the low-income housing is based on the ability to pay by the low-income families. You are taking food out of your children's mouths and clothes off their backs to pay the rent. This is so in the case of miners, who pay from \$82 to \$106 a month, based on around 25 per cent of their office pay. But their office pay is not what they take home. They will take home about \$63 a week for \$85 office pay. The percentage paid out for rent is much higher than the established 25.2 per cent of the money they touch.

Miners feel rent should be based on take-home pay to make it realistic. As it is, they have to work extra shifts in the mine to pay the rent. Soon the mines will be on a 40-hour week and no extra shifts will be possible. What then?

That is not all. Whether we pay high rent or low rent, whether we just get by or fall back in rent, we still are trapped in public housing. The rent eats up any hope of saving, of moving, of making a down-payment on a home of our own. And public housing was supposed to be a leaping-off point, a headstart program; not to trap people financially in buildings, which after one year have proved poor.

And on top of the rent we pay extra for heat and light.

There's also the human aspect of the rent. When someone knows your rent they know your income. The authority can check up any time they want. They can challenge how we spend our money. 25.2 per cent may be realis-

tic for some people at some times, but for large families at school openings, at winter-time, at Christmas, it becomes a real hardship. The rent scale does help low-income families to get good housing at a low rate, but it does not help any of us to get ahead, or to get out, so someone else can be "helped."

We call for a complete change in the rent scale with the following suggestions:

(a) no part-time earnings be counted against the renter or overtime pay be counted against the rent;

(b) the rent be scaled to net income at a reasonable percentage up to \$60 and no higher;

(c) more realistic consideration be given to size of family and individual needs.

The social aspects. We have no privacy—neither our income, our actions, our house-keeping. We are on public display and are stuck there. The hardships do not always unite us, as we have no official voice anyway. We are tenants with a federal landlord who does as he sees fit. We have no representation on the Authority, no vote as to its composition. We have no part in planning or problem-solving. Yet we must answer to their questions and obey their orders and wait.

In conclusion, we quote the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation "Urban Renewal and Public Housing":

It is therefore important that rental in public housing be kept at the highest level consistent with the ability of tenants to pay, having regard to the other elements of living previously mentioned. Food, clothing, and miscellaneous necessary expenditures. In this way the subsidies will be kept at a satisfactory level, they will not give advantage to public housing tenants which are out of line with other available to the rest of the public.

The rentals are not at a level consistent with the abilities of the tenants to pay, having regard to the factors mentioned previously.

We have big, warm houses, and lots of others haven't. But the disadvantages seem to outweigh this one advantage. We have no privacy, no choice of location, no way out, no dignity in, and no voice.

They tell us, "If you don't like it, leave." Some of us would almost prefer the shacks we came from. But we are not allowed to live in shacks any more, and all the houses are occupied.

Thank you very much.

The Chairman: First of all, I would like to thank you on behalf of the Committee for this very fine presentation. It's a very logical and very clear and meaningful—and, secondly, you can rest assured that the minute the minutes are ready they will be before the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and they of course will be most interested in what you have to say. Thank you very much.

Miss Gardner: Thank you.

The Chairman: I would like to make it very clear regarding what Mr. Cunning said; that he had arranged a meeting for us this afternoon. We made arrangements for our own meeting before we reached here, and we made arrangements for meetings this afternoon, and our time is occupied fully.

Are there any questions?

Mrs. Beattie: Are we going to have answers to our questions, sir?

The Chairman: I think you will.

Mr. Leslie Cunning: Mr. Chairman, the point of our presentation was to have questions answered.

The Chairman: Well, if you have questions, go ahead.

From the floor: Mrs. Beattie. My question, sir, regards various things. The rental structure in housing does not give people the chance to get ahead. Our tax system does not give people a chance to get ahead. I tried working six days a week for five months to get ahead with a total net income of \$18 a week. Is this Committee going to put forward a submission that a working couple be permitted to deduct the expense of housekeepers, et cetera, from income tax in the same manner that a businessman can deduct expensive dinners? We want to get ahead. We don't want welfare, but we want to get up the ladder, and we don't want to be poor all of our lives. What is the Committee going to do to help us in that respect?

The Chairman: Well, I am glad you asked the question. I haven't had a chance to say anything up here for a while. In connection with the tax structure, we have had many presentations made to us recommending that the people who earned less than \$5,000 a year pay a disproportionate portion of the taxes, both direct and indirect, and when I spoke in the Senate on it, and these members were all present, I brought that forcibly to their attention that was quite unfair.

Now, I think that the White Paper which will be filed on Friday will carry much of the Carter Commission Report, which recommended that there be some relief given in that respect. I don't know what it contains, but I gather that that would be one of the approaches that will be made to try and lessen the burden on those people—and I take it those figures are correct—below the \$5,000 level. That is all I can say to you because that's all I know at the moment.

Now, in connection with the matter of housekeepers; the matter arose when a woman, a single woman, divorced, deserted with a family, had to go out and work and makes an application and says, "I have to have a housekeeper and I want a deduction."

A man under similar circumstances hires a housekeeper and does get a deduction. A girl doesn't get a deduction, or didn't get a deduction, but she does now. It came to our attention, and we brought it to the attention of the Income Tax Department, and immediately the matter was corrected, because it was quite clearly unfair. How this applies to a couple, I don't quite know. If they are both working, that is something new as far as the regulations are concerned, and I can't tell you what their view will be on that, but we have dealt with some of these matters as we have gone along.

Mrs. Beattie: Well, I don't know how familiar you are with the cost of living in Halifax, but for a couple with children to live it's necessary to take additional income.

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Beattie: If you want to exist on the minimum wage that we have here you can barely exist, but this does not include clothing; it does not include the husband and wife going to the occasional movie, or something like that, because the incomes do not allow it. I think if a couple is prepared to work—if they are prepared to work, say, six or seven days a week in order to support themselves and their families—they are not drawing welfare, they are not drawing public assistance; our government should do something to give them the incentive to try to get ahead; not take the incentive from them.

The Chairman: Madam, you make a case. It's a very good question, and one of the reasons we are here, despite the fact that people would like to see the occasional movie, the Senate Committee in November decided that Halifax wasn't like Florida; that is, we

are not down here for a holiday. We know the purpose of our visit. We came here to find such things as you have raised and the other people have said, and one of the greatest submissions that has been made to this Committee in all the time we were sitting—and we have been sitting over a period of some time—was made here by the first submission by the staff members and associates of the Institute of Public Affairs of Dalhousie University. We thank you very much.

Mr. Murray Warrington: I am going to take another swipe at your federal participation.

The Chairman: Please speak up.

Mr. Warrington: The subsidized housing leaves a lot to be desired. The first thing, it's run like a warden runs a penitentiary. The only crime that the inmates have committed in public housing is that they have no homes of their own. In penitentiaries the people have committed crimes and they have been penalized. In public housing if the people—like the lady has just said—have the desire to work, up goes the rent; some of them to over \$200 a month.

Mr. Chairman, have you got any public housing anywhere that's worth \$200 a month? When there was a vacancy on the Housing Commission, which is represented by the federal, the provincial, and the civic governments, we asked to put a tenants association member on there and they put nobody on there.

Another thing is, I will go a step farther—the federal government is the biggest participating monetary partner in urban renewal and in re-development. You have supplied 75 cents out of every dollar which have bought up the properties and housing which existed in these areas which a lot of people were on low income, and these people were kicked out of their homes and forced into public housing. Should this be?

When you people, as the biggest money contributor to these schemes, should have laid down some ground rules and you didn't lay down any. What answer have you got to that?

The people who own their own homes and now are forced to live in this so-called crack-cracker boxes they call public housing; they leave a lot to be desired.

The Chairman: Well, Mr. Warrington, the federal government is a great contributor to public housing and urban renewal, but they do not control it. You know as well as I do it's controlled at the local level or municipal

or provincial. Not that I am shifting, but those are the facts of life. There isn't very much that we can do with respect to urban renewal; we haven't really got into that problem, so...

Mr. Warrington: Well, I am afraid that that is not quite true, because you hold all the money and without this 75 cents out of every dollar to contribute to urban renewal programs, the provincial governments and the civic governments could not do urban renewal and then the people would not lose their homes and be forced into sub-standard housing, which they do not want.

The Chairman: All right. Let it go at that. We disagree.

Mr. Cunning: Mr. Chairman, may I make a comment on Mr. Warrington's suggestion? Submissions have been made to the housing authority in this city and the statements that have come from there is that they do not have discretionary powers in these matters. They exist somewhere, but as far as we are concerned we can't get the information where the power is. We can't get the information as to who has the discretionary powers.

Mr. Warrington: The federal government.

Mr. Cunning: The proposals were just released for the City of Halifax last week, and there were some conditions associated with the building of public housing, and there was an extension ratio which was 8 per cent return to CMHC and there was concern about maintaining the trees and concern about obtaining the maximum feasible and economic rents from these people in public housing. Nowhere does it mention the conditions under which the people live.

The Chairman: Are there any questions for these two witnesses?

Mrs. Carrie Best: Mr. Chairman, did I understand you to say that decisions re public housing is made on the local level although the government does provide 75 cents on the dollar, or 75 per cent?

The Chairman: That's right. I said that.

Mrs. Best: Is that true?

The Chairman: That's right.

Mrs. Best: Does not the government have any control over those at local level who would take advantage of poor people?

The Chairman: No. They leave it to them, and we merely contribute. The local people—the local government—

Mrs. Best: Mr. Chairman, I am not going to mention names, but I am going to tell you of a case where I happen to know that in a certain area where the local government systematically for five years planned the removal of a certain section of the community both white and black for the sole purpose of taking their lands from them for industrial purposes. Does the government—have they no recourse to that at all? They did it by giving them phony tax bills—five years, maybe ten years, tax statements making it impossible for them to redeem their properties; then they published their properties even though they already owned them.

The town has come along and taken them by certificate of purchase five years before. They gave them a ten-year tax certificate for the sole purpose of making an industrial area. It is stopped—and it is now in a stagnant stage because we are prepared to fight it. And when I say "fight" I mean that.

Now, does the government not have any control over those people? They have an urban renewal report and all those who are involved in it were also involved in the complete destruction of this section of hard-working, respectable people, both black and white.

Now, my question is—and I am planning to ask the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission to give me an answer to this—I want to know if the government is going to say something about local politicians, local crooks, who do this to poor people. That is my question.

The Chairman: Madam, I have listened to what you have to say, and when you talk about local politicians and you talk about local crooks, and I don't think that was very becoming, but the answer to that is, that the federal government has no authority. It's a local matter at the provincial, or municipal-provincial level. We have no authority to deal with such matters as you raise here this morning.

Now, I think we should ask some questions here. Tell me, I believe one of you spoke of the minimum wage. What is the minimum wage in Halifax?

Mr. Warrington: It's on the sixth page.

Canon French: The minimum wage varies from region to region in Nova Scotia. As a matter of fact, the comment I would make on that is, it's too low, and the fact of the matter

is—there's no sense beating around the bush about wages or anything else; they're too low. The wages and incomes are too low for our people, and they just cannot survive. This is one of the main problems and one of the urgent problems, and, frankly, I don't know what the exact minimum wages are—as I said, it varies—but in respect to the situation regarding wages, all I can say is that they are much too low.

Unfortunately, in most cases, two people in the family have to work, and this is one of the things that we wanted to bring before the attention of this Committee, and the people of Canada. As Mrs. Best has said, what we are looking for is action. We are going and we are determined to have people's organizations across this land who are going to press upon the authorities the urgency of the situation, and action is the only answer.

The Chairman: Well, let's discuss action for a moment and see who fixes the minimum wages in the Province of Nova Scotia.

Canon French: The provincial government.

The Chairman: Would you be surprised if I told you it was a dollar and a quarter?

Canon French: We know that it is an irrelevant fact. We know it's too damn low. The poor people are being asked to survive on starvation wages, and this is a fact. The actual figures are just totally irrelevant at this point; and the fact still remains that they are too low. The incomes which people are expected to struggle on are too low. The one question we want to know is, how much longer are we going to have to continue this way? Buddy Daye said in the original film, "When are we going to get at the causes of this situation?"

I just want to say that a program on television the other evening, programs which were on almost back to back, one involving Prime Minister Trudeau and one involving a past prime minister. One politician was saying that 40 years ago one of our main problems was poverty, and the present prime minister was commenting on the fact that the situation has not improved in that time. We are still investigating poverty; commissions after commissions; we are being X-rayed and gouged and investigated with all sorts of ameliorating financial arrangements getting at the causes of our problems. That, sir, is what we want to talk about, and not have a discussion on the minimum wages.

The Chairman: Well, Canon French, I think you will be interested in knowing that one of the items before the Senate Committee on Poverty at different times has been a very deliberate and hard attack on minimum wages which we consider to be poverty wages.

I will give you a quote from the fellow who was sitting in the chair—and he was speaking of organized labour and unorganized labour. He said, "They marched in the picket line to avoid the poverty line." I think that tells the story.

Now, you have your views on the minimum wages, but you must realize that we under federal authority cannot deal with it at all. It's a local matter purely. What representations have been made to the appropriate authorities and what results, if any; when were the representations made? We are very much interested in that, and that is what I meant to ask you.

Canon French: Well, I have given you the answer, and I don't intend to get into a hassle over the minimum wages. The fact is that all across the board between four and five million Canadians are living below the poverty level in wages and income. This is the issue, and this is the issue we want to have stated.

Our main purpose here, and in presenting this film, was to give you an idea of what the poor people are up against. We don't care what the technical problems are, but the point is—and, quite frankly, that there is between four and five million Canadians living at the poverty level, and frankly we work with these people and they want to know what is going to be done.

I don't intend to be drawn into discussion over the minimum wages.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Mr. Robert Petterson: In your concern about minimum wages—you should also be concerned with those who aren't even covered by minimum wages, which are the majority of women; waitresses, and most of the people in the service industries. These people aren't even covered by minimum wages.

The Chairman: You are quite right in what you are saying, and that is quite true. We discussed this yesterday.

Mr. Petterson: But the concern shouldn't be just to the minimum wages. There are far more people who aren't even covered by the minimum wage.

The Chairman: But the concern is that the minimum wage is too low, and we have given a great deal of attention to that, and there are exemptions that almost make it meaningless. We are aware of that and we have dealt with it on other occasions.

Mr. David Mackie: Senators, regarding your remarks—

The Chairman: Alderman Mackie?

Mr. Mackie: That is correct, sir. In light of the remarks that you have made here today, would it be possible for your Committee to advise the proper provincial and civic authorities that they are completely responsible and have the control over public housing and also advise CMHC that it is a matter of—under control of provincial and civic authorities?

The Chairman: Well, you are an alderman; what is your view?

Mr. Mackie: My opinion was, until you spoke, sir, it was 75% was controlled by the federal government.

The Chairman: Right; that's your view.

Mr. Mackie: That is what we were told by the officials of CMHC.

Miss Maudie Golden: My name is Maudie Golden, and I am a social worker and I deal fairly regularly with poor people, and I think on two occasions before you have mentioned that we don't have the authority to do this, we don't have the authority to do that. What I know is that the people who come into my office, they don't care whether it's the provincial government that gives them the wrong end of the stick or whether it's the civic government, or whether it's the federal government.

They just know that somebody is telling them that they have to live on \$70 a month. They have to live on \$200 a month with six kids. You are saying you don't have the authority, and my question to you is, what can and will you do about this?

The Chairman: We will let you know in due course after we consider your brief. For your own information—and I heard you on the video tape; you were quite outspoken (which you had a perfect right to do)—but we are aware of what is going on, fully aware, but you must realize that the Senate Committee in the last five or six years has been the most productive on behalf of the poor people

in this country. Far more than any other body, and far more good than any other group over a period of years.

A voice from the Floor: Where are the results?

The Chairman: Where are the results? I will tell you. I will tell you what the results are.

We were the first people who brought in a recommendation for the guaranteed income for the old people, resulting now in them receiving \$105 a month. We were the people who raised the matter of truth in lending in order to make sure that you knew what you were paying in the way of interest if you paid it on your own.

We were the people who raised the question of the food costs and had investigations across the country on that matter. We were the people who raised the question of use of land, and as a result of that we now have ARDA.

We were the people who raised the question of manpower. This resulted in the formation of the Department of Manpower. We were the people who raised the matter of consumers. This resulted in the formation of the Department of Consumer Affairs. Every one of those has benefited the people of Canada, and I neglected to tell you that after 100 years we were the people who wrote the new divorce laws, if that has any impression on you.

Canon French: Meanwhile the poverty situation continues to get worse.

The Chairman: There is no one who makes any defence for poverty. I have known poverty longer than any of the rest of you for a long, long time, but take my word for it, that when you say that poverty is becoming worse in this country, you are not up to the minute on the thing.

We gave the figures yesterday that the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, with whose figures we have to live, indicated that there was a drop from about 3% over the period in the last two years. This was in regard to those considered on the poverty line, whatever that may be, so that generally the condition is improving somewhat, although we still have three-and-a-half-million people below the poverty line.

If we thought it was being cured, we wouldn't be here. This is not an easy task that we are undertaking.

Senator Connolly: Mr. Chairman, there is no point to be served in us being engaged in acrimonious debate—either the members of this Committee or the people of the audience. I think that all fair-minded people would agree that the members of this Committee are human beings with all the sympathy and compassion that they have and with just as much knowledge that they have, and with just as many desires as they project for the better lot of their fellow human beings.

If we can go along with that reasoning, which I believe is a reasonable one, I think we will make much better progress than we have been making.

The Chairman: Thank you, Senator Connolly.

Are there any questions from the senators?

Senator Hastings: I would like to put this on the record for continuity. In the last paragraph of the brief they say: "They are beginning to demand a voice in the decisions which affect them and if they are ignored they will be forced to take direct action."

Would you tell me, sir, quite frankly what you mean by "direct action"?

Mr. Cunning: I think in other parts of the brief I state that the opportunity for achieving entrance into the political system is limited. People who are poor—they lack the organization, they lack the education, they lack the leadership with which they can articulate, and I pointed out also that there is a growing consensus among political observers that politics involve the aggregate but they don't involve individuals.

We are pointing out that thus far the action has been totally inadequate and we are saying now that you have to take direct action. If you don't take steps to curb this poverty then the action we will take will be disastrous.

Senator Hastings: What is the action?

Mr. Cunning: Rent strikes. Rent strikes as advocated by the mayor last night. Consumer products, public housing, co-operatives; people could establish their own co-operatives. This type of thing.

Mr. Warrington: Mr. Chairman, perhaps you might be able to answer this question, or maybe you can't. You say that the federal government has nothing to do in the control of subsidized housing. Well, would you please answer one question, as to why the chief magistrate of this city has said that he made

(and I think this is on record in council minutes)—that he made representations to a federal government agency, which is CMHC, to change their structure rate for rents, and they would have nothing to do with it.

They wouldn't change it at all, and this is the chief magistrate of the city, and he said that they can't change them; that the CMHC with the federal government's representative must change them.

I would also like to ask another question which you might answer, if you could. I have heard by way of the grapevine that they have built already in the United States concentration camps for the poor people who are bucking the government and the power structures for their rights. By way of secrecy would they be starting to build them here in Canada?

The Chairman: Are there any other questions?

Reverend Fred Tassenari: What I hear so far is that poverty is being restricted to money and goods. We listened to a brief from the young lady from Cape Breton in which they do have a warm house and they have a warm home, but they have the poverty appearance.

Do you intend to get involved in the poverty of spirit?

The Chairman: By all means. The brief that follows is involved with poverty of the spirit.

I will now call on Mr. David Critchley to present a brief to us. Mr. Critchley is a social worker connected with the Maritime School of Social Work.

Mr. David Critchley: Thank you, Senator Croll, and members of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. Just by way of a brief summary on a few of the comments I made in my brief, and also to mention a number of the members of the Faculty of Students who have endorsed this brief and ten members of the faculty and 16 students.

In my brief I am noting that although we have in some respects seeing an improvement as far as poverty in Canada is concerned in terms of such things as some increases in welfare payments, I would think probably better health care and health welfare is more readily available for more Canadians and Canadian children. Canadian children and poor children are staying in school longer and education is more readily available to them.

In terms as we as Canadians, the poor are just as relatively poor as they were ten, twenty or thirty years ago.

I think you could probably make a good case for saying that in these things they are poorer today. Certainly in my experience with poor people, I have found a mounting sense of despair and a mounting sense of hopelessness as the gap between them and the rest of us continues to grow, so that while they may be getting better health care and their diets may be somewhat improved, the gap between the have and have-nots I submit today is a greater gap, and in effect contributes to this sense of disparity and hopelessness, some of which I think is in the room today; although I submit there are probably very few really poor people in the room today.

In my brief I am to introduce a new dimension in this question of poverty, and it was a new dimension that was suggested by the last person that spoke in the presentation before mine. I am suggesting that we have to think in terms not merely of deprivation in such areas as food, and such areas as housing; there is no question that there is certainly a deprivation in these areas, but I would like to suggest that we need to give more attention as to what is happening in all Canadians in psychic or spiritual terms.

I am suggesting in my brief that in this sense I think that if the real facts were known, we would find that there really is a considerable amount of psychic deprivation in Canada that affects us all; the haves and the have-nots.

By suggesting psychic deprivation in my brief, I am suggesting the dimension of self-esteem, self-confidence. What do human beings think of themselves as a person? In these areas such studies as we do have would suggest that we Canadians, and we North Americans, are poor. Some of us—and not just the ones confined to the ranks of the poor—are suffering considerable psychic deprivation. Loss of faith in ourselves and others is—and I go into this in a little more detail in the brief—I am suggesting, one criteria that we need to look at because it seems to me that poverty so far has been something that the haves are concerned about as a problem affecting others. I think if we introduce this other dimension, but not just poverty of the body but the poverty of the mind and spirit, then I think we will find that we are all involved in the challenge by this kind of poverty.

I am suggesting in my brief that some of the symptoms of this kind of deprivation are to be found in the French-English, Catholic-Protestant, Black-white, young person-old person, student administration conflict that is increasingly coming to the fore in our society. This phenomenon that has been described as alienation, I submit, is no more merely something that one speculates about. I think we see alienation between people on all sides, and this certainly affects all of us, and it's not just confined to the poor.

Incidentally, I think one of the reasons that the poor are so seldom at poverty hearings and so seldom make presentations is not because the groups such as the Senate Committee lack the desire to hear from the poor, but I think it is as a result of what happened because of the poverty.

Poverty does not make for self-confidence. It does not make for self-esteem. The representatives of the poor who speak for the poor are really quite unusual. They are not representatives of the poor. The self-confidence that they must have just to stand up and talk is not had by most poor people.

A concern that I haven't dealt with in the brief, but as a result of some of the feeling here this morning and some of the feelings we have in Canada today, I would like to—would be this. I would see an increasing disillusionment with the democratic process. When we say "democratic process" I think we forget that really the democratic process is just another way of saying "human values," and I see increasing disillusionment with human values; with the human way of relating to other human beings with human caring solutions.

If I could give a brief illustration. In a class that I taught a year ago in social work and social change, with only two or three exceptions, there was little in the way of subscription by the student social workers to the irrational means of the rational discussions, presentations, parliamentary approach to solving the problems.

The basic feeling of that class was that if you want real change in an area, the only way to get it is to use force or the threat of force and violence.

I would like to submit to you (I don't know what the situation is in regards to the poor) but certainly with regards to many people in Canada today I would like to submit that this really is our commitment. We have very little respect for parliamentary process, for com-

mittee process, for the discussion process, and that there is an increasing commitment to and allegiance to the belief that the only way that people will move is when they are under the pressure of fear or violence.

I think that—and I have found this dilemma in my brief—and I submit it in some sincerity and with some hope, and I had to decide whether I would present a brief that came out of despair or to present a brief that came out of hope. I chose the hope.

However, I would say that I do think that this is one of the challenges of the day. People have to decide on what assumption they are going to move, whether they are going to move on the assumption that we humans are only respectful of force and violence and fear and that humanitarian motivation is idealistic and inappropriate or we can move on the assumption that we humans are still human, and that one of the reasons we are taking such a long time significantly to come to grips with such a question as poverty is that we really don't know the true costs, the true human costs, of poverty.

I am submitting to you in my brief that this is indeed one of our difficulties; that we tend to measure poverty in material terms. We tend to measure poverty in terms of whether housing is or is not better; whether people are eating better; whether fewer or more people are unemployed. And these are significant criteria.

I would like to suggest to you that those who have really seen the true cost of poverty will know that the true cost is not the people that you have seen starving to death, but the true cost is the living death—the living death of the spirit that so many people in this country are subjected to, and so many people I submit to you really live their entire lives without ever having lived at all. Their obituary really should have started or been written several years after birth. I have seen a lot of this kind of poverty, and I submit to you that when you have really seen that, when you have really experienced this in human terms, when that woman who, in the way she approaches her children and approaches her husband, and so on, who is so upsetting to us and our families, when you really know this person as a human being I submit to you that the old standards, that the old worries that we have with regard to the poor really have to go out the window.

I hope this is true. If it is not true, then I submit to you that the people who are putting bombs in mailboxes, the people who fire

brands and asking questions afterwards are probably more in tune with the Canadian future than we who are still committed to the idea that humans can still be humans.

I am suggesting in my brief by way of concrete presentation that, one, that we need in Canada what I am describing as a psychic inventory. I would call it a spiritual inventory. And yet when I use this term I think that many people believe that I am speaking for a church, or that I am speaking for organized religion.

What I mean is, is an inventory of what is happening to us as human beings in this country. Some people have said that this really is a most idealistic and unrealistic proposal. I would like to suggest to you that it is not an unrealistic proposal. It is not an idealistic proposal.

Day in and day out we are taking such inventories of individual humans—children and adults—right across this country, and although we may be very suspicious of things like intelligence tests and so on and so forth, there are some personality inventories that we can take that are reliable that can tell you or me what our psychic health is.

I submit to you that the sooner that we take such a psychic inventory of all of us Canadians and find out how we are as humans, the sooner we will perhaps get the kind of feeling, human motivation, and I think this is a requirement to deal specifically with this question of poverty, and of any other kind of problem involving human beings that we have in this country.

I have some comments on the guaranteed annual income. I am trying to be specific here, but it seems to me that what you call a guaranteed annual income, or negative taxation, or whatever you want to call it, we should not get tied up with this terminology. We should not too easily let guaranteed annual income fall from our lips.

I am suggesting to you that whatever we do with regards to the poor, the need to ask ourselves, "Are we willing to guarantee them the means to participate in our society, whether or not they work for a living or whether or not their beliefs, ideas, morals, agree or disagree with ours?"

Therefore, what I am suggesting is a challenge, that in this day and age a Canadian who does not have in his home—he may not want it—but a Canadian who does not have in his home a television set, who does not have a radio, and a Canadian who does not

have a car, that he can drive and repair and fill with gas, a Canadian who does not or cannot have an annual vacation, a Canadian who does not have access to reading material (both reading material in a public library but reading material which he can buy) through a daily newspaper, a Canadian who does not have these things—who cannot, for example, afford to go to a movie or to go to the Winnipeg Ballet, which was in town—that Canadian is a poor Canadian.

That Canadian cannot participate in Canadian life, and I am suggesting to you that whether we call it a guaranteed annual income or not, the true challenge to us today is whether or not we are willing to guarantee such means to participate in Canadian society to all Canadians irrespective of whether they are working or do not work. That to me is the real challenge, and unfortunately in my experience the answer from most people has been definitely not. I am recommending that such a version of the guaranteed annual income be the only appropriate version that we consider. Any other version I would see as only being a more effective way of a delivery system.

All we would be doing is re-organizing our way of delivering money to the poor, probably make it more efficient, less costly, but we will still be using the same standards, and therefore we will still worry about whether the person plays bingo, or whether the person throws money away, whether or not he has a car, whether or not he has a television set, and as long as we continue on those standards we will not do anything about poverty.

I am pessimistic in this in that I don't believe that society can guarantee a guaranteed annual income. I would suspect that in the years ahead there is a good chance we will be instead faced with the challenge of educating millions of Canadians not to work. We would be educating them to occupy themselves creatively, and satisfying themselves apart from the world of work.

Some people are suggesting that the hippies today are in some respect a symptom of the future. I have another recommendation in the brief, and I am suggesting that because I think that most of us will not accept such a version of the guaranteed annual income and some of us I think are quite concerned that this would indeed not be helpful to people; that it would be demoralizing to a person. And I am suggesting that we take a limited step in this direction and that we set up research projects that will on a selected basis

guarantee some of the poor the means to participate in society as I suggested, whether or not they work; and that on this limited basis of perhaps a five-year period we find what happens to a person when in effect you guarantee him a television set, a car, and the means to participate in society. Does it demoralize him?

Coming to an end here...

The Chairman: I don't mean to interrupt you, but tell us what you think.

Mr. Critchley: I personally don't think it will. I have a section here that is to me a significant recommendation, but it's more partly related to this business of having some slight despair as to just what we would do. I have a section on school and teachers, and it would seem to me that here is a place where we should pay far more attention than we do. There are so many bits and pieces of evidence now available that indicates that some of the terrible things that happen to human beings happen in schools.

In this whole area of self-esteem and self-development, that many, many, many thousands of our young people are having experiences in school that in effect are destroying them as human beings. Now, "destroying" is a big thing; but definitely demoralizing them, and definitely resulting in their leaving schools less human than when they went in. If we really wanted to do something about this state of affairs and every other area, the poor suffer more in this area than anyone else, but we all suffer from it.

If we wanted to do something it would appear that we can now virtually guarantee that every child in this country will have adults called teachers in daily contact with them who have been trained to help that child become more rather than less. This is something that in this day and age we should—we just don't seem to be aware of. We are still saying that teachers are born and not made, and not realizing that we can immediately if we want right across this country guarantee, virtually guarantee, that the poor and other Canadians, while they're in school will be in association with adult models who will help them to become more, as I say, rather than less than what they are, and therefore I have a recommendation in the brief to this effect.

Finally, I am suggesting that Canada initiated by the federal government—set up a research and training institute in human relations. The name really is immaterial, but I

just wanted to get the word "human" in there.

I think that there is a terrible lack between what we know about the human being in our society and what we do with regards to him. There is all kinds of time and money being put into research in this area by social scientists of all kinds, and for the most part this kind of information is not available to most of us.

I think if we have a research and training institution in human relations we could have a national resource that would begin on a systematic basis to compile what we know and what we are finding out about the human being in our society. Such a body I am suggesting—one of the first steps you could take would be to take a psychic inventory of Canadians so that we would have laid out in front of us what our psychic or spiritual health is.

I have talked longer than I intended, but that in essence is a summary of what I have to say in my brief.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Senator McGrand?

Senator McGrand: You made a statement that I am most interested in, when you said that there were experiences in school that help to destroy the children, and I would agree with you very much on that. This comes at a time when never in our history have we spent so much money in the building of schools and school buildings.

Now, would you just go ahead and explain what you meant by these experiences in school that destroy the children?

Mr. Critchley: I think for a variety of reasons; some of them because of crowded classrooms, some of them because of the demands of an educational system that are geared more to a retaining and memorizing of facts or information than the feeding back of it in the form of examinations—unfortunately, sometimes—and I am afraid all too often—because of inadequate teachers. Teachers who in effect cannot form with the child an effective helping human relationship.

Because of these variety of reasons that for many, many children school is a very frightening, demoralizing experience. There is a lot of experimental documentation just in the guidance end. If parents were not so afraid of retaliation and retribution from the schools—and this by the way, anybody who has

worked with parents; I am not just talking now of the poor—this is one of their big fears.

If they were not so afraid and told of the terrible costs and the kind of thing that happened to their children during the course of the school day—unfortunately, very often at the hands of the teachers.

In my brief I am suggesting that we can make a choice between school buildings and teacher training that, for goodness' sake, if we do have to make that choice, let's put our money on the training of teachers and let's put it on getting effective, good teachers.

I don't know if that was a specific enough answer...

Senator McGrand: Would you include in this destroying of children the placing of emphasis on the wrong subjects in schools; certain subjects are over-emphasized and there are subjects that should be of interest in the development of a child that are neglected?

Mr. Critchley: Now, this would be an area that I am just—that I just don't feel I have the time to really answer, but if you want me to tell you what research has found to be the three most significant characteristics of a teacher, I can tell you that.

I can also tell you that we can train teachers to develop these, but the upsetting thing is that we so seldom do.

The Chairman: What do you mean by "dimensions"?

Mr. Critchley: Well, dimension—and here it is quite a problem because we use different names, but dimension in teacher genuineness. A person coming through as a self-congruent, non-defensive, non-up-on-a-pedestal human being, and by this we don't mean a person who let's the class run away with him. This kind of genuine, open, available human person. That is one characteristic.

Another is just the characteristic of entity. The ability to feel with and to understand the feeling of another person. I submit that many of the things that go on in the classroom would never go on if this ability were more developed. So often what happens to a child no one knows about this because people, when they are hurt, seldom scream out. These are two of their characteristics.

The third, and probably the most obvious one, is just the characteristic known as love or warmth. This would communicate the feel-

ing "I care about you." "I care about you irrespective of the clothes you are wearing or the rings you are wearing," and so on, and so forth.

These qualities—I am not sure whether we are born with them, but the fact of the matter is, we can all develop them to a much greater degree, but the trouble is, most of us don't have the time.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, my question is very much the same. Mr. Critchley seems to think that this is something we can do and do quite quickly in our schools to see that the right kinds of teachers are there.

Wouldn't it take a long time to provide teachers such as you suggest? Wouldn't they have to train, and then we would have to screen them, and wouldn't this take quite a long period of time before we could supply those kind of teachers in the schools?

Mr. Critchley: I would say no because what I would start with would be starting with the way things are. Not looking at the problem of teachers' shortage; just looking at the teachers that we have at this time.

In the experiences that I have had and what I know of other training programs, just starting with the teachers that we have we could significantly improve the quality of what they are delivering in schools. I start with the assumption that no teacher really goes into teaching wanting to be an ineffective teacher or wanting to harm children, so I am assuming that they are good teachers. It's just that they don't have the opportunity or means to deliver those things.

Senator Fergusson: Well, how would you change them; would you begin training in the schools or teacher training colleges?

Mr. Critchley: Yes. In training in the schools, in training in the teachers' colleges. Some teacher training programs have reached the point where they are stressing these personal characteristics, but unfortunately many of them, though, do not guarantee the delivery. They in effect say, "What are the personal characteristics of a teacher that make for effective teaching?" He will pass if he can remember but that is not good enough. We have to guarantee that that person can deliver those in his own way.

By the way, this is something not with respect to teachers; this is something that we have done in the training of people to staff mental hospitals. They have, for example,

taken the attendants that have perhaps Grade 11 or Grade 12 education, and these are people who have been moved in to hospitals and called upon to pick up, clean up, and scrub up, and some of the undesirable things that professionals don't do. They have taken these people and in the space of 100 hours trained them to be able to be therapeutically effective with seriously-disturbed mental patients.

Now, I suggest, or submit to you, that if that can be done with Grade 11 or Grade 12 education with mental patients, then could we really do in our schools and training centres?

The Chairman: Senator Connolly?

Senator Connolly: Mr. Chairman, first of all may I express my personal thanks to the witness for his wonderful and excellent brief. Obviously, he has put a great deal of time and attention into it, and applied all of the knowledge and experience to the practical application to social problems. You, sir, have done all this in support of a guaranteed annual income, but you concede in your brief that even a guaranteed annual income will not eradicate poverty. I accept that because it is my own view, but our reasons for accepting that are different. I am wondering whether you are prepared to ameliorate the conditions that you attribute to this problem.

You say, for example, that this will be so because it will be the product of the same old ways applicable to the poor who suffer, but I think—I agree because unfortunately far too many humans do not know how to handle money.

I would ask you for your comment on that after I put another question to you.

The hypothetical point at which this guaranteed annual income should start. I say "hypothetical" because no one knows where it should be with a certainty.

Would you agree that it probably would not remain at that level, and, if not, how would you differentiate? Would it go up with the increase of the cost of living; would it go down with the decrease of the cost of living; or what would happen with that annual income?

Mr. Critchley: The honest answer is that I don't know what would happen, and that is why I pay more attention not to money, but to the material means to participate in society so that what I would be in effect advocating, no matter whether its money or no matter how it's done, that when we say, "Why are

we going to guarantee to all Canadians"—let's fact it, we already have a guaranteed annual income called welfare, but the thing is, it's tied in to such things as scope, and some of the departments argue about whether or not scope should be part of the basis for determining the income that you will guarantee to this welfare client.

What I would be suggesting is that other things, such as cars, would be the criteria that you would base your income on, or measure on, and that in effect you would be guaranteeing the means to participate in society.

How it's done through a guaranteed annual income, I don't really know. We, for example, do in our public library system guarantee that Canadians who have the desire to read can read. This usually applies to those, and for the price of a ten-cent library card. I think it would be interesting to know if we are living in effect to guarantee television sets on the same basis.

We have public parks and public camping grounds, and in that respect we are guaranteeing to all Canadians, if they have a means to get there, the means of enjoying the out-of-doors. If they don't have a car and the transportation to get there, of course they won't, so that is why I am talking more in straight material terms rather than income terms. I would think that if you did deliver income as a means to participate...

Senator Connolly: Would they have a bank balance besides a car?

Mr. Critchley: Well, I think you might find that—you see, I am more interested in the means to participate. Some people would not want this. They might well say, "This income I would use in other ways." They might not want a television set.

What I am suggesting here; that they be given the means to participate and these are some criteria of participation in our society. It might be that someone would choose to do without the car, do without the television set, do without the radio and as such might be far better off than myself.

I think that I have the right to make those decisions and everybody should have the right. I think everybody should also have the right to misuse their income. You see, I have that right already.

The Chairman: We use it; don't worry about that.

Senator Connolly: Well, then, you do believe, to paraphrase the language of a best-seller, that the poor will always be with us?

Mr. Critchley: No, I don't. I hope not.

Senator Connolly: Well, you said so. You say so in your brief. To use the word "relative," it's true, but it will always be here, you say. You say it will always be here because of our attitudes. You say this on page 4 in the second-last paragraph.

You say "the poor will still be with us."

Mr. Critchley: Well, if you just take the beginning of the sentence:

I submit that if the guaranteed annual income is a product of the present ethic of our society we will find that after it has been instituted the poor will still be with us, as relatively poor as always and as numerous as ever.

I believe that if we really do care what happens to the people...

Senator Connolly: I will forgive you because your brief is generally so good.

The Chairman: Well, actually, we are not disagreeing here.

Senator Pearson: The question of the guaranteed income and the figures that have been given roughly as to what is considered as guaranteed annual income.

The question that I would pose—and I can't find an answer to it myself, and I am just wondering if you can give an answer to it.

When you get this guaranteed income, what is to prevent the local authority in taking a bigger tax bite out of the thing to fill in their coffers, because there is all sorts of services that they have to give, and they can't find the money for it. This guaranteed income comes in from the federal government, and what is to stop them from stepping in and saying, "Well, your taxes are going to be so-and-so." Have you any idea of what will prevent this?

Mr. Critchley: No. I think this is where I am quite idealistic. I believe that if we knew what was happening to us in the human terms, that we would in our decision-making into human priorities rather than what I feel of the present priorities—and I mean there are very seldom human priorities; so that would be one of the hopes that I would have.

I think it's really a challenge to our country today: are we going to put the emphasis on

human terms or some kind of monetary terms?

The Chairman: Senator Inman?

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, I was interested in the witness saying that he—everybody should have certain rights to squander their income.

Now, if there was a guaranteed income would you feel that they have a right to squander this income and then be left in the poverty condition and have to be helped again?

Mr. Critchley: I would say yes, because I really do feel that if we make our decision on the kind of basis that I am suggesting that one fact would emerge; that is, that most people are not anti-social. Most people who squander are anti-social. They don't care about their fellow man. Usually they don't care about themselves, when it comes right down to it. And I think there are many, many statistics that support this fact.

So I think if we instituted measures that in effect would increase self-esteem and self-congruance, and our society itself, we would find a lot of these people with irresponsible behaviour going down as we increase our measures to improve ourselves in this whole psychic health area.

This, actually, is not idealistic. Those who work with the poor have seen them become self-determining and self-supporting and self-responsible and social. Those who in the beginning weren't, have found without exception that there is a direct correlation between how they behave and how they feel about themselves.

If you have low self-esteem chances are that you will be anti-social; that you will not be able to function effectively in society. Here again, I think that we have to pay attention to this area, and this is why really it's a crime that so many of our programs are mass programs. They deliver mass services. What many of the poor need is a human relationship with a human being who communicates "care". Those poor who have had that (and I am afraid that actually our record is very poor), just because you guarantee them a social worker it doesn't mean that the social worker can deliver the dimension or guarantee delivery of that dimension.

When it is present you do find a total function of the way she gets on with her husband, or wife, or children, and so on. It is his responsibility as a breadwinner (if he is a

breadwinner), his responsibility to his employer. By all these measures or functions these will tend to go up in direct proportion to the increase that he has in his self-esteem.

It seems to me—and this is where I think we can get—if we think it's just a matter of handing out money (I don't think it is), that is important. We also have to guarantee what is happening to the person in human terms, and the human development something that we have to recognize

The Chairman: Senator McGrand?

Senator McGrand: You mentioned that reading material and recreational facilities, and that all these things were essential in the building of a well-oriented human being. Has Halifax the adequate library system to do this, and what percentage of the poor attend library services?

Going back to the establishment of human values, who is the person or people who can decide what human values are, because each teacher, member of a school board, and the head of each family, have different ideas of what human values are?

Now, only a dictator could lay down the rules and say, "This is a human value that has to be discarded." How would you proceed? What are human values?

Mr. Critchley: With regards to the libraries, I don't know. I don't know what the situation is in Halifax. There are libraries, but the extent of their use by poor people I don't know.

If they are like many public libraries across the country, they are quite judgmental in their reading material. They make the decision between "This is trash, therefore we won't have it," "This is good quality, so we will have it."

I suggest that this is probably quite logical to many public pressures, but this business of human values, if you are talking one's religious beliefs, and so on, then I would think this is something that a person has to work out themselves.

We do have the unanimity about human values, and it would not require any enforcement on the part of the dictator.

The other thing is, that if you translate this into just straight terms of what we know—we know, for example, that if you take a teacher who has his ability to come through as a genuine person and an understanding person and a caring person—if you take that teacher and put him in a classroom (either it's a

classroom of difficult children or just an ordinary classroom) that that teacher will have fewer behaviour problems, less absenteeism, and this means a better academic performance on the part of their students; whether the students have behaviour problems or are average, ordinary children.

I think this is a fact, as I know it is a fact, then to me that really is the challenge. I don't think this would require forcing people to believe or act in a way that is hostile to the value system of this country.

I think most of us would believe that it is important to have a caring relationship between a teacher and a child. I think most of us would believe that the teacher should be susceptible. He should be open. In effect, what we are saying is that the child should be exposed to a good model of a human being. This is where the real education takes place. If he is exposed to a bad model, an insensitive model, a model that makes fun of others at the expense of the individual, then this is the education that is taking place, and I think we have all kinds of adults who day in and day out indicate in the way they get on with others that they have been exposed to bad models.

The Chairman: I think Senator Connolly asked you the question a few minutes ago about the changes in the poverty line, and I think you said you weren't quite aware of that. I think Senator Connolly asked you whether you were aware of the fact that over a period of time we had changed the poverty line and money values. I think you said you didn't know about it.

Mr. Critchley: No, no.

The Chairman: Well, do you remember what it was?

Mr. Critchley: Well, you go on with your question.

The Chairman: Well, my question would be the answer. Well, my point is that there have been changes in the poverty line over a period of years. Is that correct?

Mr. Critchley: Right.

The Chairman: I think the Economic Council has pointed out that. Do you agree with that?

Mr. Critchley: You give me the figures.

The Chairman: Well, I will give you both figures. The one in 1961 was 15, 25, 3,000, and

36/42. That is what it was in '61. Now it is 18, 3,000, 36, 42, and 48. That is what they say the poverty line is now. We adopted it because—these are common figures between the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and ourselves. They identify it a little more than other people. Would you agree with that?

Mr. Critchley: I don't find it particularly useful as a standard because I think it tends to make this whole business of poverty an income question, and I think the fact of the matter is that you have some people, some families, that are living on \$4,000 in this country who are for a variety of reasons able to participate in society, and you have some others who are earning five, six, seven thousand dollars, and who are not.

The Chairman: Well, do you have any suggestions as to how we could possibly change that?

Mr. Critchley: Not really, because the only things that I have are the things that apply to me as an earner in society, and I know that in the university for example you pay attention to expected annual increase in the cost of living, so you tend to expect that for each passing year your income will go up, only to take into account the increase in the cost of living.

I would think this same dimension should be applied to the regular dimensions for the poor that you have to pay attention to the fact that you do have increases in cost of living.

Now, people would say, "What would you do in the year when the university comes to you and points out that there is going to be a drop in the cost of living; what would your response be?"

Fortunately, I have never been in that situation, but—this is to me moving into a dimension that is certainly not my expertise.

The Chairman: I know that you have been 20 years as a social worker, so I hoped you would fall back on that experience. You did speak about a guaranteed annual income, and you said it would be nice for a man if he could have a telephone, a car, and to have a home, and a great number of things. You laid down the basis for a guaranteed income. Let's examine that for a moment.

The definition of income or the old-age security—there is a supplement and the incentive and the cost-of-living bonuses have all been incorporated in that; is that correct?

Mr. Critchley: Yes.

The Chairman: If you have a car and a house, and a telephone; you have two television sets, and you have perhaps a thousand dollars in bonds, or something like that, and still come within the confines of a general guaranteed annual income on the basis of income?

Mr. Critchley: You say you can?

The Chairman: You can. Can you or can't you? I am talking about income. A man who is getting old-age security on the basis of income—\$105; is that right?

Mr. Critchley: Yes.

The Chairman: He has a house and he has the income out of the house and he has a television set, and a telephone, a car; he may have a thousand dollars in bonds in the bank at six or seven or eight per cent and still get his guaranteed old-age security, can't he?

Mr. Critchley: Yes.

The Chairman: Well, isn't that what we are talking about when we talked about a guaranteed annual income?

Mr. Critchley: I thought you were trying to get me somewhere where I didn't want to go. You are saying that the guaranteed annual income or old-age security is available to all Canadians?

The Chairman: I didn't say that. You were talking about making a study on a limited basis. I know what you are talking about.

Haven't we got it now on a limited basis?

Mr. Critchley: Yes.

The Chairman: And it works?

Mr. Critchley: Yes. You are saying that most senior citizens, their income is \$105 a month?

The Chairman: They must have up to that. Ordinarily they get their \$75 a month for the old-age security plus a bonus, but if they had no other income they can get up to \$30, which makes it a hundred and five. That's what I am talking about.

I am saying that that is a guaranteed income, and he has all the things that you have talked about—am I correct?

Mr. Critchley: Yes.

The Chairman: Then you and I agree then that at the present time, for a limited group,

we have a guaranteed annual income that is quite satisfactory to meet all their requirements?

Mr. Critchley: That is where I am having trouble.

The Chairman: Well, where are you having your trouble?

Mr. Critchley: Well, I have a hard time seeing how a person has an income of \$105...

The Chairman: No, no. I didn't talk about the spartan aspects of it. I am talking of principle to you. The amount is another matter entirely. You have some views on the amount, and some solutions.

This Committee is not supporting that amount and we are not here for that purpose. I am talking about principle, and from your experience as a social worker, and from your experience as a professor and lecturer, I am asking you if there is anything you can add to the principle of the present guaranteed income that we have in force in Canada.

Mr. Critchley: The only thing would be a different base.

The Chairman: I am talking about principle, and principle doesn't involve the amount of money. Principle doesn't involve money. Money is another matter. But the principle that we invoke in that particular instance, is that satisfactory?

Mr. Critchley: That principle is satisfactory.

The Chairman: That's what we are talking about.

Now, what you are saying, in effect, is that—and you are not alone—is now that at 65 years of age it should be extended to other people, to other persons; you are saying that, aren't you?

Mr. Critchley: Yes. I am also saying that even though in principle if we guarantee persons of a certain age in this country to \$70-odd a month, and if they don't have other means of income we give them more, but even though that in principle would seem to support the principle of the guaranteed annual income, I think it also in principle, because of the amount that we give, reflects our rejection of the principle of guaranteeing the means to participate, because poor people who, in effect, are living on \$105 a month, are not participating in society.

The only thing they really can depend on is that they will be so crippled and infirm that \$105 a month will be enough.

The Chairman: Or else the amount will be raised.

Mr. Critchley: Well, in principle, yes. I am afraid, without the principle of participation, you will not even be guaranteeing this to our senior citizens.

The Chairman: You are talking about a means of carrying it out, and I am talking about the principle involved in adopting it. We agreed that a child should go to school up to certain years. The principle.

Some get something out of school and others get nothing out of school. What I am getting at is the principle, and the principle you agree with?

Mr. Critchley: Yes. You see it as merely a means to extend the principle?

The Chairman: Yes. That is what I said to you. What I thought, or what I had in mind was (and I said this on other occasions) that we extend it immediately to the blind and the disadvantaged, crippled and maimed, and those people. They are out of the labour market, and that might as well be the first step, perhaps.

Mr. Critchley: Well, this is where it is just a matter of opinion.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, if we extended it to the aged, the maimed, and the blind and the handicapped, and the head of the family, would that be part of the pilot project which you refer to in your brief? Do you think we could gain enough knowledge out of that?

Mr. Critchley: Well, this is effect is assuming that—this is sort of a gradual, step-by-step approach.

Senator Hastings: Well, you mentioned in your evidence that we should undertake a pilot project?

Mr. Critchley: I personally would feel that would not in effect be dealing with my suggestion because I think the fact is that we are willing right now if somebody is blind, or lame, or infirmed, who is obviously unable to participate, that this is where our humanity does come through, and people will, if they know about it, people will try to make life more tolerable for these people.

They will not, for example, say this person who has lost both legs through no fault of his own does not have a television set, so I personally do not feel that this would really test us to extend it to such disadvantaged people.

The other thing I think perhaps just as important is that I really think that we are now living on borrowed time. Without knowing it, society has already suggested the gradual, step-by-step approach to deal with our problems. Because the poor do not rise up I think we tend to get a false feeling of security, and I suggest to you that this is not really the place to be worried about it.

The rejection of the values of society, I don't think they are taking place in the ranks of the poor. I think they are taking place in the ranks of the haves on the university campuses. Poor people generally don't get to university. Those who do have been through a history of new progress. We are the ones that are becoming more and more disillusioned about this as a legitimate approach to the problems of the poor.

The poor in our country do not make the radicals and the revolutionists, and the people who put bombs in mailboxes. They perhaps are maybe used and whipped up, but the haves are the ones I am most concerned about. The people who do earn a living, who are not on welfare rolls, from my experience, they are moving more and more to a commitment to totalitarian means of problem-solving.

I think if we just confine ourselves to what is happening to the poor and the complications of the poor—I think the awful thing about poverty is that it knocks out all of your feelings of self-work and self-confidence.

The Chairman: You said that putting it on a gradual basis would not help, but if were accelerated, would that help?

Mr. Critchley: The people who say, "Now, listen, David, I don't want anybody to live in these conditions. I don't want this to happen. But also I don't want to reckon with my charity either." To those people I would say, "All right, here is a program involving one hundred, one hundred and fifty, or two hundred people, and you guarantee the means of participation." You see some hard facts about what happens to people when they have the means to participate in society.

The Chairman: Well, of course, we know there is such a project taking place in the

United States in Trenton, New Jersey. There is a project in America in Trenton, New Jersey, with 1,000 poor people and working with other families they are given a certain amount of money a month and they have been studying them very carefully at the University of Wisconsin at a cost of four million dollars—and they have been studying and our people have been following their studies, and the amazing thing that has come back to us so far are that the poor people don't change when they get more money. They don't blow it, and that is what we have been looking for.

A certain fellow has an income of \$7,000 a year, and the fact that you give him an extra \$500, he merely goes out and buys another piece of furniture and that type of thing.

Mr. Critchley: He would be the same as the rest of us.

The Chairman: Yes. Let me ask you one more question. You have been a social worker for 20 years; you have a long line of experience. We have in our country what I consider—and I am sure my colleagues share with me—the best social welfare figures that you could find in almost any western country in the world. We are spending totally, municipally, provincially and federally, six billion dollars a year. Why has our welfare system failed to the extent that we have now nearly a million people on welfare?

Mr. Critchley: Well, I can only speak from my experience, and it's been my experience that one of the biggest challenges that I have had in any job that I have held has been the challenge that comes from the layman on the board of directors or the minister or the deputy minister.

I have found that—and this is why I have so much conviction about this business of what kind of participation are we guaranteeing—that I have been asked to implement policies; whether it's disturbed children, whether it's delinquent parents who don't have money—and I have been asked to implement policies that in effect wanted me to guarantee to my board of directors, "yes, I will guarantee responsibility for this," but I do not make it too easy for them, and a lot of my time, if I am the director of an agency, is spent with my board of directors, and their attitudes. Their attitude towards the dispossessed that I have been working with.

In regards to the disturbed children, one of the policies was that for years we would go

down to the Salvation Army and go to the board of directors and ask for secondhand toys.

The Chairman: Just exactly what are you saying?

Mr. Critchley: I am saying that the welfare system has not really done anything at all about poverty. The welfare system has just been reflecting the same old attitudes, and every time we re-arrange this we re-arrange—the attitudes are left untouched.

There again, I don't see revision or re-arrangement as our challenge.

The Chairman: What attitude?

Mr. Critchley: Well, the attitude that becomes the prevailing attitude in our society. It is a suspicious attitude, and the attitude that in effect seems to be based on the assumption that people have more devil in them than perhaps they do good.

If you don't watch out, if you don't check everything about them, they will take advantage of you. This attitude becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy.

The Chairman: Self-fulfilling by whom?

Mr. Critchley: For example, if I had this attitude, too—were to say to you, "Senator Croll, I am going to watch you," in effect what I am communicating to you is that I don't care for you, I am suspicious of you, and I am rejecting you. You get right back to these values. And if I communicate rejection to you, and that is the kind of response I am going to get from you, so that in effect our welfare system day in and day out are communicating rejection. Rejection does not help people to grow. Rejection makes for anger, for hurt, for cheating, for theft, and so on.

And I submit that if you really talk to the poor, this is what they have concluded. To beat you I have to use your standards, and if you have a group of four women in Winnipeg talking about the welfare department in these terms—"You know why you didn't get that allowance the last time; because you wore that jacket with the fur around the collar."

"Well, I bought it at the Junior B shop. I got it for two-fifty."

"Don't wear it. Get your worst, worst clothes. If you haven't got any real worst clothes, put a tear in them, burn them with your cigarette, so you can get as bad-looking as possible."

Or you get the other woman I was talking to, and she casually informed me that she had signed up for not only a deep freeze but for a freezer plan. Now, this had been in spite of years and years of being hounded by these companies, so I said to her, "Mrs. So-and-So, how come?"

She said, "Well, what the hell can I lose?"

The Chairman: Well, that really isn't what I wanted. You know that the welfare system in this country started approximately in '29 with the Depression. There was a philosophy behind it, and surely they taught that in school, didn't they?

Mr. Critchley: Yes.

The Chairman: There was a certain philosophy behind it. It was the dole philosophy, wasn't it? Where did we go wrong from there? Where did we go wrong along the way?

Mr. Critchley: Well, I prefer you answer it because we didn't change, really.

The Chairman: Well, I agree with you but I wanted your views.

Mr. Critchley: Well, that's my views. We have not changed.

Essentially, from my point of view we have not changed. We have instituted all kinds of measures and we have divided people into categories—we have categories for the blind, and so on and so forth, but essentially the same dole principle applies.

The Chairman: Any questions?

Mrs. Beattie: Mr. Chairman, I have a question dealing with what he has to say.

The Chairman: Not you, madam; you had your chance before.

Mrs. Beattie: Am I to be denied a chance to speak?

The Chairman: You have already spoken.

Mrs. Beattie: Not on this gentleman's brief.

The Chairman: There is a statement I have to make. You have already spoken—

Earlier in the day.

Mrs. Beattie: I have as much right to speak, sir, as you have. I have been sitting here for an hour and a half to listen to this gentleman speak. He is a very learned gentleman, granted, but he made one statement that I would

like to bring to your attention. You all have ignored that the poor may not have the self-confidence or the ability to speak in public. I would like to mention to you that I am poor. I may not be on welfare but I am poor. But I have something else besides self-confidence; I have the desire to get ahead, and there is a hell of a lot of us in Halifax getting that desire.

There is a lot of desire at the Halifax Neighbourhood Centre. We are being taught how to get ahead, which branch of the government we should contact, when to speak our piece, and if there were enough Halifax Neighbourhood Centres put across this country, then we may get the people of Canada getting what they want, which is a good life, good home, and good education for their children.

You can't get this by talking on and on and on. You've got to get out to see the people and meet the people, and find out what they want. You have to find out what their hopes are and what their dreams are, and then come back and discuss it in a scholarly manner.

The Chairman: Earlier in the day the question of public housing came up, housing controls. I have had this researched since I spoke, and under Section 35(a) municipal-provincial and federal partnership was initiated by the city under provincial and federal—enter into a joint agreement which is 75% federal, 25% provincial-municipal. All policies, locations, rent and designs are made by the three partners. However, rents are tied in with the federal scale. The city manages the building, upkeep, and tenant relocation, or under Section 35(c) the federal government gives 90% of loans to the province, controls policy and management.

Another way, the federal, provincial, municipality governments work on a fifty-fifty basis and split capital and operational costs. I think I said that in Halifax only 35(a) from the National Housing Act is in operation. The other two sections are not in operation and consequently the city manages the building but the decisions are threefold decisions and the rents are fixed by the federal government, because the other two have not been invoked. I wanted to correct that on the record because I indicated the federal government did not have that power. I knew that under Section 35 power was away from the federal government but it has not been put in force.

Thank you very much, Mr. Critchley, for a very excellent presentation.

Mr. Murray Warrington (Representing the Nova Scotia Tenants Association): Mr. Chairman, I have a question.

In your debate with Mr. Critchley you mentioned telephones, TV's, and so on, to poor people. With all respect to this Commission, I presume that you have every one of these things that you mentioned.

The Chairman: I didn't say that.

Mr. Warrington: Is this too much for the poor man to ask for?

The Chairman: I said, if you had listened to me—you would have heard me say that a man is entitled to a telephone, he could have two television sets, he could have a car and he could have a home and a thousand dollars in bonds, and he can still draw old-age security at 65 years of age. That's what I said.

Mr. Warrington: How does he get these things if the three levels of government don't defend him?

The Chairman: He gets a cheque from only one part of the government.

Mr. Warrington: He sure as hell won't get a cheque to enable him to buy those things.

The Chairman: This meeting is concluded.

The meeting adjourned.

Upon resuming at 2 p.m.

The Chairman: Order. With us this afternoon presenting the brief from the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department we have the Director, Father G. E. Topshee, who will be introducing those who are accompanying him.

Father Topshee (Director, St. Francis Xavier Extension Department): Senator Croll and Honourable Senators, ladies and gentlemen. With me I have Father Roach who is in charge of the City office of the St. Francis Extension Department, and Dr. Alex MacDonald, the Antigonish office. Miss Elizabeth Tower, who is a community development worker working with the Micmac Indians on several reservations.

Our Extension Department has been involved in field work with the people of the towns and villages of the Maritimes, and this started about half a century ago, shortly after World War I, and some of our staff people at

Antigonish made sorties out to work with people on self-help programmes and we have been at it ever since.

At present we have 27 field workers working with people engaged in forestry, fishing, farming and also working in the coal mines, and some people in the services and industry people.

Now, to give you a summary of our brief, we say in this brief Poverty is not exclusively an economic problem but a comprehensive human problem. The one true solution is that of improving the quality of the person.

Solutions are found in various methods of giving people opportunity to develop their capacities and this includes particularly capacities, not only as individuals, but also capacities of groups of people.

Government welfare and other forms of government housing are mandatory but at the same time individuals must be persuaded to participate substantially in their own salvation and thereby develop self-reliance and self-respect in keeping with the dignity of the human person.

We define poverty as a physical and mental state of ineffectiveness in the social and economic environment of the family or individual.

With regard to the nature of the problem in this area, rational disparity affecting all of Atlantic Canada is further aggravated in Eastern Nova Scotia with the cut backs in the coal mining industry and re-organization of steel making.

In addition in the coastal communities change from inshore fishing operations to heavily capitalized deep sea industry has, in many cases, created economic decline.

Our contention is that, in the main, the solution to this problem, the problem of poverty, will be found in properly conceived and implemented educational programmes. Little headway can be made until we define the basic elements in poverty, that is the inability of the individual to perform effectively in his environment.

Before people can make an effective contribution to society they must be trained and conditioned educationally. It is on the educational front that we shall achieve ultimate victory over poverty.

Now, this educational front actually is a number of fronts and we shall consider here three of them. (1) Academic education. (2) Technical and vocational training and re-

training and (3) The whole range of non-working studies and activities under the heading of adult or continuing education.

All of these must exert a greater effort in the total educational uplifting of the Atlantic region.

Historically the incidence of student drop-outs in elementary and secondary schools was high on the list of factors contributing to regional poverty, but in recent years there has been a significant improvement in this area and those responsible for making the school curriculum attractive should be thanked for this.

The trades training programme, to say the least, is inadequate. I believe Father Roach has some constructive criticism to voice on this trades training programme.

The need for highly qualified professional counsellors is paramount in the elementary, secondary and post-secondary institutions. Individual leaders plus educational and promotional agencies are needed to contact the poor and involve them in group action and other projects which would develop the capacity of the individual and the capacity of the group.

Much has been done in Nova Scotia in the field of self-help co-operative housing by the Nova Scotia Housing Commission and the Extension Department of our university, but much more could be done.

The value of this type of programme in developing the individual person is described in Appendix A of our brief.

Out-migration is certainly necessary in any war on poverty. More urbanization must come. This is inevitable.

Out-migration, by itself, does not remedy the situation. If people are to be moved they must be equipped, be trained and capable of taking an effective part in their new environment. Uneducated and unskilled people will not benefit themselves by moving from place to place and they will be a liability to society wherever they are.

On this whole question of adjustment of resources, adjustment of human resources and the natural resources, Dr. MacDonald will speak on that.

With regard to the older age groups on pension, those who are on pension—and the ages have been substantially reduced in recent years—in our coal mining community with the phasing out and so on of the coal mining industries, pensions are now being paid to men in their fifties.

In the fishing, farming and forest industries with the rationalization of these industries, probably a similar pension plan will be implemented.

People 50 to 60 years old must not be cast aside as unemployable.

We would recommend the undertaking of a wide range of experimental programmes for the involvement of older people, and particularly of those placed on the pension rolls by technological changes and by rationalization of primary industries.

Local communities, groups and institutions working with government should be encouraged to develop new programmes and projects to attract and hold the attention of older members of society.

In this field, as in others, employment of competent programme directors and trained counsellors is imperative.

Now, Senator, what time do we have remaining? Whom would you like to hear?

I would like to call on Father Roach for comments on the trades training and then Dr. MacDonald.

Father Roach: Senator Croll, Honourable Senators, I would like to speak mainly in the field of education.

I think that generally speaking the poor people in North America (this is not peculiar to Nova Scotia or the Atlantic region)—their way of life is poor, their whole way of life. It is not a lack of money only but they are not able to effectively participate in society.

They are outsiders, or they are what Michael Harrington refers to as "other Americans."

Although legally they may be classed as Canadians or Americans, if they are in the United States, effectively they are outside the main stream.

We have made our society such that it is a scientific world, a technological world, a highly advantaged society and in order to participate in it, you have to be skilled.

The question with most of the poor people is that they cannot effectively compete in their environment.

Poverty is a self-perpetuating thing. It goes on from parent to children and there is a cycle. Poor parents cannot give to their children what they need in order to give them mental capacity and find their place.

Now, it seems that people who are poor and who need education the most receive the

least. They have the poor schools. Generally speaking they have the poorest teachers and the poorest facilities in every way. The best facilities and the teachers are usually located in the best communities, in the high-class residential areas—not that we should deny these people—but those that need it the most receive it the least.

I think it is generally recognized now scientifically that most of the poor children, the poor kids, are in no way prepared to enter our school system so that in order to do much effectively with poverty, this way of life has to be changed.

It is not just simply giving people a certain amount of money but you have to rebuild people and this would become, I think, very important for perhaps as much as half of the population in Atlantic Canada. They have to be re-made.

If we take them from Cape Breton or Nova Scotia or Prince Edward Island and place them in Toronto, unless we do something with them first, they are going to be the slum dwellers of Toronto and the last stage is worse than the first stage.

Actually, we have the ability to overcome poverty in Canada or the United States if we ever acquired the will to do so. We can apply the will, for example, to carry on a war and we can amass technological brain power, the organization and back it up with financial forces to carry out that particular job and certainly with technological people and specialists working in Canada and the United States, if we ever came to a point where we decided to do something about poverty, it could be accomplished in a matter of a number of years.

I will take a moment to give one example. Down in Cape Breton where we have the phasing out of the coal industry, a number of us advocated with some of the DEFCO officials that there be an effective educational programme. There is a sort of re-training programme now carried on by government but if we honestly looked into it we would find it is nothing more than a glorified welfare programme, and really not an educational programme. A good idea but not carried out properly.

DEFCO stated that they were willing to pay the actual miners for college education if there were any coal miners capable and willing. So we started last year on just a test programme with 11 men, 35 to 40 years of age, who more or less could qualify for college entrance.

But in the long run DEFCO is saving money by paying these people to go to school because it is less than the cost of what it would take to keep them in the actual mines and they are succeeding.

This year we have 15 ordinary coal miners who have been taken into educational institutions and up to this point are getting along very well, and to the taxpayer and to the government the cost is less.

Not only is it less now, but in three or four years these actual miners can find their place, whether it is in Nova Scotia or British Columbia, they can effectively participate in our society. They have the equipment, the mental capacity to be a useful person in society.

Now, this is done on a very minor basis as a test programme, but it is working, and if we were to permit our universities to look after the educational programmes, the experimental programmes, where they would be mainly educational programmes and not welfare programmes, I think that there are thousands of men and women in the Atlantic region and elsewhere in Canada who could be rehabilitated.

Now, there was a perfect example of this after World War 2, both in Canada and in the United States where veterans came home after several years in the war. Some of them had grade 9, grade 10. They threw them in high school, of this type anyway, and there was a crash programme put on all across Canada to prepare these people, to rehabilitate them.

It was an educational programme and it was extremely successful, and I think if the government were to investigate that now, it was a tremendous investment in people to enable them to effectively find their place.

They went on to university. They succeeded. They were useful, productive Canadians.

The most important thing that must be done with many of our poor people, certainly in the Atlantic region, is that we have to take them and we have to invest in them, maybe for five, six or seven years, to enable them to effectively find their place.

I think one of the things that perhaps has been brought out in other meetings is that we must remember that we pay twice for poverty. Poverty costs the nation in two ways, and this costs an awful lot of money.

We pay for the social diseases that it produces, family break-up, delinquency,

crime, separation and family life of all descriptions.

The rate of social problems in the poor people is away out of proportion to the general population, and secondly we pay for poverty because these people (and it is unmistakable) are not producing anything, and that poverty and the elimination of it should be considered as an investment and not as a cost; but as long as governments and as long as we, as taxpayers, consider education as a cost and not as an investment, we will never ever do very much with poverty.

So, there has to be, if we are going to do anything with poverty, first of all a desire and will and an admission that we really are going to do something about it. It is going to take money; it is also going to take brain power and technological and scientific investigation and study. But in the Atlantic region the whole problem will be primarily one of re-educating the masses of the Maritimes.

Senator Connolly: Do you think, Father, that the concentration has to be largely on youth?

Father Roach: No.

The Chairman: Just a minute, Senator Connolly. The three of them will speak first and then the questions.

Dr. Alex MacDonald (Rural Sociology): Senator Croll, Honourable Senators, ladies and gentlemen. My concern is with the industrial resources and of our rural areas which constitute a large part of the poverty problem in Nova Scotia.

Theoretically we do, as professionals, distinguish between structural poverty, which is a poverty which can be defined in terms of lack of job skills, lack of occupational opportunities, lack of money, lack of housing and the environment situational thing.

We designate another type of poverty which we call cultural poverty. Really it is structural poverty compounded with or by cultural poverty, and this cultural poverty is a poverty of psychology or psychology, psychological poverty where the motivational values in the individual have broken down.

I believe in our rural areas we have both types of poverty. The problem is that as of the present we have a number of general programmes which do not make a distinction between these two types of poverty.

Now, for the areas where you have structural poverty, it is a problem as far as the

programmes are concerned of implementing opportunity structure. That is, programmes which will allow people to upgrade their skills, to get employment, to take advantage of these opportunities and also along with that community development or social animation process which will create an awareness of these programmes, an interest in them and use of them.

The problem of cultural poverty requires, I think, a different programme to some extent, and I think this is where we are falling down. We need opportunity programmes or opportunity structures, the availability of employment, upgrading skills, training for jobs and that type of thing.

But along with that we have to come up with some type of programme which would be something similar to a social therapy programme, not just "Let us be kind now in the conventional community development or social animation programme."

Now, the characteristics of this social therapy programme should be first that a team approach be adopted to specific cultural poverty areas. That is the professionals that are involved trying to help or working in this area should work on a series of cases.

At present there is a number of agents working on a parallel basis doing different jobs on an uncoordinated basis.

The second characteristic of this problem would be that the approach has to be intensive with the individual, with the family and probably with small therapy groups.

At present we have a large number of agencies, both public and private, working on a parallel uncoordinated basis. It is the kind of work you would call a shot-gun approach to the programme. It is like throwing a handful of crumbs into a chicken group and what happens is that the strongest and most agile get the crumbs and the weakest eventually quit trying.

Now, as of now we have a lot of good programmes, at least in theory, in operation. We have a lot of dedicated personnel in the field who are doing their best to help in the poverty area.

Now, for the most part, they are going nowhere and we are involved in that same process because we are involved in a community development process with one ethnic group in Nova Scotia.

We have worked with primary producers in forestry and a number of other areas, but where it comes down to basic poverty I do

not think we are solving the problem or going very far very fast.

We are developing some leadership but I do not think that is going to be the answer.

Now, what I am trying to emphasize here is that we have to delineate the aspects or the dimensions of poverty and that programmes must be changed to these dimensions.

We just cannot define one aspect of poverty and say "This is going to be our general programme." What I am asking for here is in the areas where there is a special problem of cultural poverty, even now, with the professionals in the field, if their efforts were coordinated, if their efforts were exerted on an intensive basis with the individual and family and probably small therapy groups, along with financial resources, then I think we would begin to solve the problem.

But as long as we are relying on general, diffuse, uncoordinated programmes, we are not going to solve the problem at all in our cultural poverty communities, and we have very many of them in Nova Scotia. I think we have more of them than we realize.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Senator Connolly: I started to ask Father Roach whether it was his view that the great effort should be concentrated on youth. Is there any suggestion that there should be even a partial writeoff of the older generations?

Father Roach: I don't think so, for this reason. Poverty is a way of life, the cycles of poverty. There should be heavy concentration on the young, but you cannot ignore the adults in the process.

I think this poor picture is a vertical mosaic, but I may be wrong. But some of it does stand out. It is not my idea.

You see, if you put a poor kid from a poor home compared with a good kid from a good home into our school system, the kid from the good home has to learn to swim through school but he goes down river. The kid from the poor home has to learn to swim but he has to learn to swim up-river. Everything in his upbringing; his home, his way of life, is against the school system. So it is not possible to educate the poor in our traditional way.

We have to come up with a kind of neighbourhood type of education. If the kid does not realize that education is important, if there are no values in it, he is not going to get to the school.

This is working now tremendously, our drop-outs. We know it. We have proved it. It takes more than a school to give a person education. It is a sense of values, and you cannot get this in a poor home, so you would have to attack the home along with the young person.

Headstart programmes and continuous start, if there is such a thing—but certainly making use of the tremendous number of university people we have today, put them into work on the community basis with the adults as well as the young people.

Quite often, in order to help young people, you have to first get to his parents.

Senator Connolly: Is there an active pride in many poor homes, Father?

Father Roach: No. It is not pride. Many of these poor people we tend to say are no good, but this is completely wrong. There is a complete frustration. They are told on the one hand what it is to be an average Canadian. They have no means; mental, physical, financial or any other to do what they should be doing in order to be a first-class Canadian. They are frustrated on every turn because everything in their way of life is different from what an average Canadian is supposed to be; so you have to attack the whole programme.

This is where a guaranteed annual income along with a rebuilding programme, not by itself but along with better housing, better communities, better teaching, will help.

Let us take our best teachers, our best professionals and put them where they are needed most, with the poor people; but we do the reverse now. We take our best and we put them where they are needed the least (not that they don't need it).

If we were to switch that for a while and take our best professionals and our best counsellors—we have all kinds of men, 35 to 40, in the Atlantic region that do not know where they are going and there is nobody willing to tell them what they can possibly do. They do not know where they are in the educational field. They cannot find out, and yet these skills are available.

Therefore, we have to work on the adults as well as the children. We may lose a number of adults but I think we will gain something more than we realize.

Senator Hastings: Father Roach, just carrying on your discussion with respect to the youth. We heard yesterday the various rea-

sons for the drop-out, and the students seemed to think that the greatest percentage of drop-outs was to help keep up the economic homes as wage-earners, to look after the home. That is my first question. Do you agree or not?

Father Roach: I completely disagree with that. You will find out in the better homes in any community in North America that the rate of drop-outs is much lower. You will find out I think, generally speaking, that with drop-outs it is their whole way of life. They have poor homes, they have poor clothing, they have poor parents. Everything is poor about them.

Senator Hastings: So, that is his first rejection from society, and then you have drop-outs. By that experience in school he has been rejected from society, and we have lost him, have we?

Father Roach: Right.

Senator Hastings: Now, do you have any views with respect to showing our interest in that boy or that girl by giving him a will to go on, by providing him with an allowance to stay in school and get marks?

Father Roach: No. I think the basic personality is pretty well formed by the time a kid is 7 or 8 years of age, and if in that personality here is a place for education, a kid might be able to succeed, but if there is no place, no value, it is very difficult then to do anything with him.

Senator Hastings: You have to get him younger?

Father Roach: Yes. I think with any kid there are two natural leaders: the parents. Now those parents may be no good, but still they are leaders to the kid, and if we are going to get to those kids through their parents or through some substitute like Headstart programmes, which are really trying to do what should be done in a good home, if we do not do it that way, I think we are going to lose most of the young.

Senator Hastings: Just one other question. You said you had 11 men last year. You started with 11 men last year?

Father Roach: That is right.

Senator Hastings: And 15 more this year?

Father Roach: The programme improved this year. What we did (and I think this is

one of the dangers with government)—they made a mistake last year but this year the error was corrected. They allowed the educational institute to make the decision to determine who are the people who were qualified and could possibly go along and in this way there were 15 out of 20 applications approved by the technical institute and by the university, and have been taken in, and it looks as if now we may have 100 per cent success with these 15 people.

Now, these are coal miners. I have one particular fellow that I have in my class who is about 42 years of age, and has worked in the coal mines for over 20 years. He is keeping pace with the other students in my class and doing very well in other courses. This man is 42 years old and it might take say five years, but it isn't costing the government any more to keep that fellow in university—it is costing less in fact—than it would in keeping him in a home. So this is an investment.

Senator McGrand: Mr. Chairman, when I read the brief I was a little disappointed that they had not put more emphasis on rural problems, but I understand that Dr. MacDonald is very much involved in rural problems and particularly the one in which I am interested.

You made mention on page 4 of the inability of the individual to perform effectively in his environment and then in another place on page 8 you say "The rural poor, when he gets into the city, is completely lost."

Now, if Nova Scotia is to rebuild its economic structure it must do it from its natural resources. Coal, fishing and lumber have been the basic elements in Nova Scotian economy.

We realize that coal has a very poor future; that fisheries, while they have increased in wealth employ probably less people and will employ less people than they do.

That leaves the forest land and what can proper development of your forest resources offer to the future of Nova Scotia?

I understand a large pulp company is eager to buy up small lots of woodlands of 50 acres and 100 acres wherever someone wants to get them off their hands. This may be good for the pulp company. It gets the benefit of the annual growth, but it is not too good for the little people of Nova Scotia.

Fifty per cent of the farmers and 80 per cent of the rural non-farm workers are classed as poor.

Now, how can you get this forest land into the hands of the little people who really need

it if they are going to survive in the rural economy? That is the question I would like you to answer.

Dr. MacDonald: Well, I think as a general statement as far as the forestry industry of Nova Scotia is concerned, and probably New Brunswick, the problem is that at present the forest industry, no matter how we can organize it, will not support the number of people who are dependant on it at present.

In Nova Scotia the average wood lot is a little over 100 acres and that is not all productive wood land. The yield on that is about one-eighth of a cord to one-sixth of a cord per acre.

What a man gets for a cord of pulp runs in the vicinity of \$13 to \$15 a cord. He can do about 1.5 cords a day so he is not going to make a fortune in that type of thing, and if he does, there is little doubt he is going to be exhausted in no time.

The programme that we have engaged in over the last two years was a programme to try to make the wood land owners aware of the problems of production, especially the investment factors, land, capital, entrepreneurship and also to organize them as a group, so that when they do produce they could sell at reasonable prices.

Now, to get to the question without getting into too much detail, as a result of our work with them we helped them through the assistance of the government and the Federation of Agriculture to set up the Nova Scotia Wood-owners Association. I think it is fairly generally agreed that there must be a massive re-organization of pulp woodland in Nova Scotia and also in New Brunswick and that should not just be simply passing it over to the pulp companies as we have done in the past.

I do not say that they should not have large sections of land as a resource, but to pass the complete control of all our forest land over to them, I think, is kind of ridiculous.

How do we get it into the hands of the small producer? Outside of the Christmas tree producer, I do not think we can plan to get small producers in the pulp wood industry and logging industry any more. The way we can get the forest resource into the hands of the native people—there are two ways—is to provide land adjustment programmes which will involve capital grants and cheap credit so that the native or interested forest owner can expand their holdings, and secondly we have to get around, I think, to the Swedish con-

cept of municipal forests or a Commission-owned forest control by public bodies if just for the only reason we do not want the total forest resources under the control of one or two, three or four companies.

These Commission-owned forests or municipally owned forests would at least be controlled by the people indirectly through their government. They would provide the necessary management resource to keep that woodland productive, the conservation needs and also it would provide work for rural residents, so the two ways would be: need of expansion and the formation of municipally or publicly owned forest land.

As I say, outside of the Christmas tree industry, I do not see much future except as a hobby for the small 100 or 200 acre wood lots.

Senator McGrand: Well, that doesn't answer my question. I refer to these people who are called farm workers temporarily, although sometimes they work for farmers in the harvest season and they work in the pulp woods and they work on the highways and there are times they do not work at all because there is no work.

Now, these are the people that if they were to possess a small wood lot, they could, in times when they are not doing anything else, work on their wood lot—maybe in order to improve it.

This is the person that I have in mind. You do not expect this fellow to own a 200 or 500 acre wood lot but there are quite a number of them who could own a 100 or 50 acre wood lot.

Now, I think you mentioned that a wood lot in Nova Scotia produces what? Did you say one-quarter to a sixth of a cord?

Dr. MacDonald: One-eighth to one-sixth of a cord.

Senator McGrand: All right. That is pretty good. That is an unimproved lot, but I could show you an improved lot in New Brunswick that produces a cord an acre.

Dr. MacDonald: I know the Department of Mines and Forests—I shouldn't say the Department of Mines and Forests—but this is the argument that many forest professionals use that this is an ideal situation. An acre of land can produce under optimum conditions a cord of wood, but an acre of land in the average across Nova Scotia will not unless there is a vast amount of funds invested in conservation and management and I doubt

that in many cases a return would warrant that investment.

Senator McGrand: I can show you an improved woodlot that produces a cord per acre and all around, for miles, are the unimproved wood lots that produce one-sixth or one-eighth of a cord.

Dr. MacDonald: Yes, I would agree with that.

Senator McGrand: This is what I have in mind. If you are going to do something for the temporary workers, these rural poor, the non-farm poor, who are workers, that this perhaps is a little bit of something that they could possess of their own and keep them from coming into the city and living on the fringes. This is what I have in mind.

They have done it in Sweden and Norway.

Dr. MacDonald: Yes. I think they are having some difficulties in Sweden though.

Father Topshee: I would just like to say a word to that, Senator McGrand. In the second appendix of our brief we have suggested that human resources be adjusted to the natural resources in all our rural areas and it is our contention that we have to take village by village and put in a concentrated effort to find out just what we have there in the way of manpower. Who should remain there—who has the greatest potential in the village or forestry or some other local industry and who should be upgraded in terms of trading and who should be pensioned off.

For example, I was called into a fishing village not long ago where they were clamouring for a second lobster season and there was about 75 men at the meeting and there were probably another 50 who were not at the meeting making an average of about \$2,000 a year mainly on lobster; and I talked to Dr. Wilder of the Biological Research Station in St. Andrews and he came to a subsequent meeting.

To shorten the story, the landings over the last 30 years has remained relatively the same. The prices have gone up but the number of people employed had gone away up and income has come down and the real answer there is not a second lobster season because the Biological Research Station has proven that they are catching 70 per cent of the marketable lobster now in the one season they have and if they had a second lobster season in the fall they would only catch what they would ordinarily catch the next spring

and it would be much more hazardous to them at the time they wanted it.

There was a lot of discussion and a lot of clamouring on their part looking for a second lobster season. The real answer I feel is to study the human resources and to cut down on the number of people engaged in the fishing area and try to provide a good livelihood for the ones who should be fishing and try to provide a good livelihood for some others in some other—preferably—industry in the area, if it is possible. If not, they have to move on.

Senator McGrand: I was going to ask because I have heard so much about this about the pulp mill at Fort Tucker. I understand the people who are selling pulp wood to the mill there are getting less for it than they did in the days when they sold it to the Mersey Pulp and Paper due to certain standards of technique that the company maintains, an eight foot stick instead of a four and that sort of thing.

Now, is that true that in the Cape Breton area along the Strati of Canso that this pulp has not contributed to the economy as much as it should have relatively? Is there any truth in that?

Mr. MacDonald: I was going to say it is very difficult to answer a question as to whether or not it contributed as much as it should. I think there is some truth that they are getting less. Probably if you would go back to 1952 where the price for pulp wood was quite high—that was an unusually high period—that was during the Korean War—the price might be lower. I cannot recall the statistics on that.

One of the things as far as the pulp mill at Fort Tucker is concerned, as opposed to Mersey, the Nova Scotia Pulp is taking a much lower grade of material. It is buying pulp wood on an eight foot basis instead of on a cord basis. In an eight foot cord there is less wood than in the four. There are a number of factors that I don't think we can go into now.

While I am not saying that the wood lot owners are getting enough for their pulp wood, at the same time I think there are a lot of factors that are involved including the quality, the volume of your cord and that kind of thing.

Senator Fergusson: I quite agree with you on your statement of the needs for training of the older people but the first thing is that you must have something on which to build a basic and that is why I would like to

know is whether you agree that there should be a guaranteed income so as to keep the family together?

The Chairman: Father Roach, I understood you to endorse the idea that there should be a guaranteed income?

Father Roach: A guaranteed annual wage by itself is not going to answer the problem, I don't think. A guaranteed annual wage or a guaranteed income along with a rebuilding program will, I think, make it possible for many of the poor to find a way of participating in society and certainly we might be able to salvage a large percentage of the young children; but it has to be a guaranteed income along with other things. Education, better housing, better community, better schools but by itself—We have had a guaranteed income for Indians for years and years (I have worked with Indians) and it has not succeeded. We made them completely dependent. We did not help them. We hurt them and now they are in an awful mess and we should have been building Indians to be first class Canadians. They are about fifth class.

I do not mean this in the sense of criticizing them but they find, as I say, they are not equipped to take their place in Canadian society; yet the government has given them considerable sums of money over the past 100 years so it is not just money—but money along with helping these people to help themselves.

They have to be involved and they have to learn, no matter what age, whether it is 50 or 30 or three years of age. We have to teach the people how to help themselves and not treat them as little kids continuously.

Senator Pearson: I agree with you. I was just going to say that in your work you are dealing with rural areas, are you not?

Father Roach: No. Certainly work with both. Where I work it is mainly industrial.

Senator Pearson: But in the rural areas in your extension work for the older people, what arrangements can you make for instructions of the older people in families to get the order people up to the same standard of knowledge that the young children are getting at the schools, so that they will be able to talk to each other or communicate to each other.

Father Roach: I do not think that you can really start working with older people. I think

you have to do something with them. Now, I will try. If we start with people in general and take by the time they reach retirement and they have been educated in some way then they can continue but the problem is now, let us take a fisherman, for example, at 55 or a coal miner at 55 who has no education. He has worked all his life in the pits or out at sea. Now, he has no education. He hasn't any hobbies. He has no money. He cannot do the things that the middle class type of person will do after retirement.

Senator Pearson: On the other hand, a person of 55 generally has a grown up family and they are not interested any more in educational facilities.

Father Roach: No.

Senator Pearson: So if we take a younger chap of 35 or 40 that you should have on training.

Father Roach: Oh, the older ones as well but this is a brand new problem, retirement by 55 and this is something brand new within the past couple of years. Nobody is working on it really but I think we should.

Down in Sydney now I know that our University has put many, many different types of courses in. We call them non-credits, a general type of course and invited the general public and the response in the past two years has been tremendous. The number of people who will come out—they are not writing examinations but we are giving them courses designed for them, and the number of adults who are willing and interested in education is far beyond the number that we realized.

All we have to do in an educational institution is to start to look at the people out in the community and get away from the ivory tower and realize that there are people out in the community and take the University to them and experiment and you will be surprised at the number of men and women who on their own are willing to come and participate, if we give them the chance.

Senator Pearson: How many workers have you got out in the fields now?

Father Topshee: 27.

Father Roach: We have about 27 out working in different aspects now.

Senator Pearson: That is in the rural areas?

Father Roach: In the rural and urban.

Senator Belisle: Father Roach, you mentioned awhile ago that we should be doing the reverse of what we are doing now in education, that we should be giving them the best, the best teachers, the best professors...

Father Roach: Yes.

Senator Belisle: The best counsellors. How would you go about doing that? Would you subsidize the salaries in order to attract these teachers to these communities?

Father Roach: To a certain extent that would be necessary, some added incentive for the teacher but I think if you checked it across Canada with the University students, they are more interested now in people than they are in anything else. The emphasis is on social sciences in the University and we have had all kinds of calls from student nurses and one thing and another who will sacrifice a couple of years to go into a foreign country. You organize the program we can get the students to do it.

I think if we ever decided to do the same thing at home, there are enough dedicated university students right now who would be willing to participate but there is no program now, or even if some particular teacher who is interested wanted to go down to a Negro community or an Indian community he or she would be working with the poorest facilities. There is no real encouragement to do this.

We have not accepted this. I think in the United States it has been proved that the Negro in the United States gets the poorest of everything, including education, and he will never be able to break that cycle until the reverse is undertaken.

If you happen to live in an United States community in a residential area, middle class, you can be pretty sure that the school building will have the latest facilities and the teachers are going to be the highest quality of teacher. They are going to have the best counsellors in many cases when maybe they don't even need counsellors. Their parents may do it themselves.

As you move into the poor certainly of the Atlantic region and I think the outposts of Newfoundland would be the best example; yet the Economic Council of Canada in its latest report (and that report was given for the Atlantic Development) say they connect directly the low level of productivity with low wages and with low levels of education and all studies across North America have indicated that there is a very direct and close

indication between low levels of education and low productivity, low income, poverty.

If you really want to attack poverty you have to get at education and in the present system we are not doing it.

Senator Belisle: Tell me: we have a shortage of teachers and professors. The university to which I belong is in Sudbury and we have approximately 600 teachers and professors and counsellors and 360 of them are from outside the country.

Father Roach: Nova Scotia will educate all the teachers you need out there, sir. The same thing with Dalhousie and Acadia. They have a fairly good reputation as far as educating young men and women to become teachers and most of them are recruited on campus by people from Western Canada or especially Western Canada.

There are all kinds of people walking the streets unemployed or poor people. If we ever turn our resources, human and financial, we can come up with all kinds of teachers and education may be the best employment, the best industry in Canada if we ever looked at it that way.

Senator Belisle: I agree with you, but unless you subsidize...

Father Roach: I would say "invest."

Senator Belisle: Who would invest, the community or the Province? I know education is a provincial matter.

Father Roach: In the Atlantic region especially—and it might apply to all of Canada—if it is a not Federal funds, we would never get very far. The Atlantic provinces just have not got that type of financial resource.

The Chairman: There are some nice open-end education facilities now where they are getting dollar for dollar. It must cost the Federal government a great deal of money because they are all matching it.

Father Roach: The Federal government should be investing. It wouldn't cost them anything. The Federal Government has paid a high price now for poverty, a very high price for poverty.

I am not asking the government to pay anything for it. Change their methods and they will save money.

Senator Belisle: I am all for it. I think we should explore this. This is a very important point.

Father Roach: For example, the greatest market that we could pick up in North America is just in some way to find a method of permitting \$25 million or \$30 million to be applied to buy what we produce, much greater than any international market we could capture.

We have got 25 to 30 million poor people in these two countries, just barely existing. We have the two wealthiest countries in the history of the world. This is an absolute contradiction and it is a disgrace. And this is not money. We, as a group, have never ever decided that we wanted to do anything about poverty, not really.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I have two small questions that I do not think will take very long to ask of Father Topshee.

One is in connection with page 5 of the brief, section 16, in which it says "With the phasing out of old industries and industrial techniques and the arrival of new ones, the programme presently adopted by the Provincial Department of Education, and financed by the Federal Department of Manpower is, in our view, inadequate."

And you got on to say "It is clear that retraining facilities must be available in order that our work force keep abreast of changing labour needs."

You also say "Pilot projects operated by educational institutions for adult students should be initiated."

Would you elaborate a little bit on the fact that the present programmes are inadequate and just what sort of programmes would you envisage as being the subject of pilot projects?

Father Topshee: I will take the first crack at that question, Senator Fergusson.

At present we have in the City area at Point Edward, there are 1200 or 1400 there involved in upgrading and trade training.

There are about 300 trade training stations and the rest are in upgrading. Then in the surrounding areas we have upgrading classes in Narrows River, Shanty Town, Waterford, North City, Sydney and Glace Bay; in all probably around 1700 or 1800.

Then there is the question of training for what? Many of them receive a trade and they go out and then several months later they are back receiving another trade, and the great majority never get beyond the upgrading. They do not get to the trade.

We were discussing, before we wrote this brief, the idea of putting on a crash programme similar to the programme that was conducted by the government after World War 2. And at this point I will pass on to Father Roach.

Father Roach: On the first part of the question, retraining, I think it is difficult to knock this programme because there are a number of aspects that are very important.

First of all it puts a large amount of money into the area. These people are paid allowances and it does employ quite a few people. This is good, but the principle of trying to retrain people is good, but I think the programme is actually a glorified welfare programme; a good idea not being used properly.

What we need is a more effective educational programme and allow the educational institutions now in existence to carry them out.

For example, you take 1,000 men and you put them in some kind of retraining programme. The main objective is to build each class of 20 students because they go by appointment.

Well, you have got 17 men lined up for barbering but they cannot start the class until they get 20, so they go out and find three more people and put them in, train them for what?

Actually a good idea, but it must be run properly, and it is difficult to knock it because it does have a tremendous economic impact in places like Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. The whole idea is good and the method is not. I think our universities and our qualified educators, given room to experiment, would come up with much better results at no greater cost.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you very much. Mr. Chairman, I do have just one more question. I do not think it will take very long.

I have always had the greatest admiration for the work that the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department are doing, and I certainly would not question any of their decisions but on page 4 of the brief you say "It is equally obvious that the enormous extension of welfare policy with its concomitant injection of massive public funds which we have seen over the past quarter-century, has had little significant impact on the condition of the low income groups in this part of Canada."

As I say, I would not put my ideas forward for consideration contrary to yours because you have had so much experience, but do you really believe the present programs of Old-Age Security and Family Allowances have had little significant impact on the condition of the low-income people in Canada? I would like to know your opinion from your studies.

I would like to go on a little bit further because I know of the great improvement that has taken place in the situation particularly of many old people after they received the Old-Age Security. I am not speaking from ignorance, really, because for a number of years I administered the Family Allowance and the Old-Age Security in the Province of New Brunswick, and it was my business to find out about things like this. We investigated many, and I was under the impression that it had quite an impact especially with the old-age group when you realize the situation in which they were before Old-Age Security came into effect and how very much better off they were, especially now that we have the Guaranteed Income Supplement.

Father Topshee: Yes, senator, I would agree with you if you look at individual cases and good has been done by these welfare measures, and the impact it has had on families as such. They would be much worse off if we had not had them, but in the overall picture the way we are thinking here—perhaps this is not expressed precisely—but in the overall picture the Atlantic Region has not improved comparatively speaking. We still have here around 70% of the national average for income, and we still have had 100,000 people move out in a five-year period. Our youngest and most ambitious people have moved out, and these were the conditions that we referred to.

The significant impact we would like to have is that of making the economy viable to take up a large percentage of our youth and to give them a good living here. Some of them will move, certainly. That is their choice and let them move, but why should so many (100,000 in a five-year period) move? That is really disgraceful.

So I agree with what you are saying, senator, that we would be much worse off without the Old-Age Pension and Children's Allowances and subsidies.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, I have just forgotten whether it was Father Topshee or Father Roach who mentioned about the lobster fishermen getting \$2,000 for the season.

That would not be the whole income for the year?

Father Topshee: That is about all these men are doing, senator; lobster and some salmon.

Senator Inman: I understand there are fishermen, I know, that have to qualify for that by setting so many lobster traps and to fish for a certain number of weeks.

Father Topshee: Yes.

Senator Inman: And then after the lobster season, do they not do any other fishing?

Father Topshee: Not in this particular case. I quizzed him on that. I asked, "How many of you were working in the fish plant?" which is about 25 miles away. There were only three in the group worked there. I then asked them about other fishing. They said some years they make a little money on salmon, but most of them...

Senator Inman: I am glad they get Fishermen's Insurance. I know it is a help.

Father Topshee: Yes. It is certainly a help but in this case, too, there is a possibility for something else in that area. There are some areas of Irish moss not far from them. Some of them could develop a factory there. This is what we mean by making intensive study in each community.

Senator Inman: That would also prolong the time when they would draw Fishermen's Insurance?

Father Topshee: That is right, senator.

Senator McGrand: Then this good life that you are looking for in Nova Scotia must come from the development of your natural resources; is that right?

Father Topshee: Yes.

Father Roach: I think the main resources we have—you didn't mention when you talked about natural resources, Halifax Harbour, the Strait of Canso, and with the international trade that is going on today mainly connected with shipping that will be, I don't know, perhaps our best resource.

But I think we recognize generally speaking in the Extension Department that there are going to be large standards in the Atlantic Region as well as in the rest of North America. We cannot have people in every little community as much as would like to have

them there. Centralization and urbanization is a major factor facing poverty in the Atlantic Region. We just cannot throw these people out of small areas and put them into urban areas. You have to do something with them to make them find a place.

We have tremendous experience in the number of poor people that we have sent to Toronto and where they left. There is just a shuttle service back and forth between the Maritime Provinces and Ontario and the people who cannot make it; but certainly within the Maritimes we are going to have huge growth centres. Halifax-Dartmouth would be one. Saint John, New Brunswick, we are going to build perhaps our greatest industries in connection with our shipping.

Senator McGrand: On the deep water ports, do you feel the ships are going to be so big they will not use the St. Lawrence?

Father Roach: Yes. Containerization and huge oil tankers.

Senator McGrand: You consider that as part of your natural resources?

Father Roach: Oh, definitely. Our main natural resource.

Mr. MacDonald: I wanted to come back to your social insurance for fishermen. Many people feel that this is a very dysfunctional type of policy in the fishing industry. It adds about \$300 to \$400 a year to the inshore fishermen's income. I doubt that the average income for inshore fishermen is even \$2,000.

One of the effects it has is that a fisherman will quit fishing as soon as he has enough stamps to get unemployment insurance.

Secondly, because of it, though not totally, probably, they will not go into any other employment because they have this unemployment insurance coming in at a particular time of the year. It has become very dysfunctional for the offshore fishermen. There are probably many other implications of this social—it is really a social welfare scheme. It is not insurance at all.

It is good. I would not want to take it away from them but it should be looked at and re-examined very carefully.

The Chairman: Father Roach, you used the term "cultural poverty." What did you really mean by that?

Dr. MacDonald: I used that term. I think I used "cultural poverty"—poverty that comes from, or that you define in terms of the moti-

uations of individuals, the amount of basic knowledge he has.

For instance, you could get these people involved in groups, and I think this is where much of the group development approach or process has fallen down. You assume that there is a certain level of motivation and education to improve your situation and a certain amount of hope, but this cultural poverty is characterized, I think, by a sense of hopelessness, a sense of despair, a sense of apathy, and that pretty well describes it.

To assume that it is just sufficient to sit this group of people down in a group and say, "Now, we will do a survey on them," and ask, "What is the problem? You tell us and we will solve it."

They do not even know what the problem is. They have gone below that level of knowledge where they can define "What is the problem?" and have gone below the level of intelligence where they even care about getting ahead. They are content to stay here in complete dependence on welfare policies. You find that not only among the ethnic groups but among many of the non-ethnic groups in Nova Scotia now; especially in the fishing villages and that is why I am commenting about the insurance for fishermen.

The Chairman: We have now got to the point where you describe the state of condition you were faced with constantly. What do we do? Whatever do we make to get them out of that particular state you described of cultural poverty, all of its own? How do you reach them? You say they don't know the elementary things they ought to know, how do you reach them?

Dr. MacDonald: I think the only way that we can see that you can reach them is, as I have mentioned before, the team approach—the intensive approach. The team approach that will hit some elementary things such as financial objectives, household management, care of children, the problem of alcohol, the problem of dissension within the family unit.

We have people working in the field on these problem areas. They are so extensively deployed it is a one shot per year affair. They go in at the very last moment when somebody is going to get killed or thrown in jail or something. But, what I am advocating is that this team approach be used with families, that it involve professionals who are competent in each problem area, that the professionals work on a series basis or programme basis and that they just do not go in when

they are ready but go in when the people need them and when the programme is there and then follow up.

All these people, or many of them have to move through this environment to probably an urban environment. There has to be a follow up. I know this is a programme which implies an awful lot of expense and professional personnel but I do not see any other way around it.

The Chairman: Well, Father Roach, I think you said this. You believed education to income. You just put a pin in the balloon, as far as I am concerned, because I was brought up in this country to believe that these poor people in Canada came out of the Province of Nova Scotia.

Father Roach: No. There was a direct connection today, you see. I think all studies have proven that a person's first job in North American society is a very good indicator where that person is going to be when he is 50 or 60 years of age.

The problem with our type of society is that it is different for young people even more than it was for my parents and grandparents. Society today is arranged in such a way that it requires an educated or technical type of person to fit into it and if you cannot fit into it, you cannot earn an income. You just can't get it. The type of job that would be in North America that is geared to people without education are rapidly disappearing and the type of jobs coming on the market are in the professional, clerical and technical fields and all the studies indicate this.

So what happens here is that you have a demand in the occupational world up here and the poverty people are down here. They can never meet the demand. We have to somehow move them up. There are enough jobs, I think, in North America, good jobs for every person if we can master it.

There is a direct connection in North America today with education and income. If you have an education you have the ability to earn a good income.

The Chairman: Father, that is not the question. Everybody agrees with that and we could not agree more. The point I made was that this province had the education more than any other.

Father Roach: This province...

The Chairman: I have been listening to Senator Connolly.

Father Roach: We exaggerate. There was a bit of a myth there. I am not trying to hit Senator Connolly.

The Chairman: I was only fooling.

Father Roach: The United States level of education is higher than Canada. In Canada we have a general average and the Atlantic Region is lower than the Canadian average. The educational level in Nova Scotia is lower than the Canadian average. The Canadian average is lower than the American average. Yet we compete in a North American continent.

Now, it is true we do educate quite a few Nova Scotians and some of them become outstanding persons but there are many more who are not educated. I think statistics also have proven that if you take the average education of a number of people who migrated from Nova Scotia, it is higher than the Canadian average but what does that do for the people who are left behind now?

The Chairman: Well, they will pick up on their education. I see what you mean now. I have another question which anyone can answer.

With our social welfare measures that we have in this country—and they are extensive and I am not going to enumerate them now. They cost us \$6 billion a year. We started in 1929 to build up a welfare system. This is now 40 years later. What is wrong? Why have we got almost one million people on welfare in this country right now? What is wrong?

Father Roach: I think we neglected to consider people and the dignity of a person to try to develop a person. I don't think giving Indians money will ever solve the Indian problem but some day we have to wake up to the fact that we have to teach Indians to become first class Canadians and the same with any group of poor people. Giving money by itself is not going to solve the problem.

The Chairman: But Father we have been accused of not giving money in the early days and the following days. We were the most tight-handed and parsimonious and the poor were complaining constantly they were not getting as they ought to. Even today you hear that complaint so that is not quite the answer.

Father Roach: It is only part of the answer.

The Chairman: I think Mr. MacDonald wants to discuss this matter.

Mr. MacDonald: I think in North America and Canada especially that the welfare system became a kind of middle class escape mechanism for refusing to conform to the economic order from which these welfare people are dropouts and I do not agree at all under our present economic system we can have the best of training and the best of education and that there are enough jobs for everybody who is unemployed at present under our present economic structure.

There are, I think, some other measures that have to be taken in terms of adjustment of what kind of labour force and who is going to be in the labour force. I think we will have to seriously start looking at our economic structure in terms of who determines where investment capital is going? Is it going to be centralized in a few key areas? To a degree that is happening now in Nova Scotia. There is planning of growth centres; and before now it was to determine maximum output for minimum input. That is the way capital went in Toronto and Central Canada and other areas which yielded more profit. That was the end of investment and the end of jobs, so welfare became an excuse for not facing the issue, I think, and I still think this.

The Chairman: But, doctor, in the matter of incidents there are far more people below the poverty line in Toronto than there are in Nova Scotia, one hundred per cent in absolute figures, and it is spread all over the country. So, there is no use in picking out any particular place. It has been a failure, which has been a total failure across the country, in British Columbia and everywhere.

Where did we go wrong, philosophically, economically and culturally? Where did we go wrong and continue to go wrong with all these measures? That is one of the questions we have got to answer.

Mr. MacDonald: I am not competent to answer specifically where we went wrong. I think probably if you would study the problem of poverty in larger cities much of it is created by the influx of people from areas where industry did not go to the rural areas.

Our cultural system is causing a lot of it and the commercialization of agriculture has gone to such an extreme now its only function is to produce food at the cheapest possible rate and it is not considered as a mechanism of employment or providing a distribution of employment for labour.

We have to decide: is it going to be purely a productive mechanism or is it going to be a

social mechanism which will keep people involved in our society?

The way it is going now with collective farming and that, the whole thing will be done by machines.

The Chairman: Did you wish to say something Father Topshee.

Father Topshee: Very briefly, Mr. Chairman, without having done any research on the matter, I would ask where is the money going, the Children's Allowance and Pensions and so on? The cost of living is going up and it is given to them with one hand and taken away with another hand. Higher costs of groceries, rents and finance charges does not improve the situation of the family. That is my answer briefly, Senator.

The Chairman: Well, will you also answer another question. Assuming for the moment that we introduce a guaranteed income across Canada, should it be on a regional basis or a universal basis or what basis will we use now?

Father Topshee: I think it would have to be on the income basis.

The Chairman: I am assuming X number of dollars as an income from the Guaranteed Annual Income. Do we do it on a universal basis so the man in Newfoundland gets the same as the man in Toronto or do we do it on a regional basis or do we do it on some other basis?

Dr. MacDonald: Universal.

Father Topshee: I will agree, I think, it should be universal. As you mentioned yourself a little while ago there are poor people in Toronto. There are poor people right across the country.

Anyone else?

Father Roach: I would say it would have to be on a universal basis although I would like to see some other Federal legislation on a regional basis because they make us operate down here in the Atlantic Regions with ties that are geared to curb inflation and we are operating in anything but an inflationary economy and our whole housing problem is caused by Ottawa legislation.

The Chairman: This is very interesting because these are poor people's opinions we are asking for.

Dr. MacDonald: I am afraid of the guaranteed income—not in principle—but as Father

Roach said, if it is implemented now what is it going to mean?

All it will mean for us is that there will be more in Nova Scotia on a guaranteed income than in, let us say, central Canada. There are some problems which I would like to see before the guaranteed income. The first is a redistribution of the industrial facilities in the country or the building up in the Maritimes of its industrial structure; the re-organization of our rural industrial structure and then take the guaranteed income in to pick up the slack.

I don't think that the guaranteed income should be used to cover the sores of what our economic system is producing because what we are going to have relatively speaking then with the guaranteed income is very poor people relative to the people who are working in centralized industries with a very high rate of productivity.

The Chairman: Dr. MacDonald, the time is running out for us but your plan is the more forward looking one. We have got to come up with some answers in the very immediate future. I think I should make it clear to the three of you who are dedicated and understand this problem. What we think and what we are discussing is not a guaranteed income in isolation. What we are thinking of is the guaranteed income plus services. For the moment we try to think of the guaranteed income coming from the Federal Government and services coming from the Provincial Government and perhaps some of it from the Canada Assistance Act.

Now, have you got an opinion on something like that?

Father Roach: One of the problems you have, for example, is in housing, which is a serious problem. One of the main problems in housing in the Atlantic Provinces is that we are operating under Federal legislation and the whole system of housing legislation is geared to a completely different type of economy, than what we have and it makes us unable to participate in this housing programme. You can find that in other fields as well.

I suppose it is natural that the Government is more concerned about the large provinces such as Ontario but it imposes the same type of legislation needed in Ontario on the Atlantic Provinces and it makes a bad situation worse.

The Chairman: Father, I was told by an expert last night—and Senator Pearson and

other Senators were there that it was not a shortage of mortgage money but that your builder here is building 20 houses while the same builder in Ontario will build 100. That is the local man.

Father Roach: I would not accept that. That maybe the fact. We have taxed housing out of the reach of the Maritimes. Down in the Maritimes, in Nova Scotia, right now the ordinary man making \$5,000 a year has to pay 19 per cent sales tax to buy materials. He borrows that money to pay the sales tax and he has to pay about 10 per cent mortgage on it. We have taxed housing out of the reach of most Maritimers.

Sure, we have the 11 per cent sales tax...

The Chairman: You have got that all over the country.

Father Roach: But we can't afford it.

The Chairman: Yes, but it is not that these people cannot sell more houses. That is all they want to build. That was made very clear.

Father Roach: Yes. They can sell houses for \$25,000 or \$30,000 but we haven't got the people in the Maritimes who can buy that kind of house. We need houses for \$10,000, for \$8,000, for \$12,000 and that is the only kind of house that perhaps 60 or 70 per cent of our people can afford.

If you come on the market with \$25,000 homes you cannot produce very many of them. There is not enough people around that can afford that type of housing.

The Chairman: Are there any more questions from any of the Senators? We have got some able and willing witnesses here. We should not pass them up.

By the way, Father Roach, you said something a moment ago that interested me. You talked about a man who was in some type of work and had worked all his life and you said he had no education. Well, in a sense you are now talking about education in the formal sense, but surely I have found that the native shrewdness one picks up along the way indicates some of these people are well educated in many ways.

Father Roach: Yes. A perfect example that is in the housing programme where we work with selfhelp housing. We can take the native talents that most people in the Maritimes have and use them if we have legislation and

the Government to support that kind of operation.

Most of the people in poor housing can be helped if we can use that but a coal miner who spends most of his life in the coalmine with no formal education cannot be taken out of a coalmine situation and placed in Toronto. The techniques that he acquires over the 30 years in the coalmines cannot be used very effectively in a city like Toronto.

Father Topshee: Senators, the Department of Education of Nova Scotia has recognized what you have just stated in that they gave the equivalent of a grade 10 certificate or a grade 11 certificate out.

The Chairman: Well, gentlemen, may I just say that most of us have heard a great deal about you for many years and, speaking on behalf of the Committee, we are not the least bit disappointed. We expected a great deal from you today and we got a great deal.

You have had a social outlook here that I have always thought was very advanced. It was imaginative. It is purposeful. It has been realistic and more than that you stuck with it when the going was very rough and it has been rough for a long long time.

Now, on behalf of the Committee, I want to thank you. We appreciate very much your coming. The evidence you gave was very very good.

We have got about five or six or seven minutes left before we take our next appointment. Would you field some questions from the floor.

Are there any questions from the floor.

Mr. Johnson: My name is Greg Johnson. I would like to direct this question at Father Roach. This is concerning the Indians. He said a while ago that Indians have had a guaranteed income from the Department of Indian Affairs. I wouldn't want anybody to go away from this meeting feeling that this is so. This is absolutely untrue and Father Roach, this just doesn't work.

Another point that Father Roach brought up—he was saying they have poured a lot of money into the Indian people and Indian Reservations and this doesn't work. They need something else. They need to be taught. You say we need to teach them how to become first class Canadians.

Well, as far as the Indians are concerned, I would like to say that we have seen how the first class Canadian treat their friends. We

have seen how the first class Canadian treats his poor and who gave you the authority to decide for us that we want to become first class Canadians?

The Chairman: The next question.

A voice from the floor: Answer the question.

Father Roach: I work with the Indians. I know the situation he is talking about. There has been large sums of money spent on Indians but I say it was spent in the wrong way. I know this gets very personal but if you totalled up what an Indian family receives in housing, in medicine, in clothing, in food, in all forms of welfare in any one given year I am pretty darn sure that it will be higher than what anybody is considering for that basic guaranteed income if it ever does come; but it was handled in the right way.

The money was given to them and the Government made the Indians helpless in the process. When you build houses for them, when you give them food, when you give them clothing, when you give them medicine, when you give them hospitalization, that is all given. I don't care what you call it but it is money that has been spent and it is spent and it did not help the Indians very much.

Mr. Johnson: But in effect this is not guaranteed income, which is what you implied.

Father Roach: I do not care what you call it.

The Chairman: Are there any other questions.

Mr. Philmore: Yes, right here.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Mr. Philmore: I will be very brief. I just wanted to say I have been here for a half an hour or so and I have not heard any great attention being paid to one facet of welfare with which I think perhaps Father Roach will agree.

Something like two-thirds of the people on welfare—something like two-thirds of the poor are children. I would hate the Senators to go away from here thinking that this is an adult problem, a problem that can be easily solved with adults. We might even say "forget about the adults" and work on the children so we shut off the flood of poor at the beginning of the thing.

Father Roach, I would like a comment on that from you, sir, if you would not mind.

Father Roach: No. Our belief is that it has to be a total project where you involve—it is true perhaps as you say in proportion there are many more young people—but it has to be a total community, neighbourhood type of approach where you work on housing, on education, on motivation, on even the very little basic things in the beginning and certainly hope you are going to save the vast majority of the children but it has to be a total approach.

The Chairman: Is there anyone else with a question.

A voice from the floor: Would Mr Philmore suggest that the Government work with the children and forget the old people...

The Chairman: Wait a minute, now. Gentlemen the questions are asked here. Are there any questions from the audience.

A voice from the floor: I will direct it to you.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

A voice from the floor: Would the last speaker suggest that the Government forget about the parents of these children who have contributed to the riches of the few of this country and just work on the children so that they can have them brainwashed?

The Chairman: No, I did not understand him to say that. I understood him to say that perhaps we could put more emphasis on the children.

A voice from the floor: He said "forget about the adults."

The Chairman: Are there any other questions? If there are no other questions I have already thanked you but for the record I want to acknowledge on behalf of the Committee there is a brief from Mr. Leonard Smith, one from the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour, by representative Mr. Leo Mackay and one from the Mainland Branch, Nova Scotia School of Social Workers by Mr. Robert Cahill and these will be turned over to the Committee.

Thank you. The meeting is adjourned.

The meeting adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

A STATEMENT AND VIDEO TAPE
PRESENTATION TO THE SPECIAL
COMMITTEE ON POVERTY OF THE
SENATE OF CANADA

November 1969

Submitted by The Halifax Neighbourhood Center and Halifax Tenants Protective Association with the support of the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission.

Those Presenting

Mr. Leslie Cunning—BA University of Calgary—MA University of Calgary, Dec. 1969—Political Science Degree; Appointed Executive-Director of Halifax Neighbourhood Project October, 1969.

Canon F. M. French, St. Mark's Parish and Co-Chairman, Tenants Protective Association.

PART 1

Ladies and Gentlemen:

What you are about to see is, perhaps, self-explanatory. However, we of the Neighbourhood Centre and the Tenants Protective Association feel we must provide at least a brief prologue in order to enable you to appreciate it fully.

It is an unusual kind of presentation and we think that it is essential that you know how it came about.

When it became known that the Senate Committee would be coming to Halifax, to hold public hearings, it was agreed by many concerned individuals that some kind of presentation should be made by the groups involved directly with people suffering from conditions of poverty.

At the time, we were concerned about the nature of the presentation. We felt that it was essential to give a voice to those who know poverty as it really is—the poor themselves. However, *the poor do not write briefs*. The people do not appreciate formality. Its colorful trappings are not part of their own daily existence.

Still, formality was a requirement laid down by your Committee.

Consequently, it was suggested that a film, depicting explicitly the conditions of poverty, providing a medium for the expression of the views of people living in those conditions, should be produced for showing at these hearings.

Accordingly representatives of Halifax's poverty community met with members of our

organizations, social workers and other professionals to discuss the preparations of just such a film. It is perhaps important to underline the fact that this discussion included those who work closely with people in poverty, and some of the poor themselves.

That was, to say the least, an extraordinary meeting. One might have expected that the film proposal would have been adopted readily—that the idea of giving poor people a voice in all of this would have been embraced unanimously. But such was far from the case. Instead of unanimous approval, the meeting was characterized by a sense of anger and frustration—a mounting feeling of helplessness perhaps best summed up by the words of one of the participants: "How dare we or anyone else use people in this way," he asked. "It's inhuman—cruel to say the least. People around here—the poor—they've bled enough. They've been asked what it's like to be poor over and over again. So now we're going to ask them to open up their wounds and bleed some more, this time before some cameras, just because some senators from Ottawa don't know about poverty in Canada."

That, members of the Senate Committee, was our initial discussion of the film proposal. It was painful. It was agony. We were torn—in fact, we were shredded—between a feeling on the one hand of what's-the-use and on the other hand that we must keep trying.

Finally, it was suggested and generally agreed that, although we could not ask people to bleed once again for the sake of yet another presentation to yet another investigation of poverty, the senators should at least have been listening to and observing the anguish of that meeting. And that, members of the Senate Committee on Poverty is what you will witness today through the medium of videotape... the frustration and growing bitterness of many people who have been battling with poverty with no promise of an end in sight.

Our purpose in appearing before you today is neither to define what poverty is nor offer a slickly prepared presentation of proposed cures. Most of these must surely be well known to you all by now.

Through this film presentation we are endeavoring to communicate to you something of the feeling and perspective—the human perspective—of poverty.

What you are about to see is in no way contrived. This is not acting. You are asked by way of videotape, to listen in on, to see

and hopefully experience some of the deeply-rooted feelings of the poor and the people who work most closely with them.

The film is not sympathetic to committee investigations in general this committee in particular. In the past, this area has been researched, investigated, dissected with no tangible results. We appear before this committee today with some doubt in our minds about the power of this committee and the Senate, to which it is responsible, to effect necessary change. It is our most fervent wish that our doubts will be proved unfounded.

PART 2

The Senate Committee has been and will be presented with innumerable pages of well documented and substantiated evidence. Instead of presenting you with another statement of recommendations we wish to communicate to you the frustration of the poor. Although information is a necessary prerequisite for legislation we wish to communicate to you the need for action.

In the film which you will see we are not attacking the Senate Committee as much as the political arrangements which use the Committee as an excuse for action. The Committee was set up to conduct investigations not create legislation. This form of political activity is totally inadequate to meet the needs of the poor.

Participation of the Poor—Dr. McQueen, Director of the Economic Council of Canada stated before you on April 22, 1969 that "the poor, for various reasons which are no fault of their own, tend to be inarticulate." They lack the organization, leadership, and confidence to effectively articulate their needs and propose legislation but they do not lack the desire to substantially alter the conditions of poverty which surround them.

There is a growing consensus amongst political observers that existing forms of political representation are inadequate channels through which individuals can convey complaints and influence decision-making processes. In particular, the poor tend to be the least acquainted with these processes. Political decisions are conducted in an atmosphere which is remote from the personal experiences of the poor.

Politics is conducted at an aggregate level. Conflicts within the society concern less the individual than the aggregates to which he belongs. The translation of these conflicts to

the political area is accomplished through group activity but a general lack of organization on the part of the poor precludes effective influence on their part. Simply stated, the poor have fewer means available to them for achieving entrance into the political system with the result that sizeable proportions of the population are barred from effective political activity. In this situation the poor are the recipients of community policy and it is difficult for them to answer back except through direct action.

With respect to the company of Young Canadians brief submitted to you on May 8, 1969, we recommend that: Funds be allocated to communities directly for social and cultural development, and that these funds be controlled by that part of the community for whom the development is necessary. This encouragement of community action, far from being a waste of funds, will give the poor an impetus to organize.

IMMEDIATE ACTION

It is the contention of many individuals in Halifax that the Government of Canada has access to sufficient information to begin implementation of the recommendations of the task force on housing and urban development. It is our contention that further delay will not only be detrimental to present conditions, but disastrous. The report should be adopted in full.

The Carter Commission on Taxation, discussed in the brief of the Economic Council, should be implemented fully and not in sections as is presently being done.

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

A number of briefs have strongly recommended establishment of a guaranteed annual income. It is a necessary instrument to effect fulfillment of basic economic needs. The majority of Canada's poor are presently unaffected by substantial welfare payments and these are the individuals who require assistance.

CONCLUSION

If some action is not forthcoming immediately the poor and the unorganized will no longer be content to remain recipients. They are beginning to demand a voice in the decisions which effect them and if they are ignored they will be forced to take direct action.

APPENDIX "B"

*Brief to the Special Senate Committee on
Poverty*

presented by

David Critchley, social worker

The poor are relatively better off

1.1 For most of the twenty years I have been a social worker, most of the people I have worked with have been poor; and I take heart from the fact that a higher percentage of Canadians are eating better, receiving better health care, and are more adequately clothed than they were when I began working as a social worker in a slum area in Toronto in 1949.

1.2 By these standards—and they are important ones—the Canadian poor are better off. But after a society has guaranteed the right to the minimum means to survival—in other words, the means to keep body together—poverty then becomes relative. For example, relative to those of us who are 'have' Canadians, there would appear to be just as many 'havenot' Canadians as twenty years ago; and they are just as cut off from the mainstream of life as they've always been. Indeed, I am among those who believe that the conspicuous consumption that many of us enjoy and that daily advertises itself on our television screens and in our supermarkets and department stores has widened the gap between the haves and havenots of Canada, and has increased the sense of despair, failure, and inadequacy of the poor.

Psychic deprivation

1.3 This brings me to the basic idea contained in my Brief and on which most of my observations and recommendations are based, namely, that the challenge of poverty is not just that of guaranteeing the survival and growth of the body: a society that is fit for humans must also assure the survival and growth of the spirit.

1.4 It is my contention that we have reached the point where we can and are willing to guarantee that nearly all Canadians will have the right to physical life and growth (even though the poor are more prone to physically stunted and handicapped growth and shorter life); but I think that our record with regard to spiritual or psychic survival and growth is, if anything, worse than it was twenty years ago. Certainly, using one fairly reliable measure of psychic survival and

growth—self esteem and self congruence—my experience suggests that the Canadian poor have lower self esteem than they did twenty years ago. In the midst of the plenty that is so visible, the sense of despair and failure of the poor *should* be greater than it was in the days before television when the contrasts were not as evident and the standard of living was not as high as it is today.

All Canadians suffering from psychic poverty

1.5 I am suggesting then that, after the right to survival of the body has been guaranteed by a society, the challenge to the society is that it add to its criteria of success the degree to which it guarantees and promotes psychic or spiritual survival and development. It is my contention that by this standard Canada has not only failed the poor, but has increasingly become a place where human values and relations are being debased and replaced by economic values and consumer relations with the resultant demoralization and dehumanization of all Canadians.

1.6 I want to stress that I am saying that in terms of psychic measures of man I think our failure in Canada has been almost universal and is not confined to the poor, though as always the poor suffer more. Further, I am saying that in this respect the poor are not a separate problem to be studied and dealt with in isolation (as we so often do). The poor are a product and symptom of a society that, if it has not failed, is failing in its ability to promote the survival and growth of the spirit.

1.7 I know that assertion and declamation do not make a statement true, especially in a day and age that is suspicious of any phenomenon that cannot be quantified, measured, footnoted, and filed. Therefore, let me say that there is mounting research as well as experiential documentation that we Canadians suffer from psychic deprivation and poverty that ranges from gross to relatively benign, but which few are immune from. Economic means can perhaps make more bearable or can help a person avoid confronting his psychic deprivation, but just because a person dies from unknown causes does not in any way alter the fact of death.

Self esteem and self congruence as measures of psychic health

1.8 I mentioned earlier there is mounting documentation of the existence and increase of this malaise of the spirit. I have not had the time or the resources to compile a bibliog-

raphy of the considerable evidence that supports this claim, although I have supplied a few references at the end of this Brief. However, the fact is that there are measures of self esteem and self congruence (some of which we are using at the Maritime School of Social Work of Dalhousie University), and I believe they are reliable indices of an individual's psychic health. If we were to use such measures to determine the psychic wealth or poverty of Canadians (and I have a recommendation to this effect later in the Brief), I think we would find our society is in serious trouble. I am sure it would also be found that a low self esteem and self congruence quotient is not confined to the poor.

1.9 It is true that a recent study of poor black children in Halifax did indicate that by the age of four the black children considered themselves inferior to white Haligonians. Also, other studies have shown that low self esteem is not only a major handicap of the poor but that there appears to be a correlation between self esteem and one's ability to obtain and meet the demands of employment. However, my experience with the relatively privileged students who come to the Maritime School of Social Work, as well as my experience with many other relatively privileged student and non-student Canadians, has convinced me that black or poor Canadians are far from the only ones suffering from serious psychic distortion and stultification. And I might add that one of the main challenges in the training of social workers is that of helping the student to improve his self esteem and self congruence because it has been found that there is a direct relation between self esteem and self congruence and one's effectiveness in helping others. Incidentally, it may be of interest to note that this finding applies to other helping professions such as teaching, psychology, and psychiatry; and there is also reason for believing that the findings are applicable to business relations.

Ethical and value judgements of Canadian society hostile to psychic health

1.10 Even if one grants that we Canadians suffer as a whole from varying degrees of psychic malnutrition, there is still the major question of cause. Without meaning to imply there is not a casual relation between psychic and economic poverty (because there obviously is), I believe that the basic challenge and cause is to be found in the ethics and values of Canadian society, particularly those which we practice as distinct from those which we

preach. I submit there is a fundamental causal relation between psychic poverty in Canada and the ethical and value judgements and beliefs that govern our human relations in Canada and that determine and govern our expectations of our selves and each other, whether rich or poor.

2.1 I think the evidence supports the view that essentially, and in spite of many acts of charity and humanity that indicate what we are capable of, we Canadians in our human relations between adult and adult and adult and child are punitive, dogmatic, suspicious, moralistic, judgemental, paternalistic, perfectionistic, and arbitrary in our expectations of our selves and each other. Furthermore, there is significant documentation that such attitudes are damaging to self esteem and self congruence and the ability to enter into satisfying growth producing human relations.

Relation between our values and attitudes and the problem of poverty.

2.2 Before closing my submission with my recommendations, may I give an illustration of what effect our values and attitudes have in terms of the Canadian poor.

2.3 It would appear that within a few years we Canadians will have some form of the guaranteed annual income. I submit that if the guaranteed annual income is a product of the present ethic of our society we will find that after it has been instituted the poor will still be with us, as relatively poor as always and as numerous as ever. And this will be so because the guaranteed annual income and any other programs we develop will be the product of the same old ways we think about the poor and each other.

2.4 Because of our fear that someone will take advantage of us, that someone will choose idleness rather than work, that we'll subsidize private enterprise or undermine unions, and a host of other fears and suspicions that are indicative of how low our self esteem and congruence is, we'll insist that the guaranteed annual income be less than the minimum wage, and that no one who is on welfare be as well off as anyone who is not on welfare. In other words, we'll continue to do what we do now: we will unconditionally guarantee Canadians the right to life, but we will be conditional about the right to participate in and enjoy life. Our participatory democracy will be limited to those who have the means to participate. And by perpetuating this state of affairs we'll not only contribute

to and maintain economic deprivation and the relative gap between have and havenot, but we will contribute to and increase the spiritual and psychic deprivation of all Canadians.

2.5 That we Canadians are suffering from alienation from our selves and each other is, I believe, to be found in the introverted and almost suicidal disaffection and desperation of many of the young, and the spirit of anger, hostility, arbitrariness, and insensitivity that increasingly marks and mars the relations between young and old, between youth, between adults, between French and English speaking Canadian, between black and white, and between have and havenot.

2.6 In short and in summary, then, I submit that whether or not we will be able to deal adequately with economic poverty and deprivation will depend in large measure on our willingness and ability to confront and deal with our psychic and spiritual poverty and deprivation. We have every bit as much reason to fear death from psychic contamination and pollution as we do from contamination and pollution of the air and other natural resources.

Recommendations

2.7 My recommendations, which grow out of the foregoing, follow.

2.8 Recommendation A—GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME. Though they have many weaknesses, our present poverty programs and measures guarantee that most Canadians have the right to physical survival. If this is all the guaranteed annual income guarantees, then its only advantage will be that it will probably prove to be a more effective delivery system than our present welfare programs.

2.9 I therefore recommend that a guaranteed annual income should guarantee the right and the means to participate in Canadian society and should not be conditional on whether or not one works for a living, nor should it include any other condition. Specifically (and in terms of present standards of living) a guaranteed annual income should provide the means for every Canadian to feed, clothe, house, and educate himself; to drive a car; to own a television and radio; attend movies and other cultural presentations; have an annual vacation; and generally to participate in the mainstream of Canadian life. This recommendation does not assume that there will not be income differences, but rather that a minimum income will be guaranteed all Canadians that will make

possible their participation in the benefits of Canadian society.

2.10 It will perhaps be noted that in the above recommendation I have not included as a basic right the right to work. I have considerable doubt that our society or any technologically advanced society can guarantee this right, nor do I believe that there is any real evidence to support the widespread belief that work is a necessary condition for self-fulfilment. Furthermore, it is by no means certain that a technologically advanced society requires for its maintenance and development that all of its members work.

3.1 Recommendation B—RESEARCH PROJECT ON GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME. Because I believe that the version of a guaranteed annual income as recommended in Recommendation A is hostile to the attitudes and values which presently govern our society and therefore will not be accepted; and also because I believe many Canadians would not support such a proposal for fear that it would not contribute to self esteem, would be detrimental to society because it would encourage idleness, and would be detrimental to the economy, I recommend that research projects be sponsored by the Federal Government, Provincial Governments, and Foundations to determine the effects of a guaranteed annual income as recommended in Recommendation A on a random sample of the Canadian poor for a five year period. Such research projects would be particularly interested in what psychic effects such an income had on the participants and what effects it had on their work behaviour.

3.2 I might add that this recommendation would appear to be within the terms of reference of the Federal-Provincial Newstart programs.

3.3 It might also be of interest to note that when I made this suggestion on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's national television program VIEWPOINT several years ago I received more supportive mail and phone calls than I have for any other radio or television talk. Indeed many Canadians inquired where they could send their contributions for such a project and several community groups actually voted funds for such a purpose.

3.4 Recommendation C—TEACHERS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF ESTEEM. If we cannot or will not guarantee that all Canadians have the means to participate meaningfully in society, and since in our work oriented society the inability to partici-

pate in society appears to be a serious blow to psychic growth, it becomes even more imperative that we at least guarantee all Canadian children—and especially the poor—experiences that contribute to their self congruence and self esteem.

3.5 Our schools could be a major force for this purpose if they were staffed by teachers who were able to contribute to the self realization and self congruence of their students. Unfortunately, there is all too much evidence that for many, many school children, rich and poor, that school is a psychically damaging experience and contributes to juvenile and adult maladjustment.

3.6 As long as we continue to believe that good teachers are born and not made, this situation will continue. Fortunately, however, the fact of the matter is that if we desire it there is absolutely no reason why our society cannot in a relatively short time significantly improve the competence of those teachers who are presently teaching and ensure that future teachers will be the major force for personal growth that they should be.

3.7 Support for this statement comes from research studies that have found that effective teachers have certain human relations skills or attributes; that these skills or attributes can be measured; and that these skills or attributes can be significantly developed and improved in training programs of one hundred hours.

3.8 On the basis of the foregoing, I would recommend that (i) priority should be given by Provincial Departments of Education to improving the competence of present and future teachers and (ii) if a choice has to be made between educational plants (including mechanical teaching aids) and teacher training and teacher salaries, that precedence should be given to the training and salaries.

3.9 I might add that Provincial Departments of Education, teacher training colleges, and local School Boards for the most part appear not to be aware of some of the encouraging information and research that is available on the subject of teacher effectiveness. Steps could be taken to remedy this immediately. It is not good enough to emphasize teacher training. It is also essential that the training be effective.

3.10 Further support for the importance of the school is to be found in those studies that indicate that the school years are the years during which work habits and attitudes are

developed and that also suggest there is a direct relation between work habits and attitudes and self esteem.

4.1 Recommendation D—LEISURE TIME SERVICES AND PERSONNEL. My remarks concerning the crucial and major contribution that teachers can make toward the personal development of children are also applicable to the staff of leisure time services. Unfortunately, our society generally assigns a low priority to such services and to the staffing of them and therefore their potential is severely limited. The community centre movement has never really taken hold in Canada with the result that many communities—have and have not—have inadequate leisure time services.

4.2 If schools could come to accept the major influence that they have on the psychic development of children and if our society is prepared to guarantee that children have teachers who are capable of fostering such development, we perhaps would be more prepared to make the school the centre of cultural and leisure time as well as educational activities. This is usually referred to as the "lighted school house" approach and I think it has much to recommend it.

4.3 I recommend that municipal and provincial recreation and education authorities work, communicate, and plan together more than they do at present in most localities with a view to preventing unnecessary duplication of buildings and programs. It may well be that recreation and education boards would benefit from official interrelationships, but certainly they should work more closely together than they do at present.

4.4 Recommendation E—RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTES IN HUMAN RELATIONS. There is a vast amount of writing and research that has been done in the area of human growth and development, including research into the causes and effects of poverty. Yet Canada has no resource to undertake such research and, just as important, to disseminate its findings and demonstrate the possible applications of such research in homes, schools, industry, churches, and other institutions of our society. This is probably one of the major reasons there is such a gap between what we know and what we do as far as human relations is concerned. If the human sciences were as financially able and as enthusiastic to spread their insights and findings as is business and industry to gain acceptance for its products, Canada would

undoubtedly be a better place for all Canadians, rich and poor.

4.5 The Vanier Institute on the Family is perhaps a step in this direction, but it is limited in its resources and conception. I recommend that the Government of Canada sponsor a Canadian Research and Training Institute in Human Relations as a pilot project, with the hope that such institutes would develop throughout the country under public, voluntary, or joint auspices.

4.6 If the Canadian Government were to implement this recommendation, to my knowledge Canada would become the first country to commit itself in such a tangible way to determining and furthering its progress in terms of the self realization and human relations of its citizens. It would seem to me that this lovely land of ours is a very appropriate place to initiate such a venture and such an adventure. Incidentally, on the basis of the reaction that I have had to this proposal from other sources, I believe it would receive significant and enthusiastic support.

4.7 Recommendation F—A NATIONAL STUDY OF SELF ESTEEM AND SELF CONGRUENCE. One of the first projects of a Research and Training Institute in Human Relations might well be a study to determine the self esteem and self congruence of Canadians—a sort of national personality test. It would be my prediction that we would be dismayed by the findings, especially with regard to the twenty or more percent of Canadians who are officially listed as poor. However, I think we would also be sobered by the psychic cost to the non-poor of our present way of life. Be that as it may, it would at least give us an indication of the challenge facing us. It would also determine what correlations exist between economic poverty and psychic poverty and might make us less inclined to be so glib and self-righteous when we speak of the poor.

4.8 Irrespective of the auspices, I believe there is urgent need for such a national psychic or spiritual inventory and would recommend it for serious consideration by Governments and Foundations and any others with the means to undertake or sponsor it;

Conclusion

4.9 It will perhaps have been noted that, although I am a social worker, I have devoted little if any attention in this Brief to welfare services and ways in which they might be

improved. One reason is that I believe that others have and will be doing this in their presentations to the Committee. However, I have also not done so because it has been my experience in the four Canadian provinces in which I have lived and worked that most welfare services are able to do little more than alleviate the effects of poverty, while in many cases they by their attitudes and practices maintain or perpetuate poverty. There is much heartache and perhaps some heartbreak among many social workers over many of the policies and practices that we Canadians ask them to implement; and often we have been put in the position of having to act as paid mercenaries against the poor or quit. I am pleased to know that some of us have on occasion quit. Unfortunately however, we have thus far not found the unity or means to express the indignation that many of us feel, and this is in itself demoralizing.

4.10 I trust that the Special Senate Committee on Poverty will give us all reason to hope that some significant steps will be taken to rid ourselves of the terrible, soul-destroying scourge that poverty is and to make Canada a place where all can grow and flower, irrespective of income.

Submitted in some despair but with hope by, David Critchley, 44 Tangmere Crescent, Halifax, N.S.

October 26, 1969

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David Crichtley—Biological Information Education:

B. A., Mount Allison University (1947).
M. S. W., University of Toronto School of Social Work (1949).

Positions Held:

1. Community Secretary—Broadview YMCA in Toronto (1949-51).
2. Youth Organizer—Bermuda Social Welfare Board (1951-53).
3. Community Secretary—High Park YMCA in Toronto (1953-54).
4. Department Supervisor—University Settlement in Toronto (1954-57).
5. Associated Executive Director—Edmonton Welfare Council (1957-63).
6. Executive Director—Children's Home of Winnipeg (1963-67)
7. Associate Professor—Maritime School of Social Work, Dalhousie University (1967—).

Publications:

"You're Never Too Young" (YWCA *Journal*; May, 1959).

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"No Place for Youth" (*Canadian Welfare*; January-February, 1966).

"The Disturbed Child and the Disturbed Professional" (*Canadian Welfare*; November-December 1967).

Also free lance radio and television work for such CBC programs as: Soundings, Trans-Canada Matinee, Viewpoint, Preview Commentary, Points West. While in Winnipeg, developed the idea for and was co-host of the weekly CBC television program "All in the Family".

Organized a Family Information Centre in a shopping plaza in Winnipeg where shoppers obtained information and consultation about personal and family concerns.

Memberships:

Canadian Association of Social Workers; Nova Scotia Association of Social Workers; Canadian Authors Association; Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists.

Vital Statistics:

Age: 44 (July 22, 1925); married; 4 children; Canadian citizen.

APPENDIX "C"

BRIEF

to the

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON
POVERTY

Submitted by

EXTENSION DEPARTMENT, ST. FRANCIS
XAVIER UNIVERSITYAntigonish, Nova Scotia
(Phone, area code 902, 867-2208)November
1969*Preamble*

1. The problem of poverty is one in which St. Francis Xavier University has been deeply involved in a direct and practical way, for a half-century. Its Extension Department whose adult education program today extends to more than eighty countries throughout the world, had its beginnings in the University's decision to attack the extreme poverty in Eastern Nova Scotia in the depressed period following World War One. In the intervening years, it has acquired enormous experience in the application of "self-help" techniques to improve living conditions of people in the low-income levels.

2. This experience has been condensed into what might be called, informally, the University's philosophy on poverty and its cure. Broadly speaking, it advances the premise that poverty is not an exclusively economic problem, that it is a condition of many facets, and that it can be approached successfully only if it is viewed as a comprehensive human problem, where improvement will be measured not in the narrow, statistical terms of economic indices, but in the creation of better men and women. Life for people in organized society is nothing other than the realization of human possibilities. There are five of these possibilities: the physical, economic, social, cultural and spiritual. It does not take much thought to realize that among these possibilities, the economic, while not the highest in order of dignity, is basic to all others. An individual should not be expected to pull himself up by his own bootstraps. Obviously, the economic factor is an overriding one and perhaps we should start with a discussion of the guaranteed annual wage, but

this has been covered in many presentations to your Committee.

3. This University's adult education program, which is directed primarily to community development, emphatically educates people to do as much for themselves as is humanly possible. In today's increasingly complex environment, beyond doubt, government help is mandatory, and at times, must be massive. But the "welfare" concept ought to be subordinate to the principle that genuine improvement in living conditions is possible only when individuals have acquired the self-reliance and self-respect that comes from having participated substantially in their own salvation.

What Is Poverty

4. The experience of the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department leads us to believe that poverty cannot be measured in strictly economic or fiscal terms. The poverty line is frequently described in terms of annual cash income, but it is clear that some families can live orderly, comfortable and hopeful lives on an income that would leave other families in a condition of hopeless poverty.

5. As one of the extension fieldworkers has put it:

"Although economic hardship is the outstanding visible feature of poverty, it is not poverty in the total sense. Economic hardship, of course, can lead to poverty if it is long enduring, severe or too obvious compared with affluent surroundings, but total poverty is the admission of ineffectiveness in the social and economic environment of a family.

"A family in poverty has great difficulty in pursuing resourceful employment and is most likely wasteful with what income is available. As Alan Fry says, 'Poverty characteristics would include: Irregular living patterns, poor management of personal and family resources, abuse of liquor, frequent resort to violence to settle disputes, unacceptable levels of housekeeping and cleanliness, inability to perform according to a regular routine to accommodate regular employment, and disregard for the maintenance of physical facilities such as housing, furnishings and clothing.'

"The depth of one's poverty may be determined by" the prevalence and number of these characteristics and others like them."

6. We submit the above is a fair description of what might well be called the "poverty syndrome". It is family situations of this kind that must be eliminated.

The Nature of the Problem

7. The experience of St. Francis Xavier University in the realm of poverty is largely confined to the area of Eastern Nova Scotia. Here the impact of the regional disparity affecting all parts of Atlantic Canada has been aggravated by significant industrial and technological changes. These include sweeping cutbacks in the coal-mining industry, labor-trimming reorganization in steel-making, technological and market changes which have drastically altered the character as well as the quantity of the labor force engaged in fishing, woodland operations and farming.

8. Additionally, there has been a shift in the economic centre of gravity to such new industrial growth centres as the Strait of Canso. This has introduced problems of community reorganization and personnel placement.

9. Income levels in the Eastern Nova Scotia area are significantly lower than elsewhere in Canada. The rate of capital investment is far from brisk and where substantial capital has been injected by private enterprise, the increase in employment has not always been commensurate. In other cases new industries have been of a type employing mostly women and young people rather than heads of families. In the coastal communities the change from the relatively primitive inshore fishing operations to a heavily capitalized, large-scale deep-sea industry has, in many cases, created economic decline.

Educational Programs

10. Most observers will agree, we think, that the resources of this country, material and technological, are so great that no social or economic problem is beyond our capacity to solve, providing we have the will to solve it. It is a mistake to assume, however, that money alone can solve the problem of poverty. After all, the poverty we see in Atlantic Canada has grown side by side with the growth of the affluence of the nation as a whole. It is equally obvious that the enormous extension of welfare policy with its concomitant injection of massive public funds which we have seen over the past quarter-century, has had little significant impact on the condition of low-income groups in this part of Canada.

11. We conclude from this that little headway can be made until we tackle the basic element of our poverty: the inability of the individual to perform effectively in his environment. We are concerned here not with abstract "economic levels" or "geographical pockets of poverty", we are concerned with individual human beings—men, women and children.

12. There can be no hope of these people making any effective contribution to society, and thereby to their own advancement, until and unless they are trained and conditioned educationally. We are convinced that it is on the educational front that we shall achieve the ultimate victory over poverty.

13. The educational front, in fact, is actually a number of fronts: the regular formal and academic training of young people, technical and vocational training and retraining, and a whole range of non-academic studies and activities falling loosely under the heading of adult or continuing education. All three areas must become much more deeply concerned than they have ever been in the total educational uplifting of the Atlantic region.

14. Government assistance will be required on a large scale, notably financial; but wherever possible, local institutions and agencies should be employed to carry out the indicated programs.

15. There is obviously an urgent need for improvement in the elementary and secondary levels of formal education. It has been established beyond doubt that there is a very real relationship between the number of years of formal education and an individual's later earning power. Historically, the high incidence of student "drop-outs" in the Atlantic area was high on the list of factors contributing to regional poverty. In recent years there has been a drastic decrease in such casualties. This trend will have a profound effect on the economic and social climate of the region.

16. In the field of technical and vocational education we are seeing an increased emphasis on the need for retraining. With the phasing out of old industries and industrial techniques, and the arrival of new ones, the program presently conducted by the provincial Department of Education and financed by the federal Department of Manpower is, in our view, inadequate. It is clear that retraining facilities on a vast scale must be available to enable our work force to keep abreast of changing labor needs. Pilot projects operated

by educational institutions with adult students on full-time basis should be initiated.

17. Counselling is a necessary part of this educative process, and the need for highly qualified professional counsellors is paramount. Such people must have training and experience needed to direct individuals to the appropriate institution for the training they need and, later, to direct them into the industrial or technical field where their contribution will find adequate recognition. An attempt should be made to have counselling for adults on a community basis with professional counsellors involved, preferably on the community level and not attached to government offices.

18. Adult education programs, which are primarily of a non-academic nature and generally directed either to the uplifting of the cultural and social status of individuals or to programs of community development and group action, call for the same high degree of professional leadership. The provision of this leadership is frequently beyond the means of local institutions without additional financial help from government sources.

19. One example of this third area is housing. "Members (of the Task Force on Housing) have noted that co-op housing has been most effective when promoted by university extension departments or other agencies able to provide specialized counselling and assistance to those involved. They would suggest that financial assistance be made available to appropriate agencies to hire such specialists to work with co-op housing groups." (Page 37, Report of Hellyer Task Force.)

Housing

20. Housing is not only one of the most vital factors in the measurement of poverty levels; in itself it contributes heavily, for better or worse, to the moral and social conditions of the families affected. It has been the experience of St. Francis Xavier University's Extension Department that housing programs, if properly conceived, directed and executed, can play a major role in lifting people out of the poverty syndrome.

21. For the past thirty years, the Extension Department has been involved in the direction of self-help cooperative housing projects which have resulted in the construction of more than three thousand privately-owned homes for low-income families in Nova Scotia.

22. The cooperative self-help housing technique is not well known. Briefly, it calls for the organization of a group of individuals who jointly plan, finance and construct a number of houses simultaneously, purchasing building materials in bulk and pooling their individual skills and labor. Self-help housing not only provides decent shelter at minimum cost, but it affords the participants a newly-gained sense of accomplishment and self-respect which invariably leads them to seek still higher goals.

23. At the present time, government policy seeks to meet the housing needs of people in the low-income bracket through the provision of what is called public housing, or low-rental housing. This customarily takes the form of row housing, town housing or other multiple-unit housing, heavily subsidized from public funds, and made available to the tenants at rents commensurate with the tenant's income.

24. Admittedly some public housing is necessary but it is the view of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University that the self-help, or cooperative, approach to housing should receive increased attention on the part of government. Self-help programs can provide good homes, individually owned, for only a fraction—less than one-third—of the cost to the taxpayer of a low-rental public housing unit.

25. Additionally, the self-help housing program is a very real antidote to what has been called the "poverty syndrome", since it tends to accomplish what ought to be the goal of all sound welfare programs, the making of better people. (See Appendix A)

26. In this field, however, any significant expansion of activity would call for the provision of many more trained personnel than are presently available to organize and direct these projects. Private institutions have the expertise to train this leadership, but obviously not without financial assistance from federal sources as suggested by the Hellyer Task Force Report.

Out-Migration

27. Where regional disparity is a major contributing factor in the persistent poverty of a given area, the solution often advanced is that of out-migration to other more affluent, and more rapidly growing centres. We are not convinced that out-migration, by itself, is any kind of permanent remedy for the situation.

28. It is certain that the condition of the individual is not generally remedied by out-

migration; often his condition is worsened. An underprivileged family from a rural setting frequently becomes an even more desperate problem in an urban slum.

29. In our view, the problem of poverty, no matter where it is found, must be faced in the here and now, not in some vague "elsewhere" or "tomorrow". Out-migration can certainly be an element in the war on poverty, but if people are to be exported they should be skilled, trained, and capable of taking an effective part in their new environment. People who are uneducated and unskilled will be a liability no matter where they are, and they will be unhappy. To move them from place to place benefits no one. (See Appendix B)

30. One must bear in mind, additionally, that the general uplifting of a backward area may depend in very large measure on the availability of a suitable pool of local, educated and skilled labor. Admittedly, out-migration to newer growth centres may have a role to play in the war on poverty, but its operation will call for careful supervision and control.

Old Age Groups

31. One of the groups most acutely deserving of attention in any discussion of poverty is that of the middle-aged and elderly. The age at which pensions are paid has been substantially reduced in recent years, and there is a good prospect of further reduction. In certain special cases, as for instance in the coal-mining communities of Cape Breton Island, pensions are being paid to miners still in their fifties, a measure taken to alleviate hardship during the "phasing out" of much of the area's coal-mining industry. No doubt, this plan will be extended to the older people in fishing, farming, forestry, etc.

32. People in this category must not be cast aside as unemployable. Until now we have had only minimal experience with measures designed to keep our older people interested, active and valuable members of the community. The whole field is open to study, and we strongly recommend the undertaking of a wide variety of experimental programs for the involvement of elderly people, and particularly of those whose place on the pension rolls has been prompted by technological change.

33. This is a field where local community groups and institutions, working with government on a generous cost-sharing basis, should

be encouraged to develop new programs and projects to attract and hold the attention of the older members of society. In this field, as in the others, the employment of competent, highly-trained professionals, as program directors and counsellors, is imperative.

APPENDIX A

Housing and Poverty

A1. Educating impoverished people will be accomplished only if society can find vehicles which will prepare the poor for effective action in the wider social and economic environment. Educational and other programs will be effective only to the extent they accomplish this. If a person in poverty can accomplish a goal which is very important to him, and which is recognized by the other members of his family as being important, he gains pride and recognition by his achievement. It is important for any man to accomplish something useful and meaningful, but for the family head in poverty, this is of major importance.

A2. We use cooperative and self-help housing as one vehicle for delivering this kind of achievement. The provision of shelter itself is important but one could argue that this can be made available in the form of federal-provincial public housing projects.

A3. Cooperative housing has functioned for thirty years in Nova Scotia. It is much less costly to government than public housing and has inherent techniques which can do much to break the poverty syndrome. We shall list some:

(a) *Participation*—the forming of a co-op housing group of families of varying income, educational and employment backgrounds but with one common unifying force—the desire to own a home.

(b) *Accomplishment*—families working together to overcome the requirements for loan approval achieve intermediary plateaus of success as each requirement is fulfilled. Housing groups often regard loan requirements as obstacles placed in their path. To be able to tick off a step toward their goal with loan approval, is satisfying.

(c) *Meaningful Education*—the five to ten months of weekly meetings before construction begins, is a preparation period during which a variety of educational experiences happen.

New members of co-op housing groups know little or nothing about home building. They must prepare themselves for self-help participation before construction. During this five to ten month preparation period, organized short courses in practical home construction, use of materials etc., are conducted. The group discussions on pertinent topics—often with guest speakers present—are learning processes in themselves. At home, too, the education continues as husband, wife and often, children, sit over houseplans and discuss floor plans, window arrangements, heating and electrical layouts, kitchen facilities, color schemes, etc., etc. Together the family must work out some of the details of building a home with approximate one-half of the money required to contract the job. Family life is strengthened by this common interest.

(d) *The Levelling Process*—for the first time in their lives, many members find themselves dealing directly with persons in society that they had held on pedestals and find them to be persons with their own weaknesses, problems and frustrations.

The discovery that engineers, lawyers, planners, inspectors, and supervisors are capable of human error, makes an impact on low-income builders.

When angered by delays, seemingly caused by neglect of hired professionals, these groups soon learn the channels to pry—their M.L.A.'s, councilmen, etc. It is difficult to imagine any similar circumstances that would bring these families to a working knowledge of the function of so many civic, provincial and federal agencies in so short a time.

One often hears a chap earning less than four thousand a year, discussing the possibility that the Department of Finance and Economics may be having difficulty raising the money for the provincial government's share of their loan because of a financial crisis.

(e) *Managing Money*—as noted before, the loans presently make to members of co-op groups are little better than half the amount required to contract the construction of the units. Means must be found between the co-op group and the families involved to budget and to replace capital equity with sweat equity.

(f) *Perseverance*—both during the study stage and the construction stage the tendency is always there to "chuck it" when things get rough. This, of course, is especially tempting

to poor families since it is a symptom of poverty. In a housing group, however, the presence of their peers is strong. A discouraged member must deal with the not-so-sympathetic decision of his fellow members if he quits. Invariably, when some members are down, others are up, and with each other's support the majority will overcome any problems facing them.

During construction, the same process is prevalent. Since most housing groups build on common land the presence of a slacker is noted by all other members building in the area. The kind of pressure exerted on the member who is behind in his home building takes various forms but it almost always results in the member making a drive to catch up. The awareness of what others think of his efforts, is made obvious to him by the close contact of group meetings and group construction. This generally has an enduring effect on the member. It carries over to employment, family and community relationship.

(g) *Human Relations*—it is often a source of amazement to the member of a housing group to find that people are really concerned with his problems. This is true to varying degrees from person to person but some are completely taken back when relatives and friends come to the building site to offer assistance. Unexpected help during construction can result in less strained and healthier personal relationships.

(h) *Achievement*—the pride of achievement in the finished product is indicated by the disarming willingness of families in recently completed co-op units to welcome visitors—often strangers—to inspect the fruits of their efforts.

It is always a source of wonderment to us working with groups to listen to previous builders speaking to new members about the merits of the plan when we can remember the growling and complaining of the same members when they met and built in previous years. It can actually be embarrassing for us since the plaudits and praise for the scheme doesn't prepare the new members for the bumps they will experience.

A4. With subsidies based on income this program of co-operative self-help housing could be extended to many thousands of poor people. Such a program not only builds homes, it develops people. Any objections that we have heard to subsidizing home ownership, were based on false assumptions.

APPENDIX B

Specific Proposal on Rural Poverty

B1. The problem of rural poverty in Eastern Nova Scotia is well documented. It is particularly well specified for rural communities whose economy is based primarily on the traditional inshore fishery. The socio-economic characteristics of these communities which are germane to a definition of poverty in its causes are:

(a) A fixed supply of available fish resources on the inshore grounds, i.e., lobster, etc.

(b) A limited season within which the fish resource can be exploited with the present level of technology.

(c) Over-investment in inefficient production units in relation to the available resource.

(d) Over-supply of labor in relation to the resource with the consequence that there is an inverse relationship between labor supply and productivity.

(e) A tendency for the lucrative but seasonal lobster fishery to attract excess labor into inshore fishing communities from the school system and from other less lucrative but more stable industries.

(f) A lack of alternative exploitable resources in inshore fishing communities and the immediate region.

(g) The specialized nature of the occupational structure of inshore fishing communities provides very limited experience to adults and youth with alternative occupational opportunities.

B2. Research studies are fairly unanimous on the following recommended solutions to poverty in inshore fishing communities:

(a) Long-term amelioration of economic instability in inshore fishing communities must be based, primarily, on the concept of resource adjustment rather than resource development as in the past, that is, a balance must be achieved between the available natural resource and the human resource exploiting it.

(b) Resource adjustment must be programmed in such a manner that the human resource remaining to exploit the natural resource do not constitute a residual unskilled element of the population.

(c) Production technology and marketing organization must achieve an optimum level of efficiency which will guarantee adequate earned income to the entrepreneurs remaining in the inshore fishery.

(d) Motivation must be developed among the adult and youth population for occupational and residential mobility.

B3. Traditionally, most inshore fishing communities have been serviced by a plethora of public and private agencies interested in eliminating economic instability. The main characteristics of this over-all activity has been as follows:

(a) Superficial treatment of community problems by several uncoordinated agencies on a "once per year" basis with the consequence that no one problem receives the intensive and sustained treatment it requires.

(b) Provision, on a diffuse basis, of adult education, community development and training programs which have but little effect in eliminating the fundamental causes of economic instability. At most, many of these ad hoc programs constitute a substitution mechanism which permits avoidance of the more intensive and costly programs which are obviously required.

(c) Absence of scientific evaluation of the effectiveness of community improvement programs.

B4. On the assumption that diffuse and uncoordinated programming can have but little effect in inshore fishing communities, the following specific project is proposed as an experimental social change program:

(a) Selection of three inshore fishing communities in Eastern Nova Scotia as objects of an experimental social change program.

(b) Establishment, by scientific research methods, of benchmark measures of level of living, level of income, employment stability, attitudes toward occupational and residential mobility, knowledge of vocational opportunities, and other socio-economic characteristics.

(c) Implementation of an intensive community adjustment and development program under the direction of one full-time community development worker. He would have the responsibility of proposing, developing and coordinating on an intensive and sustained basis the community adjustment and development program. This would involve the creation of learning experiences for adults and youth directed at such areas as resource adjustment measures, occupational and residential mobility, vocational and educational opportunities. He would have access to financial resources necessary to obtain assistance from professional sources in constructing programmed learning experiences.

(d) On the termination of a designated programming period, social change in relation to the original benchmarks would be determined by research methods. Or, alternatively, evaluational measures could be made at each stage of the program.

(e) Ideally, such experimental programs should be carried out by institutions which can guarantee availability of community

development and research personnel over an agreed upon period of time.

B5. The preceding action-research program as proposed would achieve two general planning objectives: 1. The achievement of community social change; and 2. scientific information on the effectiveness of particular educational techniques, responsiveness of types of individuals and groups to particular programs, and coordinated programming.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 3

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5th, 1969

WITNESSES:

Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People: Mr. Gordon E. Earle, Committee Chairman.

Social Deviance Class of St. Francis Xavier University: Mr. Murray Smith; Miss Dorothy Haley; Miss Zita Hogan; and Mr. Kevin MacNeil.

APPENDICES:

A.—Brief submitted by the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

B.—Brief submitted by the Social Deviance Class of St. Francis Xavier University.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Fergusson	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Carter	Fournier (<i>Madawaska-</i>	McGrand
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	<i>Restigouche, Deputy</i>	Pearson
Cook	<i>Chairman</i>)	Quart
Croll	Hastings	Roebuck
Eudes	Inman	Sparrow
Everett	Lefrançois	

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969.

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Dalhousie University Auditorium,
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Wednesday, November 5th, 1969.
(3)

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.15 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Croll (*Chairman*), Belisle, Connolly (*Halifax North*), Cook, Eudes, Fergusson, Hastings, Inman, McGrand, Pearson and Sparrow. (11)

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

NOVA SCOTIA ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLOURED PEOPLE:

Mr. Gordon E. Earle, Committee Chairman.

After a brief statement by Mr. Earle, he was thanked by the Chairman who then adjourned the Committee until eleven o'clock that morning.

Following the adjournment, a sub-committee was formed for the purpose of visiting the Halifax Neighbourhood Centre.

Of the two briefs submitted by the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the one presented on the day of the hearings is printed as Appendix A to these proceedings. The earlier brief has been retained in the Committee's records.

At eleven a.m. the Committee resumed its hearings.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

SOCIAL DEVIANCE CLASS OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY:

Mr. Murray Smith;
Miss Dorothy Haley;
Miss Zita Hogan; and
Mr. Kevin MacNeil.

In attendance:

Miss Marie Dunne.

At the conclusion of the presentation by the Social Deviance Class of St. Francis Xavier University, the Chairman thanked all those who had participated.

The brief submitted by the Social Deviance Class of St. Francis Xavier University is printed as Appendix B to these proceedings.

At 12.15 p.m. the Committee adjourned until 9.30 a.m. Thursday, November 6th, 1969, at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.

ATTEST:

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Halifax, Nova Scotia, November 5, 1969.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I will now call this meeting to order. On my right is Mr. Gordon S. Earle, who is the spokesman for the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. He will speak to us now.

Mr. Gordon S. Earle, Spokesman, Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People: Thank you, Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, my committee met last evening and further discussed our presentation to you this morning. We decided unanimously that you erred yesterday in failing to hear the presentation from the Federation of Labour, the School of Social Work and others.

We feel you erred even more greatly in failing to grasp the opportunity to meet with concerned citizens at the Neighbourhood Centre last evening.

Now your reasons may have been good but we know that in any serious study on poverty, it is imperative to meet and talk with those who are most directly involved or affected. To the research scientist, this is known as "going to the root source." The Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People feel it incumbent upon ourselves to give you an opportunity to right his wrong as well as to refocus your perspective.

We have, therefore decided to donate our submission time this morning to you in order that you go to the Neighbourhood Centre and honour the invitation that you so wrongfully refused. We have important points which we shall submit to you for perusal and study at some later time or during the trip to your next hearing.

If you have any questions with regard to our submission please feel free to contact us by mail or telephone.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Earle.

We will adjourn until 11.00 a.m. at which time we will hear representations from St. Francis Xavier University.

Upon resuming at 11.00 a.m.

The Chairman: The student group from St. Francis Xavier University will be introduced by Mr. Maurice Smith.

Mr. Maurice Smith: Thank you Mr. Chairman. With me this morning is Marie Dunne, Dorothy Haley, Zita Hogan and Kevin MacNeil. We are the students of the Social Deviance Class of Saint Francis Xavier University and we have been working on this brief for about a month now. Each student did a little bit of research on his own, with his own ideas and with his own personal experiences and this was compiled to form this brief.

Senator Hastings: Doug or Kevin?

Mr. Smith: Kevin. We will try to answer any questions you have on the brief. I didn't plan any definite procedure this morning, I just thought that I would like to talk at the beginning. Everyone knows that we are here because we feel that something must be done. I think it's more than obvious that what we are doing now isn't enough for the poor. Most of our records to this date have been useless (even wasted in some cases). I think, one case is this very Committee in a sense. A special committee on poverty is really a big deal. It sounds great but we think that an attempt to provide a forum for the poor to express their views is a failure in that sense.

I think the press and news media have already decried this fact that special educational institutions and special groups have been presenting briefs and they are asking "Where are the poor?" They are also asking "Why don't they have anything to say?" I think the way this committee has been set up it's almost impossible and although I'm not offering any alternatives but I think it's almost impossible for the poor to present their views. For instance, the fact that this brief has to be accompanied with fifty type-written copies and I find this very difficult to believe. I mean, who among the poor are

going to be able to afford to have fifty copies of a brief made up? I think, this is a point to show that our existing poverty problems—what we have been trying to do for the poor is not enough.

The word is not getting to the poor. What I am trying to say is that our policies to this time have been merely "stop gap measures". We have been keeping the poor going but what we have in effect been doing is perpetuating poverty. Giving "handouts" has only helped the poor people to be fed, keeping them in a position of poverty and thereby enlarge the poverty cycle.

This is to perhaps where things are very much outdated, such as our values of work; like the god of work and the big business interests being the creeds of that god. The idea that welfare must be kept at the minimum in order that people will not lose incentive is ridiculous. By keeping welfare as low as possible, people we maintain lose incentive.

The constant struggle and the grappling for their very existence, living from day to day without any change or hope of change—and this is the situation that they must contend with under the present poverty programmes and present welfare systems. This situation can only lead to despondency and lethargy. It can only result in a lack of incentive. So, in effect, the main argument used by many and that is that welfare only makes people lazy, makes them parasites in society and makes them lose their initiative is, in this sense true. That is, under the present welfare system. It does not enable people to rise above their position. It keeps them where they have always been and it does rob them of their incentive. Now, we are not saying that the majority of those who are now on welfare are parasites or that they are lazy people. It's a well known fact that the majority on welfare don't want to be there. What we are saying is that the present welfare system can't have any real effect if it keeps these people in that position and they are not able to better themselves.

We feel that our recommendations are right in tune; something that will break this poverty cycle. If applied, we feel that they would work and would help to break that poverty cycle. So, to get into it, the first thing we would like to do is to give the people a decent standard of living and we feel that this could be best accomplished by means of a guaranteed annual income. Not just enough for subsistence (as it is under the present welfare system) but enough to enable people to better

themselves. Actually, what we are saying is more welfare is what is needed. By paying more welfare now (and this is for those who feel that this is a dollar and cents issue) myself I don't, we feel that we will be saving in the longrun for this will help to curb the rise in poverty.

This is only one of our points—the guaranteed annual income. We also recommend that reform in education and reforms in housing be made. These reforms are recommended or recommendations that are in the brief and as I say, if you have any questions we would be quite willing to try and answer them and defend what we have said. We feel that these are the main things—income and education and housing, and that if these reforms could be initiated or carried out in some way, the poverty cycle would be broken.

The Chairman: You said income, education...

Mr. Smith: And housing.

The Chairman: Where does employment come in?

Mr. Smith: Employment?

The Chairman: Is that put in on the basis of income? I gather you weren't thinking of employment in the sense of income, were you?

Mr. Smith: No, I am thinking of income in the sense of a guaranteed annual income—in the sense a guarantee that they will have enough to live on.

The Chairman: Yes, but you say you put it in the sense, income, education and housing.

Mr. Smith: Well, let me just elaborate on that for a moment.

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Smith: What we mean is an annual income at the level that will be decided that will enable people to have a decent standard of living. Everyone is saying that we should have it.

Miss Zita Hogan: I think this would be for both, the employed and the unemployed so that everyone would be on the same standard. Everyone would be on the same standard to start out with and on the same base. This would be able—I know poverty is relative for or thing, but it would bring everyone up to level where say a man and his family would have a decent standard of living. He wouldn't have to become a cultural poverty inclined.

The Chairman: Would any members of the Senate care to ask questions? Senator Bélisle?

Senator R. Bélisle: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First of all may I be permitted to say that I sincerely believe that any money that we spend on education is an investment in the future. You say here on page 10:

Poorer families are not education oriented. The sooner the youth brings home any type of income the happier the parents seem to be. Therefore the youth is not provided with intellectual stimulation or encouragement to remain in school. The most pressing problem in educating poverty stricken children is to give them incentive.

How can we overcome the inability of the poor to take advantage of free education? How can we assist them in supplying them with better teachers, better counsellors. How can we do it?

Mr. Smith: Let me get this straight. What you're saying is that you are wondering how—in other words we have free education now. I think the biggest problem is that we must realize that this is a poverty culture that we have now. It is a poverty culture which we have now and it is self-perpetuating. In effect, this is the case like the poor children in school. When they do reach a certain age that they can work the parents agree that they should be bringing in an income, helping to support them. I don't think—you were saying that this was part of in effect the cultural poverty. We don't have any definite recommendations for that. First of all, I think there has to be an understanding of the cultural poverty and we have to make the people understand. We have to make them understand that the best thing to do would be to stay in school. How we can do that—I don't really have any specific recommendations but as I was saying if we can break the poverty cycle through the methods we have recommended then this problem could be solved.

Senator Bélisle: Yesterday we heard from Father Roach saying that leaving school for money wasn't the main reason why they were leaving school.

The Chairman: Excuse me, Senator Bélisle. Now what you are recommending is based on the experience of your group?

Mr. Smith: Well, we are living in a rural area at the University in Antigonish

and it has been—you can see it when you go downtown and see a lot of the school-aged people that in the winter are cutting wood. This type of thing.

The Chairman: You mean young school-aged children?

Mr. Smith: Well, not preschool as much but school children.

The Chairman: High school and university?

Mr. Smith: Yes. I am not saying that that is the main reason why they leave school but they don't believe that they can get anything. This is their whole culture, this is what they have been brought up in. Money is everything to them because they are struggling for the next meal. They have had no direct results from education but what they do need is a chance to break this poverty cycle.

Miss Dorothy Haley: This is one of the things in our survey that working girls between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three; these girls leave their homes because they have no money to continue on in school. We have free education, yes, but we have to buy notebooks; we have to buy paper, pencils and these add up. We go through high school and everybody is suggesting that we have to buy this book and we have to buy that book to do our papers and things and these all add up. The poor families just don't have this money and therefore in our survey that these girls have left school between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three. They are making an average of about thirty-five or forty dollars a week and they are living in slum conditions. This isn't right. In our culture in Canada we can afford to get these people out of the situation they are in. If people know about them. Only about half of these girls realize the situation they are in. They grow up in poverty and when they go out they are independent. However, they are going to stop there, they have no money to go further. Their parents have no incentive to tell them to continue on with their education because there is no money. They can't put anything behind them. They can't back them up in what they want to do. Therefore, something has to be done especially for the young. If we start working with the young something can be done. Even then, they can go back to their parents and show them that "We have done this", even though we know you couldn't help us but we are going to help you.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I might make an observation here. What we are dealing with here is incentive and motivation of the students who remain in school. Now, the question I want to ask you is, would you consider a meaningful allowance; I am not talking about the youth allowance of ten dollars a month, but I am talking about a meaningful allowance of eighteen or twenty-one dollars a week as a motivation to keep that child in school providing he attains his scholastic standing.

Miss Haley: This would be a help but also then besides this money they also have to have incentive and this would encourage them to stay in school by having a reason for staying in school. They can see that they are not taking from their families what family doesn't have to stay in school, then they will have this incentive. If they get this allowance of so much per week and certainly ten dollars a month isn't enough—it's not worth a thing because it doesn't go anywhere.

The Chairman: It did once when you were a little girl.

Miss Haley: If they get this allowance possibly what you say eighteen or twenty dollars a week, well then, yes, they would have something to start with.

Senator Hastings: Thank you.

Mr. Kevin MacNeil: I think one of the problems is that the parents themselves—the reason they don't encourage a child to stay in school is perhaps that their own financial position is weak and that is what we meant regarding the recommendation for a guaranteed annual income and housing, and then the parents wouldn't need the child to go out to work so early in life. This would give more encouragement for the child to stay in school. I think that answers your question.

The Chairman: Yes. Senator Belisle—I think you have answered Senator Belisle's question. I gathered the impression that you were talking of a rule aspect and I forgot to ask the young lady if what she said applied to a rural or an urban or semiurban aspect?

Miss Haley: Well, the survey was conducted in the town, the people that were working in the town.

Senator McGrand: What town?

Miss Haley: In Antigonish. These students, these teenagers were from or around, from the town.

The Chairman: That is what I wanted to know.

Senator Belisle: May I be permitted to ask one more question?

The Chairman: Just let this young man finish.

Mr. MacNeil: I thought your first question was what we could do to encourage staying in school. This is why I say that we should endeavour to incorporate such things as guaranteed annual income and adequate housing for parents; then they wouldn't need their children to go to work.

The Chairman: Senator Belisle?

Senator Belisle: On page 12, Student Aid Programme, it says:

On the Provincial level we think the Nova Scotia Government should modify its bursary programme. What we would suggest here is that the Government place a contingency on its awarding of bursaries. The contingency would be that the individual has a passing score in at least four academic subjects from the previous year. Under the present system there is no incentive for an individual to achieve high standing.

In other words, are you suggesting that a means test, a cultural means test be placed on persons?

Mr. Smith: No, what I am saying or suggesting is that the bursaries now are given to—in most cases anyone who applies for some sort of bursary. They can go to the—there is no requirement that they keep a standard, a certain standard, other than the fact that they have to have fifty per cent, this sort of thing. In effect, they are having it pretty easy, so what we were suggesting would be that the bursaries be put in line more compatible with the achievement of students. For instance, if a student was doing well then instead of a loan—instead of him depending on a loan, he should have a bursary. For instance the Federal loans now that we get—well, the loans that we get were initially suggested as a loan and if the student improves himself, that is, worthy of academic achievement, that this loan would be cancelled. It would be a bursary in effect.

Senator Belisle: May I be permitted to say, Mr. Chairman, that in Ontario we had to change our views. We had to change our

views because we were limiting applications which we didn't want to do.

Mr. Smith: But what we are saying—I don't think the criteria is that you have to have seventy-five as an average, this sort of thing. I think what it would do for a number of cases, it would put a lot of people that are simply skimming along, it would make them earn bursaries in effect.

Senator Belisle: Do you believe that there should be at least sixty per cent as a requirement for all grades, that is to pass that grade?

Mr. Smith: Well, I couldn't say myself, you know, I am only a sixty-percenter myself and I don't want to say that it should be sixty per cent or sixty-five per cent. I think basically what we are trying to get at is that now the system is simply to have people to live on easy street! What we want to do or what we would like it to suggest is that the loan and the bursary—because they are sort of together—would be made so that those most deserving I think would qualify for these bursaries. The ones that are most deserving would get these bursaries.

Senator Cook: Now on that point, on this point of deserving. On page 6 you illustrate two different families. In one family you have a widow with eight children. In this case would you think guaranteed annual income would be wise? Have you given any thought to the guaranteed annual income? Should there be any conditions? For example, this case that you state, the case in which the widow with the eight children—she has them, three in university, two in school, two working and one married. Now, the other case might certainly have merit as well, considering the way in which they are living. Have you given any thought as to whether that father and mother should be given the guaranteed annual income?

Mr. Smith: Well, I don't think any conditions are necessary. The reason why these people are living like this is because they have no other choice. We tried to explain that they had this television but in many cases this accounts for the reason they are poor. They are trying to keep up this status that everyone says they should have. Of course, they don't have it. Very often, you find them buying things like television sets because the person next door has it. You see, they don't understand. I don't think, and our present policy proves it, that just giving money means

anything. What I am trying to say is that money has to be co-ordinated with education.

Senator Cook: Well, you say that giving money doesn't mean anything. That's what I asked.

Mr. Smith: Well, if people don't know how to spend money now, there is not much you can do about it.

Senator Cook: Well, do you not think there should be any conditions whatsoever?

Mr. Smith: Well, what would be some of the conditions you would think would be required? Do you mean they would have to have a Grade 10 education or do you mean...

Senator Cook: No, no, I mean solutions as to how it would be spent?

Mr. Smith: Well, I can see where this is definitely going to be a problem, but I would think perhaps it could be channelled for instance education funds should be set down, etc.

The Chairman: Are you students in your class taught how to buy, how to charge, what to do and how to budget?

Mr. Smith: No. No, at least not in this class.

The Chairman: No, but in any part of the course?

Mr. Smith: Well, I am not that far into the course, but that's more of a home economics course. I think this is a difficult thing. For example, in my case I am quite convinced that if I need money I would go back to my parents.

The Chairman: I am quite sure you would.

Senator Connolly: Mr. Chairman, this group has properly raised the matter of incentives apart from monetary aid. One, that has for me a particular fascination has to do with the ability of teachers in the earliest formative years of children in school to so attract the attention of the children and focus their interest on school work and the necessity for education so as to operate against future drop-outs. If we are going to do that, we ought to have, it seems to me, a special type of carefully prepared teacher in greater numbers than we now have in the earlier grades of our public school system in this province who can handle the problems of the children and so engage their attention. Once

you get in Grades 6, 7 or 8, you have lost out of the opportunities to concentrate their attention on further higher education.

I wonder if any member or members of this group would care to discuss that phase of the situation?

Mr. Smith: Well, if anyone else would like to say so, sure, but I would just like to say that we can't do anything unless these people are given an incentive. It seems to me a contradiction in a sense. If you have these specially trained teachers as you say, instructors, who would try to give these people incentive and the children spent say five hours a day at the most in the school, if they are going home to poverty where the stress is on the dollar because that is the only way they live, it seems to me as you said the emphasis in the formative years has to come from the home. I do think the main problem is in the home.

Mr. MacNeil: I would just like to comment on what Mr. Smith has just said. You must remember that socialization of children takes place between the ages of one and five and when they get to school these five years are going to have more influence than one teacher is going to have on a group of students. I think you have to account for this factor that the socialization takes part in the home and if the parents are poverty stricken surely the teachers are not going to change the child's attitude from what he's been brought up in.

The Chairman: That's rather a bad term "socialization".

Mr. MacNeil: Well, I mean his environment and the values the parents instill in the children.

Senator Hastings: You will agree then with what Father Roach told us yesterday, that the family's home environment whether or not good or bad is the primary influence on the child?

Mr. MacNeil: I would say so.

Senator Hastings: Well, we had evidence the other day that the black child at four has already depreciated himself with respect to his white counterpart and that the poor children have lost their self esteem when they arrive at Grade 1. Do you have any idea of getting to that child in pre-school years with head start or other organizations?

Mr. MacNeil: Well, as such things as these, you know, kindergarten and these things could be set up in the poorer sections of the cities or towns. Still, I think that you have to consider the individual family, what their conditions are if they are poor at home. You have to start right in the home. You have to start right in the home before you can do anything with the children.

Senator Hastings: I think it's significant also in all of your briefs you seem to be unanimous in the opinion that there are not enough student counsellors. Is that correct?

Mr. MacNeil: Yes. Student counsellors—I wasn't aware of that until Grade 10.

The Chairman: Senator Connolly?

Senator Connolly: It is my observation that we do not have in this province enough teachers skilled in guidance and you make particular reference to it in this brief.

Now I suggest to you that it's too much to expect the average teacher in any grade at any level in grammar school or high school to be so skilled in guidance as to properly direct the attention of the pupils to the field in which those pupils should continue to operate. It seems to me to require the specialized services of a teacher trained in guidance with the proper degrees. Do you know whether or not we do have sufficient skilled guidance teachers in the public school system of this province?

Mr. Smith: I would say no. Obviously I think that if we did have they aren't working. They aren't working because of the results. I don't think we have enough of them. I think they do a good job and I believe that they can direct a child as to his capabilities and what the best field to enter. I think, in my own high school (if you don't mind my bringing in a personal element here) it was the high school that the students were from that were here yesterday, Sydney Academy, and that was great because we had one when I was there. We had one guidance counsellor and I think his main thing was sort of to say what university do you go to—there aren't enough of them and I agree with you on that point.

Senator Connolly: Thank you.

Mr. Smith: I don't think that's the entire answer.

Miss Haley: I think that we could be more selective in our teachers. We can see in the universities today that anybody that comes

in; they don't know what to do, so they go into teaching. You know, they have nothing else to do so they go into teaching! Anybody at all can come in and be a teacher. They don't have to be personally involved which they should be. They should be concerned about what they say and especially concerned about their students. In the school everything shouldn't be taken out of texts. In high school this is the case. Everything is taken right out of the texts. Know this and know that. In the exams you know, you have to pass. Now why don't they put something else, something personal, into a classroom? The teachers have to do this themselves. They ought to learn this from the general public and therefore the attitude of the general public is important. It's not just individuals; it's everybody together and then what the individual learns from the co-operative work of everybody in the town—of the community and of the country. It's the attitude they have towards other people. Everybody is as important as everybody else and if this attitude can be instilled in a person and in a teacher, the teacher could have it flow over into his students and into the classroom and could see something come out of it.

If someone sees someone else involved and concerned, immediately they are going to feel "Gee they are concerned" and they will do something.

The Chairman: Senator McGrand?

Senator McGrand: I have two questions. Each of them requires very short answers. The question has been brought up a great many times about drop-outs from school who went out and helped earn money to bring into the family. Do you know of any actual cases where a child dropped out of school to help support his family? This was a common thing a generation ago, but for my part I cannot recall any of the many drop-outs that I know who ever dropped out in order to support the family. Is it common or not?

Mr. Smith: No, I am not saying that. I am not saying that. I am saying that among the poor people in culture, the idea is that the dollar is the important thing. They need it. They need it to live, for food and clothing, this sort of thing. I am saying also that at home they don't get the incentive to go on because the idea is that if you are bringing in five dollars a week we can use that money. I am not saying that all drop-outs drop out because of financial reasons.

Senator McGrand: But how many of them drop out and earn money and bring it back to the family?

Mr. Smith: I have no idea but I think that they are looking after themselves. They do this so they won't be a drain on the family.

Senator McGrand: Well, the second question is to follow up on something that Senator Connolly asked. He asked about qualified teachers and I think he put the emphasis on qualified teachers in the early grades that could train a child not to be a drop-out. How would you compare the salaries of the teachers at the primary grade level as compared to the teachers in the higher grades? Do they get as much money as the teachers in the higher grades?

Mr. Smith: I would probably say no, since they probably don't need as much of a licence to teach in the lower grades. I don't know for sure but I would think that they don't get as much.

Senator Connolly: Well, I think that probably that is part of the problem.

Miss Haley: There is no reason why someone with a higher education can't teach a lower grade, but because there is nobody there, they don't think they can do anything in the lower grade to combat the people that are personally involved. If we can get people that are personally involved to go in to these lower grades—you know, who would be quite good in lower grades, this would be quite beneficial. Even a B.A. who would go into the lower grade would have a salary. It's this personal involvement that these teachers need. Usually in the lower grades you have younger people. You have younger students. You have younger people that try to teach younger people and it is the young people that are our concern. The teaching of these younger grades is where the effect is put on them. This is where their lives are determined—that is in the younger grades. If we can get the teachers to become personally involved—well then, if we go into the universities and tell them that with a B.A. "Go and teach a younger grade". You can get as much out of teaching a younger grade as you can a higher grade if you have this personal involvement. If you have this personal involvement and you want to help, there is an awful lot that you can teach the younger people.

Senator McGrand: In your opinion in teaching young children, would you prefer to have a young teacher teach the younger children or would you prefer a teacher with say ten or fifteen years' experience.

Miss Haley: I don't think it has anything to do with age. It has to do with the way a person thinks towards the student.

The Chairman: Senator Inman?

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, I don't know whether this question has been asked before or not, but do you think that many primary teachers use teaching as a stepping stone for another job or another vocation. Consequently they might not take such a great interest in the students. Do you think this happens?

Mr. Smith: Well, I think probably that you would probably find that with a lot of them—for many, but some of them would probably take it as an interim measure and if they decide they are not getting paid pretty good salaries they would move on. You know a lot of them move on to other fields. I will agree with you, yes.

The Chairman: I want to know what's wrong with a teacher trying to move herself up to some other grade or other standing and trying to better herself with her job.

Mr. Smith: Well, I think that's obvious. Why does she want to be a teacher? Why doesn't she do something else? Obviously I think it's something that a person wants to do. It's a personalized thing to better yourself, but as you know, that's something that everybody wants to do, is to better himself.

The Chairman: Usually teachers will move from grade teachers to vice principal to principal and then perhaps move out and pick up another degree at university and what's wrong with that?

Mr. Smith: There is nothing wrong with that. Perhaps, I misunderstood you. I thought that you meant using education strictly as a stepping stone.

Senator Inman: That is what I meant. As a stop gap measure.

Mr. Smith: I would agree with you.

Senator Inman: And consequently not being interested enough.

Mr. Smith: Right.

The Chairman: Any more questions?

Senator Pearson: I just wanted to suggest that apparently you don't have a great deal or a great many kindergartens in the province of Nova Scotia.

Mr. Smith: Yes.

Senator Pearson: There are only a few that are there?

Mr. Smith: Do you mean pre-school?

Senator Pearson: Pre-school, yes.

Mr. Smith: They are not public, if you know what I mean. This is usually done for people who can afford it.

Senator Pearson: Well, in this small town that I know in the West in conjunction with the school they run a pre-school class there a half a day. This is done five days a week. The mothers take charge of this pre-school class. In this town that I am speaking about we are adjacent to a number of Indian Reserves and a number of the Indian children are in foster homes in this little town and they go to this pre-school. When they come to Grade 1 and Grade 2 they are thoroughly integrated with the white children that are there, so that there is no difference in the moving up into Grade 1 with these children at all. They get along beautifully.

Mr. Smith: You are saying that this should be a public thing?

Senator McGrand: Well, it might be possible because it's run on a voluntary basis in that area there and I think it could be something that is public, the pre-school kindergarten.

Mr. Smith: What size of a town is it?

Senator Pearson: It's a town close to a big centre where people commute a lot and the younger people live there, so there are a lot of children in that area.

The Chairman: I think what he is asking Senator is that if it's the sort of a place where a mother leaves her child while she goes to work?

Senator Pearson: No no.

The Chairman: It's not a day centre in that sense?

Senator Pearson: No, it's a nursery school.

Mr. Smith: Well, I am wondering if this would be practical in say a city even the size of Halifax. There isn't that much...

The Chairman: There is no need for it?

Mr. Smith: Well, definitely there is a need for it and it sounds as if it could work but there isn't that much of an association of say mothers living in the same area; what would happen with mothers living on the other side of the town? I can see it happening in a small town and I would be doubtful if it would work in a city like Halifax.

Senator Pearson: But I do think it's an excellent idea.

Mr. Smith: Yes, I think that we should look into it.

Senator Belisle: This system is applicable in Ontario—in all of Ontario in both public and private schools. The children, in order to attend, must be five years old before January the 1st. In other words it's paid out of public funds both private and separate schools. We have two systems in Ontario.

Mr. Smith: What are you saying, Senator?

The Chairman: He is saying it is available to everyone.

Mr. Smith: Is this for pre-school?

The Chairman: Actually, what the Senator meant was everyone could take advantage of it.

Senator Belisle: Everyone in Ontario. Even the smaller centres of five hundred people can take advantage of this. The government requires twelve.

The Chairman: Well, you are an educationist and you do know better than I do. Senator Hastings.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, I just want to make one observation with respect to a statement made in the brief on page 9.

Education must help formulate the attitudes of the general public regarding poverty.

I just wanted to point out that that is one of the prime jobs of this Committee and as a result of our work I think we have stimulated a national debate on this.

The Chairman: And a very firm local debate.

Senator Hastings: All of the people in Canada are not aware of the need for action in respect to poverty. In my own Province of Alberta they are still gabbing about Medicare.

Whether they are ready to accept action on poverty or not it will be our job to educate them. We have heard comments with regard to the need or the urgency for action. Mr. Critchley yesterday said that we were on borrowed time and one of the groups said we need action now. I wonder if you would care to make a comment on that?

Mr. Smith: Well, I think it is imperative. What we are dealing with now is the children—the people we really want to get to and as has been mentioned, what can you do for a family even if you do give them the money, they will just spend it. It is with the children now, this generation coming say, in the last ten years, these children that you have to get to. As I say a whole new generation is self-perpetuating and increasing poverty. In the longrun unless there are some long-reaching plans to do something we are going to be in trouble. Insofar as this guaranteed annual income, if you enact it now you will in effect be saving money. Tell that to the people in Alberta.

Senator Hastings: I will do that.

Senator Cook: At what age?

Mr. Smith: Well, at what age. That's a good question. I think it's a problem just trying to decide what age we can go to vote.

The Chairman: It will be eighteen next year.

Mr. Smith: I hope so. I suppose it would depend on the dependency question. If a person is looking after himself, I think then there would have to be some sort of minimum. Anyone who is looking after themselves should certainly be included in this.

The Chairman: Are there any other questions? If there is not we have a timetable. If there is no other questions may I say to you on behalf of the Committee that you young people have been a delight to this Committee. We had another group of which you are an alumnae, I guess you could say and they have been very rewarding to this Committee and we thank you for your interest and we thank you for your suggestions and we thank you for your criticisms and we thank you for taking the trouble to come here on your own to make this contribution. You may rest assured it has great value, not only because you spent a great deal of work on it, but because you are a young and energetic group and for that reason we are very happy that

you came here. And you can go home and feel that you made a real contribution. Thank you very much.

Just before we close the meeting I wanted to just make a few observations. I think for the record they should be there. This morning in a response to a sudden invitation to visit the neighbourhood centre a subcommittee of the Senate did go along to the neighbourhood centre. They saw the centre and some of the subsidized housing as well as housing that was not up to the standard of the subsidized housing and they visited some of the homes and of course they will make a report. Last night Senators Sparrow, Fergusson and Pearson—we went out and we covered this same area that was covered today and looked over this area. Originally we had planned to go to the centre on Monday and we went, most of us, for—a subcommittee of us went to the manpower centre on Monday. We spent about an hour there from four to five. We then thought we would go on to the neighbourhood centre and found that it was inconvenient—that it hadn't been arranged, so it was dropped at that point. I thought that we were going yesterday afternoon and when we didn't we went out anyways and looked around and saw for ourselves. I think it should be made clear that in this committee we are intimately acquainted with poverty. We are acquainted with poverty itself in every aspect. Our difficulties are with solutions and they don't come too easy. There are not too many people offering solutions and that's why we came here. There were some exceptional briefs offered to us here today and it was worth walking this far in order to hear a couple of these briefs. There were some excellent briefs and on the other hand there were just briefs presented. We, of course, make as much use as we possibly can of the information that comes to us and we get a consensus of what people are thinking about and the amazing thing is that most people have some ideas how you can break the back of poverty but when the people speak of our involvement; there is a million people in this country in poverty. How do you reach them? I don't know. I have been in this business for forty years and no one else around this table knows except through their organizations if you possibly can get them, and we are not overlooking—this statement was made in the Senate last week and I am quoting. This is from page 29.

In order to contact the poor in every province two members of our community liaison staff have been across the country

twice to meet and visit with them. We think their involvement is essential because the poor have a role to play and must have a voice in their own destiny. A place must be carved out for them round the decision tables and once and for all if we are going to succeed they must enter the in group.

That was the chairman speaking as late as last Tuesday. We are not unaware of what is needed in this country, but it's just hard to deliver it all in one day or that quickly.

Now, let me before closing say that Dalhousie University which is traditionally and historically open to all people was opened to us. We thank them for the accommodation and we thank them for the excellent arrangements that have been made here. The Committee benefited from the interest of two particular young people, Dorothy M. Campbell and Frank Glasgow. They helped with the technical arrangements and Miss Campbell is in the third year Nursing at Dalhousie University and she is very active on the student council. Mr. Glasgow is the original Liaison Officer in the Citizenship Branch. We wish to thank them. In fact, wherever we turn, we had people welcoming us and greeting us and they said to us "How can we help?" We understand the frustrations of the poor. We understand their difficulty. We understand what they are up against and when they say "Surely you must know where they are and how they got there". It's not that easy. We have said time and again for the first time in the history of this country someone has been given the task of looking at the poor in totality; the whole of them—and we have been able to identify the poor which is more than has been done on other occasions. We can tell you how many there are and we can tell you where they are and we can tell you what classifications that you can put them into and that is progress.

We have people discussing this and there is a dialogue in this country on the poor and no one is running away from this question. The leaders of the political parties have declared themselves on it. There is a constant dialogue going on. There is attention to a committee that comes into Halifax to try and do a job. Some people don't like the way it does that job, but the fact is that the people in Halifax know that there is a committee—a Committee on Poverty, so there is interest here and that in itself is progress. We are quite content and we are very happy to have been here and

heard the people and we thank those who prepared very good and excellent briefs and we learn as we go along. This young man said to us, "How do you expect us to do fifty briefs? We are poor, we can't afford to do that sort of thing." The Director is sitting beside

me and we have decided that in future they may send one brief and we will make the copies. All these things we learn as we go along. Thank you very much and it's been very pleasant being here.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

NOTES ON BRIEF
ON POVERTY
SUBMITTED TO SPECIAL
SENATE COMMITTEE

The Nova Scotia Association
for the Advancement of
Coloured People.
November 5, 1969.

Mr. Chairman, we are here because of our concern for the over-representation of the blackman in the poverty picture in N.S.

Definition

We will not attempt a full definition of poverty as we believe that such a definition has already been given by others such as the B.U.F., The Economic Council of Canada, The Institute of Public Affairs, suffice it to say that *the essence of poverty is the individual's lack of self-respect in the sense of standing in the community.*

Income and Employment

Poverty as defined above is not completely removed by the institution of a guaranteed annual income alone. Concomitant with the guaranteed annual income there must be provided meaningful employment for everyone.

Development Programmes

Over the years there have been in this province a number of development programmes—A.R.D.A., A.D.B., I.E.L., A.P.E.C., V.E.P., R.EEX. These programmes have had least effect on the black (and Indian) poor. Studies done on black communities 5-10 years ago if repeated today would show that there has been very little change. Future development programmes must be poor people, black people, ethnic minority oriented.

Education

The correlation between education and prosperity is too obvious to be further laboured by one. The Dalhousie Institute of Public Affairs brief has adequately made this point. It thus follows that to remove poverty, to find a permanent solution to poverty as opposed to mere stop gaps a major break through must be made in the area of education. Education is a shared responsibility of both the provincial and federal governments.

Public School

The blackman would like to see a trend towards a more global perspective in curriculum content which would portray our people in a true light. Everyone must be informed of the blackman's contributions to history, science, the arts—federal grants to the department of education for curriculum development could solve that problem.

Head start

There is now no doubt in most peoples minds as to the significance of pre-school education in the fight against poverty. The federal government can really get its teeth into this aspect of education by providing adequate financing for research, programme development, staff training, and implementation. This could be done through direct grants to local universities with the stipulation that the development and implementation be a joint responsibility of their faculties of education, psychology, and sociology.

(demographic studies—sociology)

(human psychology—psychology)

(curriculum development and methodology—education)

Adult Education, Job Retraining, Vocational Training

Because any plans for substantial industrial expansion must definitely include the black work force, the black work force must be substantially represented in all job training or retraining programmes for new jobs created by Mr. Marchand's department.

Human Rights

Prejudice, discrimination and community attitudes have been successful in making and keeping the black man, and the Indian, poor. Those of the white community who argue that they have not indulged in such practice have condoned them by allowing them to take place.

These attitudes can be changed, or at least controlled, if along with the educational break through there is rigid enforcement of human rights legislation. This legislation is today most meaningful when qualifications are equal. Therefore once qualifications are equal, enforcement must guarantee equal access. Education and human rights go hand in hand.

Conclusion

The blackman demands to be involved in all decisions affecting him consequently the N.S.A.A.C.P. or the B.U.F. should be the first to be advised and consulted about all initiatives or plans, or proposed initiatives concerning the black people of N.S.

We as a people do not want to be wards of the state, nor do we want to be a special case in the welfare budget. We, the black people of Nova Scotia want jobs like everyone else; we want jobs in accordance with our educational capacities and aspirations.

We want to make our equal contributions to society. We want equal access.

APPENDIX "B"

BRIEF

to the

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON
POVERTY IN CANADA

Submitted by

STUDENTS OF SOCIAL DEVIANCE CLASS

Sociology 340

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INTRODUCTION

This report on poverty is a summary of the personal views of some fifty (50) students all of whom expressed their ideas as to what is the cause and what the solution to the problem of poverty in Canada. Consequently, many of the ideas expressed will have a local flavour since many people relied upon personal experiences to explain poverty and to show how existing agencies are neither sufficient nor efficient.

For many, poverty was mainly perpetuated because of lack of education and the solution for them seemed to be that of educating people. Others felt that poor and inadequate housing was a major cause of the poverty cycle and therefore housing, it was felt, should be a major concern. Still others seemed to think that the problem was basic to dollars and cents. The poor just did not have enough to live on and therefore, a guaranteed annual income was the solution. Opposition to this idea was expressed by those who felt that a guaranteed annual income would only create more poor or new poor. It will be much easier for those people who do not want to work to sit back and enjoy life. After all they are getting a guaranteed annual income which will insure them the basic needs of life.

For the most part, education, housing, and income, i.e. the guaranteed annual income, seemed to be recurring themes in many of the papers. These then, will be our major areas of discussion.

Our class conducted a formal vote on policy recommendations of the Canadian Welfare Council (43 participants) and results are given in Appendix B.

PREFACE

The cause, rise and incidence of poverty we have found to be quite closely related to housing, education and income. Each of these three areas has been looked at in order to determine what effect they have on poverty, and in what way they can be changed to lower the incidence of poverty.

In housing it was found that inadequate housing can perpetuate the poverty cycle. Those who grow up in poor surroundings usually have no conception of anything better and they continue the pattern of life which is so early established.

We recommended that a co-op housing policy be enlarged and encouraged by government assistance. This would supply not only adequate housing but also good surroundings which would give the children of the poor a chance to break out of the poverty cycle. The psychological effect of a family working towards a common goal is immense. It provides incentive and makes a person proud of owning his own home.

From the survey which was conducted on housing for single working girls it was concluded that existing housing was for the most part too expensive and often sub-standard. This was discouraging and for those who had little opportunity for advancement it could only encourage poverty.

It was suggested that the following recommendations be adopted:

1. A provincial scale to determine standards for rooming houses and apartments should be set up.
2. An official should see that the standards are enforced.
3. Rents should be made to coincide with the facilities being offered.
4. Government housing of some type should be set up.

In the field of education we found one of the basic weapons to combat poverty. The uneducated and unskilled cannot get employment which will enable them to enjoy a basic standard of living. Thus they are poor. Edu

cation and training will enable people to find jobs which will raise their standard of living and make them independent.

Great emphasis was placed on the education of the children of the poor—again with an aim toward breaking the poverty cycle.

Adult education was encouraged but it was considered that it is just as important to provide jobs after the training has been completed. It was also thought that training should be based on the type of industry which is located in the area where the program is being held.

With higher education we concluded that the Student Aid system was permitting some to live on easy street for a few years. Student aid, it was felt, should be more in the form of bursaries with the qualifications for it based on need and success.

The final major topic which was reviewed was income. For the poor whether they are now on welfare or are earning a subsistence wage, something must be done to make their earnings relative to the cost of living. This it was concluded can only be accomplished by a guaranteed annual income. It was recommended that the best means of bringing this about would be with the adoption of the negative income tax.

HOUSING AND THE POOR

In our study we found that housing and poverty are directly related. Most of the poor are living in slums, or at least in inadequate housing. One case in particular we have noted points all too clearly to the problem at hand. This incident has been witnessed by one of the members of our study and he feels that his evaluation of the situation is a modest one.

The Gautier family live in rural Quebec. Both parents were raised in lumber camps and therefore have no education. Neither can read or write. They have eight children. Presently they are living in a one-room shack which has been built out of old lumber salvaged from a dump. The family, of necessity, sleep together. Plumbing and electricity are non-existent. The family is on welfare and Mr. Gautier works only sporadically.

Clearly this case is in the extreme but it does emphasize our point. Housing for the poor is inadequate and this, we contend, is one of the major factors which perpetuates the poverty cycle. Children raised in these surroundings can have little hope of ever having a proper outlook regarding family life. They will grow up in the surroundings and will fall victim to the same type of life.

If adequate means of housing could be provided for the poor it could only have the effect of helping to reduce poverty. As an explanation of this and as a means of reaching this goal we would advocate more extensive use of co-op housing. This would accomplish many goals. Primarily it would provide adequate housing. Besides this the co-op idea gives people incentive. They are working towards their own home. Because of the built-in educational program they are bettering themselves. In addition a new atmosphere will be provided for the family and the children would, because of this, be given more of a chance in life.

Co-op housing then has many advantages. We think it to be quite an important step towards the break-up of the poverty cycle. Consequently it is our recommendation that this type of housing be encouraged and that the three branches of government should share in this effort.

After all poverty is not just a federal concern, but rather, one which is, or should be, a concern of all branches of government. Through loans and subsidies the government can encourage this plan. Loans make the builder feel that he is paying for it himself. He is not just getting a hand-out. This gives him incentive and makes him proud of his work. This pride in what one has and is doing goes a long way to help people to improve themselves. Nevertheless, today, because of high interests on mortgages, subsidies toward payment of interests for the lower income groups is necessary in addition to loans to make home ownership an accessible goal to them.

There is a further aspect of housing which we would like to consider. It is one which, in many cases, precipitates poverty. Our knowledge of this and our recommendations concerning it are based on a survey which two of our members did. The survey together with its results are given in Appendix "A".

Briefly the survey covers the area of housing that concerns the single working girl. This for the most part is an assessment of the types of housing available with suggestions for improvement.

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

Guaranteed Annual Income and negative Income Tax are topics of current discussions among the political minds of our country. On this topic, the noted psychologist Erich Fromm says: "This right to live, to have food, shelter, medical care, education etc., is an

intrinsic human right that cannot be restricted by any condition, not even the one that he must be socially useful."¹

It was suggested that the poor in society are poor because they are striving to keep up with others. Often debt is incurred in this attempt. An actual case may help illustrate this. The family in question has eighteen children. The fathers' salary is small, not by any means enough to support such an army. For over a decade this family has lived in a two room shack (about 18 by 11). The windows are stuffed, there is but one bed. The father shaves in the same bucket out of which the family drinks. There is a television but not a chair in the house. The parents have, after a long period of struggling, accepted their environment as part of their pattern of living. They have become fixated to a certain living habit. It can be said that money is not the total solution to this problem but it is with an economic base that we must begin in this case.

There is a second case which we would like to bring to the attention of the committee. In this case we have a widow with eight children:

- 3 in university
- 2 in school
- 2 working
- 1 married

This widow is not working but receiving compensation of approximately \$3000 yearly. Average income in her city is \$5400-\$6000 yearly. Now, if this widow goes to work, her pension stops.

What we believe would benefit our two cases and what we would like to propose for similar cases is a universal graduated negative income tax. The graduated scale would be relative to individuals, couples, and families. For example, a laborer with a wife and three children and a salary of \$6000 per year, may be allowed an immediate tax deduction of \$3000, leaving him with a total of \$3000 to pay taxes on. A laborer with the same salary but only one dependent may be allowed an immediate tax deduction of \$1500 leaving him with a balance of \$4500 to pay taxes on.

This basic tax deduction will be determined by the government and simply consists of the minimal amount of money needed by an

individual, couple, or family, for food, clothing, and shelter. This amount may vary from year to year, depending on the rising or lowering of the cost of living from year to year. If a wage earner's fixed income is not enough to cover the determined minimal for existence we propose that his actual income be supplemented up to the established floors by payments from the Treasury.

For those who are not wage earners but are presently on assistance, their incomes, we feel should also be supplemented to the determined minimal amount for existence. This method of determining what is the minimum amount an individual could survive on, would also serve as a check on whether government assistance plans were at present adequate or antiquated.

What we would further like to propose is that with this system of the negative income tax, approach the present system of youth allowances be dropped since family allowances will be combined in this method of tax deductions measured by the number of dependents.

We believe such a universally applied system would be cheaper to administer than present facilities and there would also be much less stigma involved. We propose that we are carrying the Keppler report one step further so that everyone in Canada will have the guarantee of a subsistence income and not only the old aged, blind and crippled citizen (the economically unproductive) whose fate it appears would be the same for all time.

One may ask what a graduated negative income tax would accomplish? To answer this question we would like to quote the economist Clarence E. Ayres: "With the guarantee of a subsistence income, so that, come what may, they could feel assured that they would not starve to death, most of the present victims of poverty would make an effort of reorienting themselves to the industrial economy."²

TYPES AND ELEMENTS OF POVERTY

Poverty is a lack of possibilities. In an economic sense it is the lack of money to buy material possessions. But common consensus qualifies this view by making poverty absolute with regard to a standard in numerical terms. Thus the Bureau of Statistics in 1961

¹Theobald, Robert, (editor); "The Psychological Aspects of The Guaranteed Income", *The Guaranteed Income*, Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N.J., 1966, p. 184.

²Theobald, Robert, (editor), "An Institutional View", *The Guaranteed Income*, Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N.J., 1966, p. 176.

draws the line of poverty at \$1,500 per person, \$2,500 for two and \$4,000 for five. Forms of economic poverty are three:

1. Crisis poverty, where an accident or illness occurs.
2. Depressed area poverty such as the closing down of a mine, etc.
3. Long term poverty such as handicaps or old age.

Each must be compensated either temporarily or permanently.

Poverty is also a lack of social identification with the rest of society. The "culture of poverty" binds the poor together due to common characteristics such as lack of education, poor housing, lack of participation in the rest of society due to psychological as well as physical barriers, aggression, and deviation, and lack of incentive, which is the key to self help.

Elements of poverty can be seen in living conditions where the lack of positive attitudes result in a hopeless acceptance of filth and unsanitary conditions. Dress and manner display the plight of many. Speech also portrays the orientation and socialization of an individual which often marks him for life.

Poverty is often hidden or unknown to the poor if placed in context of "everyone is the same". Thus poverty is often seen objectively by outsiders who do not realize that values and community spirit in the negative sense can have a solidarity effect, making it harder to alleviate the pain of not having. Thus the poor must become aware of their situation, not just knowing that they are poor but knowing the possibilities and services available to them. But first of all they must become educated in a very elementary sense. Their values and attitudes must change and this can be done only by and with the help of those that are in the position to—the larger society.

EDUCATION

One of the most effective weapons in the fight against poverty is education. Education must help formulate the attitudes of the general public regarding poverty. For example there is no stigma attached to those who receive various pensions or family allowances yet those who receive welfare are "branded". This is the result of public ignorance. The general public must be made aware of:

1. conditions surrounding the poor,
2. the functions of our welfare system,
3. its necessity.

Information centers should be established where the public can obtain such knowledge and those in need of assistance can find out what is available to them.

EDUCATING POVERTY STRICKEN CHILDREN

Poorer families are not education orientated. The sooner the youth brings home any type of income the happier the parents seem to be. Therefore the youth is not provided with intellectual stimulation or encouragement to remain in school. The most pressing problem in educating poverty stricken children is to give them incentive. They must feel that they can accomplish something in school; that they are not destined to live in poverty; that there is hope.

It is especially important at the elementary level to have a teacher who understands and can influence the children for it is at this age that study habits and attitudes are formed. By the fifth or sixth grade it is usually quite obvious to the teachers who the potential drop-outs are. It is then that they should begin to stream the children into a vocational or other practical course in order to keep them in school. There is also a need for guidance councillors at the junior and high school level.

Better use should be made of the school building itself. It should be opened the year round to everyone—not only for classroom studies but for recreation, meetings, library facilities, etc. Also we feel that more physical education programs would benefit both the physical and mental health of the children.

ADULT OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM

We feel that the Adult Occupational Training Program is a worthwhile assistance program. However, we recommend a change in the format of such a program. Before introducing our proposal we will attempt, by use of an example, to describe what is wrong with the present format.

At Point Edward, Nova Scotia, a small area outside Sydney, men, without much formal training or education, are taking various trades such as auto mechanics, plumbing, and carpentry work. Upon completion of this course the individual, in most cases is unable to find work in the local area, and thus will settle for almost any job. Therefore, the purpose of the training program is defeated. Now we realize that it is almost impossible to

guarantee every individual who attends trade school at Point Edward that he is going to get a job in the local area, but we feel we have a possible solution which would increase the prospects.

There is located at Point Edward a car producing plant. If men could be trained in various operations of this car plant, then upon completion of their course they could obtain employment at the car plant. The point we are trying to make is that the government, before setting up Adult Occupational Training Programs, in any area should survey the leading industries or potential industries of the area, check with management of these industries concerning the hiring of properly trained local personnel, then set up the trades program. It may cost more initially to set up such specialized training but we feel long run gains would prove worthwhile.

STUDENT AID PROGRAM

The student aid program has enabled many students to attend colleges, universities, and other institutes of higher learning, who under normal circumstances would be unable to do so. We feel however, that the government (federal) should set up a bursary system. The bursary system, we feel, would consist of reducing the amount of the loan of a successful "graduate". The reduction would act as an incentive for students who apply for loans, to graduate rather than having a vacation on government funds for a few years.

On the provincial level we think the Nova Scotia government should modify its bursary program. What we would suggest here is that the government place a contingency on its awarding of bursaries. The contingency would be that the individual have a passing score in at least four academic subjects from the previous year. Under the present system there is no incentive for an individual to achieve high standing. For the individual who did not achieve the standard to be eligible for a bursary, we propose the provincial government set up a loan system whereby a student could borrow the same amount as a student bursary would be. If the student achieved the standard during that academic year he would not have to repay the loan. *However, a student would be allowed this form of probation only once in his academic career.*

APPENDIX A

A questionnaire was administered to twenty-nine single working girls (ages 18 to 23) in the town of Antigonish. The survey includes a cross-section sample, lab-technicians, secretaries, clerks, kitchen help, hairdressers, waitresses and trained personnel.

From actual observation we noticed that the quality of many rooms did not coincide with the price being paid. Some girls realized this and commented "We take what we can get", "It will have to do". However, others in sub-standard conditions did not seem to recognize this fact, that these were conditions below the standard of our present day social status. They had very little finances and the bulk which was being paid out had little comfort or even a suitable living quarter to show for it. These were girls who had no future hopes of attaining a better job with higher wages, so they had nothing ahead of them, to advance them from this state of poverty. Other girls in the same state, e.g., students and higher paid personnel regarded these quarters as merely temporary and had the idea that better things were ahead; so for them this situation doesn't mean a lifetime condition.

In one instance there were seven (7) rented rooms in a rooming house and only one bathroom. In some of these rooms there were two (2) and three (3) girls. Question—"Do you have a private bathroom?" Answer—"When you can get into it."

Another example of poor conditions was endured by three girls in one room. This room was said to be furnished, however, these furnishings included two beds, one dresser with three drawers and two hooks on the back of the door and no closet. These girls received clean linen every three (3) weeks, and are paying weekly rent of seven (\$7.00) dollars each.

As a result of our collected data and general observations the following recommendations are made:

1. Apartments and rooming houses must meet certain standards set on a provincial scale.
2. A base should be set for the rent to coincide with the facilities being offered.
3. More housing opportunities should be made available by government sponsored programs for the individuals in the bracket investigated.
4. An appointed government official should check conditions regularly and enforce required standards.

QUESTIONNAIRE:

1. In what year did you begin renting?
2. Are you presently occupying the same apartment? If not, why?
3. Is so has the rent been raised since you first occupied the apartment? Why?
4. Was your apartment furnished or unfurnished?
5. Are you sharing your apartment with others? If so, how many?
6. What is your take-home salary per week?
7. What is your rent charged per week?
8. Does this include your heat and electricity?

9. If not what is your average heat and electricity bill per week?

10. What is your average expenditure on food per week?

11. "A" How many rooms are included in your apartment? "B" If you occupy a rooming house, how many other rented rooms in the house?

12. Do you have a private bathroom?

13. Do you think the size of your apartment or room adequate or inadequate?

14. Do you think your rent is reasonable?

15. What are your complaints or disadvantages concerning your rent, room or apartment?

Question No.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Person 1.	1969	No, doubled up	—	Furnished room	Yes, 1
2.	1968	No, didn't like	—	Furnished Apartment	Yes, 3
3.	1969	No	—	Furnished Trailer	Yes, 1
4.	1966	No, found better	—	Unfurnished Apartment	Yes, 4
5.	1969	Yes	No	Furnished room	No
6.	1968	No, rents high	—	Furnished Trailer	Yes, 2
7.	1969	Yes	No	Furnished Apartment	Yes, 4
8.	1967	Yes	No	Furnished Room	Yes, 1
9.	1969	No	—	Furnished Room	Yes, 1
10.	1965	Yes	—	Furnished Room	Yes, 3
11.	1969	Yes	—	Furnished Room	Yes, 2
12.	1968	Yes	No	Furnished Room	No
13.	1969	Yes	No	Furnished Room	Yes, 1
14.	1967	No	—	Furnished	No
15.	1969	No	—	Furnished	Yes, 1
16.	1967	Yes	Yes, \$10.	Furnished	Yes, 2
17.	1966	No	—	Furnished	Yes, 4
18.	1968	Yes	No	Furnished	Yes, 1
19.	1968	No	—	Furnished	Yes, 3
20.	1969	Yes	No	Furnished	Yes, 2
21.	1969	Yes	No	Furnished	Yes, 2
22.	1969	Yes	No	Furnish, a little	Yes, 1
23.	1968	No	—	Furnished	Yes, 1
24.	1969	Yes	No	Furnished	Yes, 2
25.	1968	Yes	No	Furnished	No
26.	1969	No	—	Furnished	Yes, 2
27.	1967	Yes	No	Furnished	Yes, 1
28.	1968	No	—	Unfurnished	Yes, 1
29.	1968	Yes	No	Furnished	Yes, 1

Special Senate Committee

Question No.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Person 1.	\$35.00	\$ 8.00 ea. (\$16.00)	Yes	—	\$12.00	B-3
2.	\$75.00	\$ 9.70 ea. (\$38.75)	Incl. Heat	\$2.00	\$ 5.00	A-6
3.	\$48.00	\$10.00 ea. (\$34.00)	Yes	—	\$ 7.00	A-6
4.	\$50.00	\$ 5.00 ea. (\$25.00)	No	\$2.00	\$ 8.00	A-5
5.	\$45.00	\$12.00	Yes	—	\$14.00	B-3
6.	\$75.00	\$12.50 ea. (\$37.50)	Yes	—	\$ 6.00	A-5
7.	\$37.50	\$ 8.00 ea. (\$40.00)	Incl. Heat	\$1.00	\$ 5.00	A-5
8.	\$37.50	\$ 5.00 ea. (\$10.00)	Yes	—	\$10.00	B-3
9.	\$40.00	\$ 8.00 ea. (\$16.00)	Yes	—	\$10.00	B-2
10.	\$40.00	\$ 3.00 ea. (\$12.00)	Yes	—	\$20.00	B-3
11.	\$65.00	\$ 7.00 ea. (\$21.00)	Yes	—	\$15.00	B-5
12.	\$50.00	\$ 5.00	Yes	—	Free at work	B-7
13.	\$49.00	\$ 7.00 ea. (\$14.00)	Yes	—	\$11.00	B-3
14.	\$40.00	\$ 8.00	Yes	—	\$10.00	B-4
15.	\$62.50	\$15.61 ea. (\$31.32)	Heat only	\$6.00	\$ 6.00	A-5
16.	\$50.25	\$14.50 ea. (\$43.50)	Heat only	\$6.00	\$ 5.00	A-5
17.	\$85.00	—	Yes	—	\$ 8.00	A-6
18.	\$95.00	\$13.12 ea. (\$26.24)	Heat only	\$3.90	\$15.00	A-5
19.	\$34.80	\$ 7.00 ea. (\$28.00)	Yes	—	\$ 7.00	B-4
20.	\$40.00	\$ 3.00 ea. (\$ 9.00)	Yes	—	\$ 9.00	2
21.	\$38.75	\$ 7.00 ea. (\$21.00)	Yes	—	\$ 7.00	1-use of 5
22.	\$35.65	\$ 5.00 ea. (\$10.00)	Yes	—	\$14.00	B-5
23.	\$40.00	\$ 7.00 ea. (\$14.00)	Yes	—	\$ 8.00	B-8
24.	\$35.00	\$ 6.00 ea. (\$18.00)	Yes	—	Free at work	B-3
25.	\$60.00	\$16.25	Yes	—	\$13.50	A-4
26.	\$38.00	\$ 6.00 ea. (\$18.00)	Yes	—	Free at work	B-4
27.	\$52.00	\$ 8.00 ea. (\$16.00)	Yes	—	\$ 6.00	B-1
28.	\$80.00	\$13.75 ea. (\$27.50)	Heat only	\$4.50	\$17.50	A-5
29.	\$57.50	\$ 8.00 ea. (\$16.00)	Yes	—	\$16.00	B-1

Question No.	12.	13.	14.	15.
Person 1.	No	Adequate	No	No private entrance. Can't receive guests. Can't use electrical appliances in room. Landlady very unreasonable.
2.	Yes	Inadequate	No	Too small, no maintenance, not enough privacy.
3.	Yes	Adequate	Yes	—
4.	Yes	Adequate	Yes	Crowded and noisy.
5.	No	Inadequate	No	"I take what I can get." No kitchen privileges, no electrical appliances in room. Landlady unpredictable. "No spending money left."
6.	Yes	Inadequate	Yes	Not enough closet space.
7.	Yes	Inadequate	No	Rent raised because five in apartment, crowded, poor maintenance, have to wait to have things repaired.
8.	No	Inadequate	Yes	Not enough closet space, too small, no electrical appliances allowed in room.
9.	No	Adequate	Yes	"I starve."
10.	Yes	Adequate	Yes	Not much spending money.
11.	No	Adequate	Yes	—
12.	No	Adequate	Yes	Can never get in the bathroom.
13.	No	Adequate	Yes	—
14.	No	Adequate	Yes	Satisfied.
15.	Yes	Adequate	No	Too much to pay in general.
16.	Yes	Adequate	No	Basement apartment. No private thermostat.
17.	Yes	Adequate	Yes	Satisfied.
18.	Yes	Adequate	Yes	For Antigoni it is O.K.
19.	No	Inadequate	Yes	Too small.
20.	No	Adequate	Yes	Satisfied.
21.	Semi.	Adequate	Yes	Very satisfactory.
22.	No	Adequate	Yes	Furniture is not good.
23.	No	Adequate	Yes	Satisfied.
24.	No	Inadequate	Yes	Small, cold, no closet space, 2 P.M. latest out, fresh linen 3 weeks, no baths after 10 p.m.
25.	Yes	Adequate	Yes	Satisfied.
26.	No	Inadequate	No	Small, each use of hairdrier costs 50c, linen not looked after, one dresser between 3 girls, not permitted to go out after 10 P.M.
27.	No	Adequate	Yes	Satisfied.
28.	Yes	Inadequate	Yes	Too small, especially bedrooms.
29.	No	Adequate	Yes	Satisfied.

Poverty

3 : 27

	7b	9b	10b	7, 9, 10
Person 1.	22.8		34.3	57.1
2.	12.9	2.6	6.7	22.2
3.	20.8		17.5	38.3
4.	10.0	4.0	16.0	30.0
5.	26.7		31.1	57.8
6.	16.7		8.0	24.7
7.	21.3	2.6	13.3	37.2
8.	13.3		26.6	39.9
9.	20.0		25.0	45.0
10.	7.5		50.0	57.5
11.	10.8		23.1	33.9
12.	10.0		at work	10.0
13.	14.3		22.4	36.7
14.	20.0		25.0	45.0
15.	25.0	9.6	9.6	44.2
16.	28.8	11.9	10.0	50.7
17.	n.d.		9.4	n.d.
18.	13.8	4.1	15.8	33.7
19.	20.1		20.1	40.2
20.	7.5		22.5	30.0
21.	18.1		18.1	36.2
22.	14.0		39.3	53.3
23.	17.5		20.0	37.5
24.	17.1		at work	17.1
25.	27.1		22.5	49.6
26.	15.8		at work	15.8
27.	15.4		11.5	26.9
28.	17.2	5.6	21.9	44.7
29.	13.9		27.8	41.7

SUMMARY:

1. In what year did you begin renting?
1965—1, 1966—2; 1967—4; 1968—9; 1969—13.

2. Are you presently occupying the same apartment? Yes—16; No—13.

3. If so has the rent been raised since you first occupied the apartment? Yes—1; No—13; Not applicable—15.

4. Was your apartment furnished or unfurnished? Furnished—26; Unfurnished—3.

5. Are you sharing your apartment with others? If so, with how many? No—4. Yes—25; with 1 other—12; with 2 others—7; with 3 others—3; with 4 others—3.

6. What is your take-home salary per week? Between \$34 and 38—8 (2 free meals); \$39 and 43—5; \$44 and 48—2; \$49 and 53—5 (1—free meals); \$54 and over—9.

7. What is your rent charged per week? Between \$3 and 6—8; \$7 and 10—12; \$10 and 13—2; over \$13—6; no data—1.

8. Does this include your heat and electricity? Yes—22; No—1; Heat only—6.

9. If not what is your average heat and electricity bill per week? Between \$1 and 2—3; between \$3 and 4—2; over \$4—2.

10. What is your average expenditure on food per week: Free food at work—3; under \$6—3; between \$6 and 10—13; between \$11 and 15—7; over \$15—3.

11. A—How many rooms are included in your apartment? 1 to 3—1; 4 to 6—10; 7 to 9—1.

B—If you occupy a rooming house how many other rented rooms are in the house? 1 to 3—9; 4 to 6—5; 7 to 9—1.

12. Do you have a private bathroom? Yes—12; No—16; semi-private—1.

13. Do you consider the size of your apartment or room adequate or inadequate? Adequate—20; inadequate—9.

14. Do you consider your rent reasonable? Yes—22; No—7.

15. What are your complaints or disadvantages concerning your rent, room or apartment? Satisfied—8; dissatisfied—18; no comment—3.

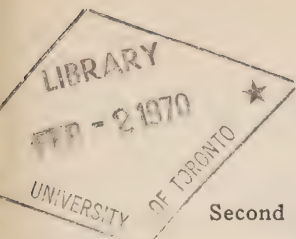
Special Senate Committee

APPENDIX B The Canadian Welfare Council, second printing; April, 1969), pages 71-77. Recommendations 37 and 38 were not included because

SOCIAL POLICIES FOR CANADA

Students of our class studied the list of Policy Recommendation and published by the Canadian Welfare Council in the publication Social Policies for Canada, Part 1 (Ottawa: aid. The class conducted a formal vote on the recommendations—43 students participating—and the results are as follows:

Recommendation Number	Approve	Approve with some Reservation	Disapprove	Undecided	No Opinion
1	42	1			
2	43				
3	37	5	1		
4	33	9	1		
5	38	4	1		
6	38	3	2		
7	35	6	2		
8	35	3	5		
9	43				
10	32	3	7		1
11	36		7		
12	40	1	2		
13	33	3	6		1
14	40	1	1		1
15	40	1	2		
16	37	4	2		
17	34	2	5	1	1
18	35	5	3		
19	39	2	1		1
20	39	4			
21	40	2	1		
22	41		2		
23	37	4	1	1	
24	39	3			1
25	36	3	2		2
26	41		1		1
27	39	3			1
28	37	3	1		2
29	39	2	1		1
30	40		2		1
31	35	7			1
32	41	1			1
33	37	2	1	1	2
34	40		1		2
35	38	2	1		2
36	39	1			3



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 4

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6th, 1969

WITNESSES:

Premier Task Force on Extended Care and Alcoholic Treatment Facilities in Prince Edward Island: Dr. M. N. Beck, Director of Mental Health, Province of Prince Edward Island; Dr. John Maloney, Obstetrician; Evelyn Cudmore, Community Worker; Mr. Robert Blakeley, Sociologist and Member, Economic Improvement Corporation of the Department of Development; Mr. E. C. MacDonald, Provincial Director of Child Welfare; and Mr. John Green, Co-ordinator, Human Resources Sector, Department of Development.

Fraternity of Grey Knights: Frank Sigsworth, Counsel for the Fraternity; and Barry Gass, Prefect Commander.

The Catholic Social Welfare Bureau: Lawrence MacPherson, Social Welfare Administrator.

Prince Edward Island Newstart Incorporated: Miss Andrene Fandford, Programme Designer; and Louis Richard, Counsellor.

APPENDICES:

A.—Brief submitted by Premier Task Force on Extended Care and Alcoholic Treatment Facilities in Prince Edward Island.

B.—Brief submitted by the Catholic Social Welfare Bureau.

C.—Brief submitted by Prince Edward Island Newstart Incorporated.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators

Bélisle	Fergusson	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Carter	Fournier (<i>Madawaska-</i>	McGrand
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	<i>Restigouche,</i>	Pearson
Cook	<i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Quart
Croll	Hastings	Roebuck
Eudes	Inman	Sparrow
Everett	Lefrançois	

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

PATRICK J. SAVOIE,
Clerk of the Committee.

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969.

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Confederation Centre,
Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.
Thursday, November 6th, 1969.
(4)

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Croll (*Chairman*), Belisle, Connolly (*Halifax North*), Cook, Eudes, Fergusson, Hastings, Inman, McGrand, Pearson and Sparrow. (11)

In Attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

PREMIER TASK FORCE ON EXTENDED CARE AND ALCOHOLIC TREATMENT FACILITIES IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND:

Dr. M. N. Beck, Director of Mental Health, Province of Prince Edward Island;

Dr. John Maloney, Obstetrician;

Evelyn Cudmore, Community Worker;

Mr. Robert Blakeley, Sociologist and Member, Economic Improvement Corporation of the Department of Development;

Mr. E. C. MacDonald, Provincial Director of Child Welfare; and

Mr. John Green, Co-ordinator, Human Resources Sector, Department Development.

In Attendance:

Mr. Clair Hill, Assistant Executive Director of the Hospital Services Commission.

At the conclusion of the Premier Task Force's presentation, the Chairman thanked Dr. Beck and the other participants.

The following witnesses were then introduced and heard:

FRATERNITY OF GREY KNIGHTS:

Frank Sigsworth, Counsel for the Fraternity; and Barry Gass, Prefect Commander.

In Attendance:

Curtis Barkhouse, Pro-Consul Adjutant.

At the conclusion of the presentation by the Fraternity of Grey Knights the Chairman thanked Mr. Sigsworth, Mr. Gass and Mr. Barkhouse for their valuable testimony.

At 12.15 p.m. the Committee adjourned until 2.00 p.m.

The Committee resumed its hearings at 2.00 p.m. whereupon Senator Hastings informed the Committee of the visit by a sub-committee consisting of Senators Belisle, Hastings and Sparrow to the Charlottetown City Lock-Up and the Queen's County Jail. During the tour, the Senators were accompanied by Alan Holman and Richard Lord of the Committee staff, Mr. Frank Sigsworth and two members of the Fraternity of Grey Knights.

The Chairman informed the members that a sub-committee had been formed to hear a joint brief submitted by Messrs. R. Paul Batchilder and Bernard A. Cahill during the hours of three and four in the afternoon and submitted by Mr. David Morrison during the hours of four and five in the afternoon. The sub-committee was chaired by Senator Pearson, with Senators Belisle, Hastings and McGrand as members. These briefs have been retained in the Committee's records.

The following witness was introduced and heard:

THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL WELFARE BUREAU:

Lawrence MacPherson, Social Welfare Administrator.

(Biographical information respecting the above witness follows these Minutes.)

At the conclusion of the questioning, the Chairman thanked Mr. MacPherson for his presentation on behalf of the Catholic Social Welfare Bureau.

The following witnesses were then introduced and heard:

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND NEWSTART INCORPORATED:

Miss Andrene Fandford, Programme Designer; and Louis Richard, Counsellor.

At the conclusion of the questioning, the Chairman thanked the witnesses for their presentation.

The brief submitted by the Premier Task Force is printed as Appendix A to these proceedings.

The Task Force also submitted in support of their brief, the report of the Premier Task Force on Extended Care and Alcoholic Treatment Facilities in Prince Edward Island, dated March 31st, 1969, together with an address by M. N. Beck, M.D. to the Rotary Club of Charlottetown, on October 6th, 1969, entitled "Helping Services for Youth in Prince Edward Island". These have been retained in the Committee's records.

The briefs submitted by the Catholic Social Welfare Bureau and Prince Edward Island Newstart Incorporated are printed as Appendices B and C, respectively, to these proceedings.

A brief by the P.E.I. School Trustees Association was presented to the Committee and duly acknowledged by the Chairman.

At 4.00 p.m. the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chairman.

ATTEST:

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHY

MacPherson, Lawrence, held the position of activities organizer for the Young Christian Workers (Antigonish Diocese) for a period of four years. He then supervised native residential students at Prince George College, Prince George, British Columbia for two years. Later, he attended the Nova Scotia Institute of Technology in Halifax and was granted a Social Welfare Worker Diploma. In his capacity as Social Welfare Administrator for the Catholic Welfare Bureau, he is involved in family counselling and the organization of a Day Care program in the Charlottetown area. Mr. MacPherson is married and resides in Charlottetown.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island,
November 6, 1969.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: This is a meeting of the Senate Committee on Poverty and we are holding this first meeting in the Province of Prince Edward Island. We are very pleased to have the benefit of sitting at Confederation Centre which is a national memorial. This is the birthplace of Canada and there is so much of our yesterdays and much of our tomorrows which begin here and still continue and for this reason it makes it a very special place.

The purpose originally over one hundred years ago—I don't have to repeat this—was to unite this country into a united people who will have their share of the wealth and bounty and goodness of this land. We are here today to pick the brains of persons in this province in order to obtain what help we can in our common fight with poverty.

I think it would be fitting if I reminded those here that a little over one hundred years ago our forefathers through will and determination overcame great obstacles to make this a great Canada. It is now our opportunity to display our will and determination to overcome and develop in order to keep it a great Canada.

Now, the first submission this morning is by the Premier's Task Force on Extended Care and Alcoholism Treatment Facilities in Prince Edward Island.

The brief deals with many matters of vital importance and on my right is Dr. M. N. Beck, Director of Mental Health for the province. He will be the first witness and he will introduce the people who are with him.

Go ahead, Doctor.

Dr. M. N. Beck, Director of Mental Health, Province of Prince Edward Island: May I first express, sir, my pleasure at being here and

draw particular attention to the first submission in our short brief that we first apologize for the inadequacy of our submission. We have explained the reasons for it on the first page. The primary reason is that most of us are not primarily professionally called day to day to be concerned with the poor and thus we did not attend to this matter when we heard about this Committee coming in the summer. Subsequently we were asked by your local representative to meet with you and this was in mid-October and by then there was certainly no time to prepare an adequate submission, one of which we could have been proud or one of which may have done a better job in a more organized or at least a more brief way of presenting our viewpoints.

We therefore have done the best we can. We have supplied to you a copy of the report of the Premier's Task Force, which is a very long document, many parts about applying to the needs of those in poverty and especially the introduction on the first chapter of that report.

Before I talk, having rendered a group policy, I would like to introduce the members of the group who are with me. We have all the members of the Premier's Task Force save one who is not now in the province, Mr. Lorne Murphy.

On my immediate right is Dr. John Maloney, obstetrician in this city who has been active in many things besides obstetrics for many years. Next to him, Evelyn Cudmore, a very active community worker over the past many years, a staff member on the Red Cross and presently president of our provincial united fund.

Next to her is Mr. Clair Hill, Assistant Executive Director of the Hospital Services Commission of this province, and next to him is Mr. Robert Blakeley who has been more concerned with poverty and who is a member of the Economic Improvement Corporation of the Department of Development, which group is concerned with the overall poverty of this province. He is a sociologist and has been

particularly concerned with the poor in this area. Those are the members of the Task Force who are with us.

We have supplemented our forces by having with us Mr. E. C. MacDonald who is the Provincial Director of Child Welfare and has perhaps rubbed shoulders more with the poor than any one of us here. Next to him is Mr. John Green who served for many years in this province as the Director of Family Allowances and then has taken on the additional task of the Old Age Pension. He knows these two fields very well and is now Co-ordinator of the Human Resources Sector of the Department of Development and has through these many past years been actively involved in many worthwhile community affairs, particularly those connected with welfare.

I would point out to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the other Senators present that our knowledge does not lie to intimate knowledge of the problem of poverty. Our background is quite diverse and not particularly focused in on this particular area.

We do feel that whatever contribution we can make to your deliberations (and we realize they are very very important ones) lies not in our particular knowledge of the poor or the theoretical background of poverty but lies rather in the kind of task force situation, save what Mr. Green concerns himself with, but this is a tremendous problem which we see inherent in the organization of the services by which we attempt to help the poor.

We are concerned and we have attempted to outline this very briefly on the second page of our submission. Perhaps I could start off by reviewing this with you as the centre of our discussion.

It is that chapter and also the summarization on the first page of Chapter 1 of this blue report. In there you will see the services which we think as a minimum should be integrated together in decentralized centres across the province. We have listed some 28 such services most of which we feel are intended to do the same type of thing for the same general group of people, most of whom we think have very much in common at the present time therapeutically and we really see this concept for decentralization tied in with integration of services as being sine qua non in the effective delivery of these helping services.

That idea, sir, is the main area where this group can be of help to you. As you said, this

is a tremendously important problem with which you are engaged.

The other appendix is an address which I presented to Rotary which was the publicized version somewhat of the content of the Task Force report.

After talking with you, Mr. Chairman, I would point out a couple of things which I think are very relevant to all. The first is this: Although this looks like an ideal province, in many ways, I can assure you, the presence of poverty in our midst is all too real.

I have introduced some statistics into the second appendix which are not found in the Task Force report of the interpretation we have of the Economic Council of Canada's figures because they show an estimate that there are 25,000 individuals in the province in poverty and that is well borne out by the fact that our main welfare bureaus over the past year of 1968 19,800 Islanders have indeed received financial assistance from our various welfare agencies and this is getting very close to 20 per cent of the total Island population.

Other figures I carried through, such as the fact that we find in the same year there were 585 children who were wards of the Department of Welfare; that we had in a two year period almost 4000 people appear in court with alcoholic-related offences and so far as we were able to count this is a minimum. We can count over 1000 alcoholics in this province.

The other thing in which you express particular interest and being a child psychiatrist I have a particular interest in myself is the problem of school dropouts. We are running about 15 per cent of our children dropping out of school at or before grade 9.

Now, many of these drop out at grade 5, 6 or 7, although the larger rate would drop out at the grade 8 level. Now, this is really a horrendous number of young people, 393 kids, roughly 400 kids, coming in to our labour market year after year after year at ages of 14 and 15 and this presents very real problems to the children affected and very real problems to society and in the next few years this problem will be peaking because of the post-war baby boom and there are two things that should be said about this.

The first is that many of these children are not at high school level of competence intellectually or socially. Their capacity, environment and academic milieu, which we define as schools, is limited. They are not suited to

the type of school system we now have and to say to keep them in school with our present school emphasis is, I know, a means of a solution.

Related to that is the fact that schools in this province and in most jurisdictions of Canada simply do not provide the type of program which is suited to these children's needs for their abilities. Having done, as it were, the basic academic exercises, reading, writing and arithmetic, by the time a person gets to grade 6 most of the reading and writing and arithmetic, which one requires to carry on ordinary life, is well achieved but having got to this limit the high schools are now doing very little to prepare these slow learning kids for life. In effect, by structuring no program through to them these kids are being very actively and very aggressively expelled from school without a formal expulsion. There is just nothing in school for them in most cases.

Any one of these topics I can assure you I can talk on at length and use up all our time. I will desist, Mr. Chairman, from doing this. I believe myself and the rest of the group with me are available to you and the rest of the Senators of the Special Committee to ask any questions you might wish to direct our way.

Senator Hastings: Dr. Beck, I would like to discuss the matter of school dropouts with you just for a moment, if I could. We have been told at most of our hearings that this is one of the great factors contributing to poverty in the Maritimes. We are also told that a child is affected at the early age of four and I notice in your brief you say three. We have to get to them at that age in order to maintain his will or his motivation for education.

I notice in your brief at page 3 you discuss the operation "Headstart" in the Province of Prince Edward Island. I wonder if you could start that one.

Could you just elaborate on that operation?

Dr. Beck: As you are aware, the emphasis of this is somewhat the "in" thing in the social services circles over the past five years. The theory of this is very sound and the theory is that basically the children of the poor are not only deprived economically, they are deprived culturally, they are deprived socially, they are under-stimulated and there is much evidence to back this up; and particularly they are understimulated in regard to the academic intellect type of achievement.

When children with backgrounds like this are faced with the school situation at age five or six, they undergo a great deal of cultural shock, among other things, and the attempt in operation Headstart is to introduce such children to intellectual stimulation and the type of middle class cultural milieu that is so fully represented by our school system and to drive through these problems.

This program has been operative in the States for some years now and we are studying to get preliminary reports on its effectiveness and these reports aren't all a glowing success.

The Chairman: Take the Westinghouse Report.

Dr. Beck: I cannot take that particular one, but the general impression I got from the reports is that in grade 1 the kids who have gone to operation "Headstart" do better than children who have not gone to operation "Headstart" but by the time you get to grade 2 or 3 age level, these two groups start coming together.

I would point out in saying this that this is very preliminary and the effect of operation "Headstart" really cannot be evaluated until about 15 years hence when we see what happens to the children here who had this early exposure in their career as opposed to children who didn't have this in their early career.

Senator Hastings: You speak of the Prince Edward Island Welfare day care. How many day care centres are in operation and how many are in contemplation?

Dr. Beck: I cannot give you a precise figure on that. We have had two in Charlottetown for the last year. One in Summerside. Operation "Newstart" has started one this year. You will have representatives from these groups with you later and I think they can give you the details.

Senator Hastings: Carrying this on: Then we go forward from the pre-school age to the school age. We have had evidence given that the high percentage of dropouts has contributed to your poverty in the Maritimes.

I wonder if you would care to let me have your observations or information with respect to a meaningful allowance to a student as an incentive so as to instill motivation to remain in school?

I am not thinking of the \$10.00 a month they receive now as an education allowance

but a meaningful payment to a student of \$20.00 a week in order to clothe themselves and bring themselves up to the standard of other students. Would that work as a motivation to keep him in school?

Dr. Beck: I will ask Dr. Maloney to speak to that because he has been a member of the School Board here for many years.

Dr. J. H. Maloney, Member, Premier's Task Force: My own impression of that is that that would not correct the basic reason why the child does not go to school. I don't think that we give him motivation with money. It might give him motivation to remain in school. It would not give him motivation to learn anything there.

I think that the basic problem is the school is too oriented academically towards college and that the curriculum is one that was inherited from the Middle Ages and teaches subjects that are not of use as the child sees it and—I think he is overall correct—as being of no use to him in living or of very little use.

I think the general conclusion is that this is not a useful way for him to spend time and therefore he does not go. He does not want to go. I think he is bored.

Senator Hastings: He feels rejected.

The Chairman: You were on the Board of Education and I think you had been qualified sufficiently beyond your other duties as an obstetrician. What subjects are there do you think are of no more significance and what attempts have been made to correct the situation since you say you are aware of it?

Dr. Maloney: I am not perhaps as aware as you think I am. I will give you my impression.

There are a great number of subjects which are taught in the schools that are not of any use to the children. For instance, let us take geometry. That was designed and worked out on the foot-plains of the Nile by a Greek. It really is of no use to a child at all. There are many of us here still stuffed with a lot of theorems such as theorem 28 or theorem 47 which is of no use to a student in the ordinary case. There are a small minority who may go into some form of mathematics or science that may use geometry.

You take mathematics. I think that all the mathematics a person really needs which may be to buy your groceries or to count your

pension can be done by grade 8 or 9 and to teach calculus to a great number of children is a waste of time.

You can go on for ever. Take French which begins in our schools at the 3rd and 4th grade and goes on in to the final years of school and there are a lot of children who after taking French for 7 or 8 years can't speak French.

If a manufacturer had a product upon which they worked for 7 or 8 years, I am sure they would certainly be able to produce the product at the end 7 or 8 years.

For example, history as it is taught is of the Battle of Hastings and what we should teach is a historical presentation and a history of how people have dealt with food and how they have dealt with having an inter-personal relationship.

Of our whole curriculum, I think you will find that 50 per cent doesn't pertain to the child living in the 20th century. If you are going to live in the 20th century you have to teach the principles of the great few, Marx, Freud, Darwin etc. If you are going to live in the 20th century you are going to have to know something about inter-personal relationship.

Take psychiatry; none of this is taught until the children are at college.

Mr. John Green, Member, Premier's Task Force: May I add a point to that.

We live with what everyone has described as this emotional age. These children are in school for 12 years and never are exposed to any technology. They have no exposure to the world. A child can go into grade 12 without any mention of the way he will live. By grade 12 a child should have reached a reasonable degree of training. They go into grade 12 completely neglected in this sense and completely unprepared for any kind of earning capacity.

Senator Pearson: Mr. Chairman, supplementary to that...

The Chairman: The doctor was just going to add to the question.

Dr. Beck: This is just one of the problems. I agree with what Dr. Maloney and Mr. Green have been saying but the main problem we have is with fourteen and fifteen year old children with limited academic achievement. What these gentlemen are speaking of are kids with normal intelligence and the school milieu is often more ill suited to the type of

children with which we are concerned than it is to normal children.

Senator Pearson: I was just thinking that with operation "Headstart", would it not be possible to segregate children into various classes for instruction that they might use later on; get them away from mathematics and algebra and get them into that sort of class.

Dr. Beck: We are expressing personal opinions here.

Dr. Maloney: The whole school curriculum is little adjusted to the present day. Like a child coming out of school and not knowing what it is that makes an automobile work. They have no idea what a piston does and so on.

What you are suggesting, I understand, is rather a special educational system for children of special needs?

My own feeling is that we should attack the weakness where it is and that is in the schools and in their attitude and in their orientation which is absolutely based upon college orientation so it does not affect most of those and particularly does not affect ourselves.

We have had experience with children who have passed through special classes or desegregated classes and these retarded children have not benefited either academically or socially by this segregated class and the scientific evidence that is now coming in indicates this to the point where we have to face that question very clearly and it indicates that at the present time the segregated system of education is not likely to be the answer.

Mr. R. Blakely, Member, Premier's Task Force: I would like to add to the form of presentation and perhaps get us back on the track here.

Some years ago I worked with the Training Centre for delinquency prevention control at the University of Minnesota which was looking at precisely the kind of problem we are concerned with, poverty, and they used big words like "cultural deprivation" to describe it.

One of the things we were centering on was the training of teachers for some schools and the re-designing of curriculum which was more relevant to the needs of these children. They didn't understand Gerry and Jane. Those big houses and cars and things, they really don't understand that and in this great

T.V. wasteland of ours, we should really understand that large numbers of these kids, particularly in Prince Edward Island consider these middle class homes in the situation comedies as a fairyland.

They have never seen anything like that. They would refuse to believe people do live like that.

Now, if you had one of your staffers here acquaint himself with what this training centre has concentrated on and what the effects of this program (which has been going for 4 or 5 years down there) has been in re-designing curriculum and in training teachers to teach the culturally deprived, I think you might pick up some fairly good information.

The Chairman: Doctor, whom should we contact there?

Mr. Blakely: Just the training centre of delinquency control at the University of Minnesota. I do not know who is running it now.

The Chairman: All right.

Mr. Blakely: Could I point out that actually our main competence that we bring, however, is in the delivery of health, welfare and related services. Maybe we might better spend our time pursuing this.

The Chairman: Do you want to say something, Senator Belisle?

Senator Belisle: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Beck, I believe you said a while ago our whole school environment is maladjusted to our present technological age and I agree. My question is this: What can we do to impress our provincial educators to change their present method so that a better educational milieu be made for all our children who are in the category that we have described.

Dr. Beck: I do not want to appear flip but the best I can do with that question, Senator, is to say that I would almost as soon try to change the Catholic church as try to change our school system.

Senator Belisle: May I add the Catholic Church, to which I belong, has made a considerable change in the last few years.

Dr. Beck: It required a very great deal of effort and this is the point I wanted to make in my flip remark.

This is not just simply a matter of changing curriculum. It is a matter of changing atti-

tudes. It is a matter of changing rules. Our school system has traditionally been almost exclusively fixed on this business of preparing children for college and I have asked in the last couple of weeks five, six or seven educators "What is high school for?" And the only answer I got is "To prepare children for university," so you are tied in with a whole social change in that question of tremendous magnitude.

Dr. Maloney: Mr. Chairman, to speak to this for a moment. Number one: I think why it is very difficult to change our educational system is because our educational system was one of the first things socialized and therefore it is quite rigid and the more rigid a system the harder it is to socialize it.

I think we have inherited the old Aristotelian idea of statism, that things were always the same; that they changed socially that it didn't affect a man much in his lifetime. I think we are coming now to the idea that change is what is and unchange is the thing that does not occur; that we live in constant change. We must adjust to change and therefore any system we bring in must always allow great flexibility.

My second point is: How do we change it? In what way, if you would change it, would you change it? I think the first thing to do is to throw out those things which are not relevant. There would not be a great deal of change in the first five or six years of school because in that time a child is learning the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. Those are the things he will use to educate himself further so that section of school, I think, is pretty well done now, but it is following that that you must start and throw out and make education relevant.

Now, the first thing you must do is to teach, above all, logic. We say in our schools now we teach children to think. We don't do this at all. We teach children to memorize. You see, if you are really teaching a child to think, for instance—again I go back to one of these theorems. If he mastered theorem 8 or whatever the problem was, you wouldn't then sneak in an examination on him six months later to find out if he remembered it, so this is really what you are testing.

In all these subjects you are testing memory. There is no course in our schools that teaches a child to think and yet this is the thing we all pay lip service to.

So the first thing you do is to teach the child logic. Anybody who has ever sat in on

any committee of any sort knows that the biggest bugbear that the chairman of a committee has is even to get people to talk relevantly because to many of our people this is a very very difficult thing to do.

The second thing is we subscribe and believe that the longer you talk about something the more important it becomes; so the first thing to do is to teach logic. Then you start in teaching subjects which are relevant. When you take history, for instance, the first thing you realize is that man lived for one million years before there was written history and all the basic problems and skills of living were learned at that time. This is neglected completely.

History—we go on to things like corn laws and all these battles, the War of the Roses and so on. I will not go into all of this. You know them better than I do.

The second thing is to teach him what he sees in the world around him. If you take today and go to our schools anywhere, I don't think there is 10 per cent of the people could identify 6 birds. They could not identify 6 trees. They don't know why there is a water fall in the middle of Ottawa that they happen to see. Why the St. Lawrence River runs south as it does. Why there is a building up a little hill and it slopes away as it does. They have no idea what occurs when you dig a basement, etc.

You could go on endlessly about the ignorance of the child towards the world in which he lives.

The second thing is: The greatest skill a man can have is the skill of inter-personal relationships and unless he learns those he is crippled for life. It holds him back. He never really reaches his full potential. We have no course at all in which this is done effectively. We have very little idea that this is even a problem or no appreciation of its importance and you could go on from subject to subject like this.

Mr. John Green, Co-ordinator, Human Resources Sector, Department of Development: I would like to answer the senator's question now.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Dr. Maloney: I thought I did.

Mr. Green: Dr. Maloney, there is a famous Dr. Maloney principle we have heard around here that Dr. Maloney created. You should never do anything for the first time. This is

one of the difficulties of making changes in the educational and school system. How do you go about changing the system? I think Dr. Maloney was talking of the content.

One of the things we have lived with for a long time is this myth of local responsibility in education. There is no such thing. I think if we are ever going to change the system we have to break it up into smaller pieces. We are simply not going to change the system by having the same people operate it.

On the island most of the proposals here, which you may be interested in and which is in context, is an attempt to set up larger units of administration, regional units which will generally be able to draw upon the larger base of common people and I hope that these people will be able to exercise some control over a lot of individuals' thinking.

I want to make one other point. There is an area in the western part of the province, a favourite of mine, around 400 schoolchildren in it and there are precious few of those kids ever get out of high school and a relatively small percentage get into high school and very very few into college; yet we continue to insert the same kind of school system into that section operating under the central agency here.

Now, this is utterly ridiculous. The things that John was saying are quite true. What is done in the schools must be changed; the methodology must be changed; the whole school era must be changed. The kids must be put out into the fields so that they are there as well as in the classrooms. These kids had nothing in their background to condition them after being in the classroom 5 hours a day and listening to someone natter at them.

The only way we are ever going to change this whole area—and this is a concentration of poor kids—is by giving control to the central office and into the regional office and try to insert some competence there to support the people in the area because surely to God they must know what is going on. We don't know here what is going on because we have done nothing about it for 50 years.

The Chairman: I have Senator Fergusson and Senator Inman in that order.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to ask Dr. Beck a question.

I refer to the section in his speech on page 1 where he suggests that T.V. is an important source of mental stimulation to children. This is rather refreshing, I think. It seems to me

that when I hear talk of T.V. it is referred to as an idiot box and the time that children spend looking at it should be very limited, but apparently this is not your opinion, Doctor Beck.

I wonder if you would elaborate on your opinion.

Dr. Beck: I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, I had no intention of getting into another one of my favourite interests, but I am afraid we are getting away as Mr. Blakely pointed out, from what I think is our unique contribution to make to the Senate. We have gotten locked into this school thing which is of such interest to all.

Senator Fergusson: I have another question if you would like to take it.

Dr. Beck: No. I will take your question because I would like to take your question.

The homes that are perhaps technically better classified as culturally deprived homes are characterized, among other things, by a lack of verbal stimulation, by a lack of other types of stimulation. These children are homebound by and large. If they live in one of our culturally deprived pockets in Prince Edward Island they very seldom move out of their own little community. They don't move into the villages, even. In the metropolitan areas they don't go beyond their own block. There are hundreds of kids in Toronto who have never been out of the two or three blocks they have lived in hardly. They do not know Maple Leaf Gardens. They do not know the Soo. They do not know any of these things.

The only effective attack that our society has made in penetrating that problem is T.V. and through T.V. we are getting into those homes and we are showing the kids something else. We are giving them verbal stimulation. We are stimulating their imagination. It may be in a fairyland kind of way that Mr. Green has described but at least their imagination is being stimulated now as it never has been before.

That is why I say when you see a little shack with a big T.V. antenna on it, we should say "Thank God" and not "There they go wasting their money again."

Senator Fergusson: The other little question I would like to ask—it will take only a short time—is that Mr. Green referred to regional service centres. I presume he was referring to recommendation one of the Task Force

Report. I know that it is not very long since the Task Force reported but I was wondering if you could tell us have any steps been taken to implement this study on regional centres?

Mr. Green: I was referring there to the regional units of administration in education.

Senator Fergusson: Yes?

Mr. Green: But I will answer your other question. We have an inter-departmental committee on human resources consisting of deputy ministers of the department. We are now undertaking a study of this concept and the extent to which this will be implemented will be based on the appraisal of the Committee of Deputies and their recommendations to Cabinet, but there will be some regionalization of service. It is a matter of how much the administration goes in regionalizing others. I think Dr. Beck pointed out we would like to take this opportunity to examine the concept.

Dr. Beck: To add a bit to that. The concept of the regional centre is written into the development plan. The report has been with the public now for some months. It is a politically attractive concept in the best sense of being politically attractive in that politicians, above all, are sensitive to the needs of people and see how this can fit into the needs of people.

It has not been introduced in the last speech from the Throne as an objective of the present government.

The problem will be there the same as the problem in the schools. It will be what I somewhere referred to as the twin devils of professional sectarianism and organizational rigidity; overcoming that type of phenomena so that people do not think of welfare as entirely different from health, and health as being entirely different than education and education being entirely different than manpower.

All these things are inter-related and of a piece but we are not now organized in such a way as to recognize that fact.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask this question of Dr. Beck with regard to education again.

Would you think, Dr. Beck, that pre-school classes or in other words, kindergartens would be a help in preparing children to integrate when they get into the older classes? Young children, as we know, are not assessed.

For instance, a child from three to five is not assessed if they are not dressed as well as the child next to them.

I had the experience of having my children going to kindergarten and I always thought it helped them in integrating better with classes when they grew up to the six and seven and eight year old classes.

Now, I suppose our system would have to be changed to bring this in but I think it is a good thing. They have it in other places.

There is another question I have at the same time.

Do you think that it would be a good thing if they had—as they do in other places—different streams? Now, the slow learners would not be in classes with those who learn quickly so they don't feel they are lagging behind.

Dr. Beck: Those are very important questions. My only reservation is that our time is getting limited.

In response to your first question might I say that your kids and my kids should not have kindergarten. That is a radical statement, but it is one in which I firmly believe. I think all we do by sending kids to school when they are five is that we are starting to train them for college one year earlier and I do not think they need that additional year.

My own feeling is that the greatest waste of money in Canada is kindergarten programs.

Senator Belisle: I disagree with you.

Dr. Beck: Now, if I could do it, what I would do is take the money we are now putting into kindergartens for rich kids and middle class kids and kids that do not need it—in Scandinavia they don't start their kids to school until they are seven and the Scandinavians are as smart as we are—I would take this money and I would direct it to the 15 or 20 per cent of kids who have these very disabling needs that you people are going to face all across the country.

The question of special streaming; I think we are getting enough evidence in now that streaming is a very questionable way of going about things because as well as bringing in some advantages it brings in this tremendous disadvantage of segregation and segregation always means, to some extent, alienation and difference and emphasis of difference rather than the same things.

Senator Belisle: I have just returned on the Science Policy touring Europe and Scandina-

vian countries and I wish to register that I disagree and these people disagree with your thinking.

I will shut up now.

The Chairman: Dr. Blakely, did you wish to join in this discussion?

Mr. Blakely: Yes. I am not a doctor yet but I am hoping. I think you will find that you have a great deal of interest in the Newstart presentation later today. Dr. Beck has mentioned the real problems that you are going to hit with the poverty kids but my opinion from talking to them is that they are even getting children five years of age who cannot speak yet and this is the level of the problem that we are facing in culturally deprived people here.

I have met adults and I have met children who cannot carry on any conversation because they don't know enough words to talk about anything except food and fishing.

Senator Connolly: I have a question Mr. Chairman for the chief witness.

Doctor, in the operations of your Task Force, did you ever have occasion to ask the victims of poverty what their solutions were for their conditions and if so did you ever have an opportunity to analyze their proposed solution?

Dr. Beck: May I reply to that by stating, sir, that we, as a Task Force, were primarily concerned with alcoholism treatment facilities and extended term facilities, long term care facilities and this is the reason I tried to prepare the ground today by saying our area of expertise is not in poverty and we therefore did not go to the poor because we were not particularly interested in that problem. This came in conjunctively like so many other problems did to our inquiry.

We are concerned rather with services and delivery of services to people who need them which again brings us back to the point, Mr. Chairman, I would try to get to the fore again the business of service delivery systems.

We do not have particular expertise in regard to poverty.

Senator Connolly: Did you find many of them resentful of the inquiries you made on them? Did they resent you as intruders into their private lives?

Dr. Beck: I expect they did but as is usually the case, we didn't hear about it.

The Chairman: Doctor, isn't there a poverty of service in this province? We are talking particularly of this province because you said you were not qualified as far as economics are concerned and we will accept that from you. Is there not a poverty of service?

Dr. Beck: Yes. I will ask Dr. Maloney to answer that.

Dr. Maloney: Mr. Chairman, yes.

I think in talking about poverty we are dealing with an example of what I was talking about earlier, a failing to take in logic and linguistic analysis in our ideas when we talk.

Poverty tends to be used in conversation with two different meanings at the same time and sometimes even in the same sentence. It would be better if we spoke about the needs of the people and then use poverty perhaps, if you wish, but at least arbitrarily lay it down one way or the other, poverty being the lack of cash income, or if you wish to use poverty for lack of all that a human needs in the milieu in which he happens to be using this then we should say so at first.

Now, for the moment I would arbitrarily state that a man has a number of needs one of which is cash income, but he also needs a wide spectrum of services. If you take all a man's needs in a lifetime for himself and his wife and family and put it in lineal dimension you might have a line this long and the cash income—depending on how complicated and civilized one becomes—really is not a very big part of that spectrum.

He needs his children to get to school. He needs medical care. He needs all these services, 28 of them I think we have listed in our regional service centre.

I might add in answer to one part of Senator Connolly's question we have on the Board of the Regional Service Centre the poor represented, two out of nine, is it?

Senator Hastings: Do you think that two out of nine is adequate?

Dr. Maloney: I don't know if it is adequate but I know this is one of the first times they have ever been put on a board at all.

Now, to go back to the question of man's needs. Instead of using poverty—I am restricting for the moment poverty as cash income—probably the most important thing is to get services.

You would then have your spectrum broken in two. You have all these services. The biggest thing that we need here is (a) the expansion of our services and (b) that our services be brought to the level of the people. This was the end for which we recommended the setting up of regional service centres in each area because the people who need these services are not articulate. They do not know how to make demands. They are very easily turned away. They are easily embarrassed. Your receptionist in such a centre could ruin the situation just by pretending she doesn't hear. She doesn't realize that poor people very often do not speak very well. They do not speak as we do, with a topical sentence at the beginning of a paragraph. They often start in the middle of the paragraph.

Now, if we are able to overcome two things: Number one is to expand our social services with more personnel and number two, bring these social services to the people; we then have satisfied to a great extent a large part of the segment of need which we classify under poverty.

You then come to the question of cash income which does not come under service. Now, in cash income I think the one thing we should think about is the Canada Assistance Act and the Canada Assistance Act (at least I think in everybody's opinion) is an excellent Act. It is broad and it has not been too narrowed by any regulation and has allowed a lot of flexibility.

But there are two ways in which you can wreck an injustice on people. The commoner thing in our tradition is that you apply the law unequally to equals but there is a second way that we are very often unaware of and that is that you apply the law equally to people in unequal circumstances.

Now, what we have done with the Canada Assistance Act federally is to enshrine the legislation with a method whereby people who are poor will get less than people who are not poor, and therefore widening the Act.

Let me explain how this operates. It operates as follows:

In this province our budget just cannot match the federal, that is we need much more welfare but our share which we can allocate in the budget towards welfare under the Canada Assistance Act is not large.

Now, if you go to another province in which the gross national expenditure for the product or wages or salaries index, whichever way you want to take it, is higher in Prince

Edward Island, they are able to allocate the larger amount of their money to match with the federal under the Canada Assistance Act and therefore their poor are able, even though they have less of them, are able to have more funds so this codifies the method in which the poor get less and those who have more will get more.

The Chairman: Doctor, your summation of the Act of which these Senators are well aware, is precise and exact.

Dr. Maloney: Thank you.

The Chairman: Let me just say one thing. We did not get across to you very excellent witnesses today and we have tried as a Committee to do that.

We have said time and again in Parliament and out of Parliament we are examining poverty in totality. We are concerned with income. We are concerned with services. We are concerned with who is going to carry the services so there is no aspect of it that we put any greater emphasis on; but the people we meet put emphasis on various aspects of it.

It does not make any difference whether you are in Prince Edward Island or you are in any other part of Canada the first need of anybody in poverty is money to begin with, and services extended from there.

That is perhaps why you got the impression we were concerned with that more than we were with any others but that alone will not solve these problems. We just want you to understand it is the totality and what we have in mind—what we have been discussing—(we have nothing in mind at the moment, our minds are working) we want to know the solutions.

What we are thinking about is perhaps we can find some way of having income come from the federal government and service come from the provincial government with an umbrella like the Canada Assistance Act available. That is our broad general thinking, so I don't think we are too far away.

Dr. Beck: May I add to that, sir, that the point where I am afraid our best ideas were floundering is with this method of delivery, and we are now yoked with a helter-skelter system of delivery of services which grew up like Topsy really.

The S.P.C.A. in Nova Scotia started the child welfare association and this grew into the division of Child Welfare eventually.

We come from an historical tradition of private initiative in all of these fields. There has been no overall planning. There has been no conceptualization of trying to tie together any mechanics to utilize the limited resources we have.

The Chairman: But, Doctor, it seems to me if the country adopts a minimum income, there are services that must be eliminated. You can't have them both. You can't have it both ways.

Now, I am going to ask you a question unless there is some Senator who would like to ask a question.

Senator Fergusson: Yes. I would like to ask a question.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Senator Fergusson: I am a little confused because I understood from what Dr. Maloney said we need services and money but money was the smaller part than the services. The services were really more important. Maybe I misunderstood.

Dr. Maloney: No. I think there are two different meanings here. The total of a man's needs—if you add up all a man's needs that he has with his family in his lifetime the total amount of services would come to much greater than his cash income.

You see, if you take what it costs him for schooling and everything else—let us say it costs a family, if you add everything that was given by the state, it might cost him \$12,000 a year but his cash income is only a quarter of that.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you.

The Chairman: I am satisfied that you people understand the problem and this question is for anyone who wants to take it, or all of you.

We began our welfare system, as you realize, Dr. Beck, back about 1929 and we are now in 1969 which is 40 years later. As you know, we built on it. We have got a first class group of laws providing very many requirements, as good as any in the western world including the Scandinavian countries—better, I think, than the Scandinavian countries—but in any even we have had many social measures that do not appear to have been of use to the public.

We are spending very large sums of money, I think up to \$6 billion total; 3½ billion by

the federal government. We have now almost approximately a million people drawing welfare in this country at the present time.

Dr. Beck, where have we failed ?

Dr. Beck: I think our services have failed, as far as I can assess it, in the contact of services with the people who need them, with an intimate knowledge of that single important position interfaced between client and helper, and I see no way of counter-acting that without developing a system of delivering these huge sums of money in a way so that interphase can become effective.

The Chairman: Doctor, you have got me confused now.

Dr. Beck: Can I start again?

The Chairman: Yes.

Dr. Beck: We have the funds and we have the staffs centrally located, people who are working in the system. Let us take Mr. MacDonald here, for instance. I do not use this in any disparaging way. He is tied up with looking at and looking after 585 child protection cases in one year.

Now, there is no human on earth can look at 585 persons in a professional way as individuals and if we divide this by this limited social work staff, they are running a case load of 80, 90, 100 or 150 and that human inter-action is not happening and the only way to do that is to get professionals out with the people and with limited numbers of people.

Let me talk about Toronto, what I call the Toronto syndrome, where you set up a mental health clinic that services Metropolitan Toronto, two million people.

This happens in Alberta. It happens in Prince Edward Island and it happens all across the country. The retardation services in Toronto serve all of Metropolitan Toronto. It cannot be done effectively. The retardation services or mental health services or welfare services, or preferably all combined, serving maybe nine blocks in downtown Toronto could work. A service in Prince Edward Island relating to the group in West Prince with maybe a total population of 10,000 has a chance of working because this human interface can then come into play.

Mr. Green: Mr. Chairman, may I add to this question?

The Chairman: Just a minute, Mr. Green. Wait until the doctor is finished and everyone will get a chance.

Dr. Beck: I think what I am saying, sir, in direct answer to your question is that if we try to deal with humans in need in huge numbers, even numbers as huge as the little province of Prince Edward Island, it is bound to fail.

The Chairman: It is what?

Dr. Beck: It is bound to fail, when this is our method of operation.

The Chairman: What you are saying is that we are dehumanizing these things. In effect, that is what you are saying.

Before we start again, is there anybody here who has a question or do any of the Senators have anything to say?

Dr. Maloney: Yes.

The Chairman: All right. Please make it short.

Dr. Maloney: I will just take two minutes and perhaps you could go down the line.

I think, Senators, that you have asked the basic question: "Why have we failed?"

Well, I think that the first thing one should do in solving the problem is to find out what the problem is. Now, anybody knows the answer to a simple question such as "Why are people poor?" There is, as far as I know, very real basic research on why people are poor.

I think we are getting into some thing here—and that is, we don't know what the philosophy on poverty is.

You see, what we are intending to do right now—I think there is an unconscious assumption to bring everybody up to middle class values and ways of thinking, etc. Now, I think that what one would find if we did the same research in depth on why people are poor, a great number of these people reject our values. They do not want them and I think the worst thing we could do is, under the guise of welfare, force a cultural change on a segment of our population.

Now, what do we do? Do we not do anything for them?—Not at all. I think we should supply the basic needs of housing or see they get the basic needs of housing, of clothing, of food, etc., and those services which allow their children to make a choice as to which class they wish to move in but let us not—under the guise of welfare—force a cultural

change on a group of people who may not like it at all because when we work 9, 10 and 11 hours a day, as the people in this room do, these people don't want to. They are not all up-tight as we are here now trying to figure out something. They are relaxed. This is a good way of life and let us just give them the basic needs in this.

Any time they signal they want more—they have the motivation—let us have an avenue open that they can immediately explore their own potential.

The Chairman: Did I hear you say these people who are in this position say this is a good way of life?

Dr. Maloney: Yes, I think so, because I think some do. I have asked a few but I would say a great number of them have never been asked.

So, what I am saying is that we may very well find out a great number of people do not want to be living the way we are living.

Senator Fergusson: That is right. Maybe they are right, too.

Senator Cook: And pay the price for it.

Dr. Maloney: And pay the price.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Green wanted to make an interjection.

The Chairman: Yes. Go ahead, Mr. Green.

Mr. Green: I knew I should never sit back here in the corner. I should apologize for my discourtesy to Dr. Beck. We have been working together for a long time and whenever Mac pauses, I start talking. It is the only way I can ever get in.

The major point I want to make on the guaranteed income proposal, to me is the way to make people stop being poor. If we are going to insist on giving them money to make them stop being poor I think we are trying to change their way of life. I came from a meeting at Miminegash last night where people are concerned with what we are doing, and this poor section of the province was concerned with what we are doing.

We are going to change a way of life that they have been accustomed to for 30 or 40 years. They can't change this way.

You spoke, Mr. Chairman, of the excellent welfare system we have. We have an excellent system in delivering money to people but we have not backed it up with services and

what these people would like are some services to make life more tolerable.

I am just going to take a couple of minutes to try and develop this.

I read a case recently of a Home Maker Service—and we shouldn't get into the case—but this woman had six illegitimate children, some by different men and four by a married man. She was dirty, filthy and their whole situation was bad. She was living with the children. They were unprotected. Finally they were reported to the Child Welfare. The Child Welfare Agency Director moved in and took the children out of the situation and the woman said "Everybody complains about how I look after my children but no one shows me how." She was 23 years of age. Then this woman had sense enough to realize that maybe this was true. Maybe she should be showed how so they put a home-maker to help her for 6 months. At the end of 6 months they managed to work a new pattern of living, caring for the children, getting more money and getting a sick child off for treatment.

At the end of 6 months the woman who had gotten very little more money from anybody said, "I didn't know it was possible to feel so good and still be poor."

Now, this is what services should do and money can't do. Money cannot make these people feel good. Services, support, encouragement, some kind of protection that will make them feel good as most of them want to, so this is the point.

Now, the second point I want to make is that P.E.I. and other areas in the country are in a situation with poor people who say, "If we can afford to buy a freezer, we can save money on the grocery bill but we cannot afford to buy a freezer and because we cannot afford to buy a freezer, we cannot afford to buy half a beef at one time."

We can save money on welfare if we can provide services. We cannot afford to provide services. This means we are spending more of the Canada Assistance Act plan money and the federal government has got to share in it. So with the failure to put money into the services Canada is supplying us with more money than they should do.

Mind you, the federal government can afford to make these long-term investments. They can afford to give us money to supply services so that in the long range both of us will save money. Both of us will help the people we are trying to help.

Now, the Canada Assistance plan would not do it. That formula is a silly formula. It will not do it and the way that it apparently operates it looks to me as if we are five years away in changing that bloody formula; so that there must be some new mechanism to give money to the areas that need the supply services and five years is too late. It will just be wasting money and we are not helping the poor.

If I could make one more point with regard to the services for the poor. I was in a place where I met a public health nurse coming out. As I was coming out I met the Director of Child Welfare, three of us at one house within an hour. The woman did not resent it. She got accustomed to it because we are doing this to them all the time. They just have a tolerance for this sort of thing but that does not mean we should not stop doing it. This is what we would like to do with regional centres.

There is one other thing. I was at Tignish and there is a local woman who is in the Red Cross organization and she told me about having, through her own efforts in the area, identified five or six children who had physical deformities from birth and were not attended to because the poor people did not know there was a service.

We have this game with the poor. The first thing they have to figure out is, "Is there a service I need?" The next thing is, "Where is it located?" "Who should I talk to when I get there?"

So finally they drive into Charlottetown. They go to one agency and they say, "Yes, we will do this little part of it but you have to go to the next office for another little part," so they go there and they say, "Oh, go to the Family Allowance office and fix up that part of it." Then they send them down to Manpower and they fix up that part of it and if I was the poor, I would go back home by this time because we shuffle them around. We never tie the thing together, so I want to advance the service centre concept in order to identify the needs of the area we have to put people in the field. In order to provide the service we have got to have the people there knowing what the poor want.

You cannot find out what the poor want by bringing them before this kind of a Committee. If the poor are rejected, they won't come here. They are scared to come here. If I was poor, I would not be here.

Now, the third point—what is the third point?

The Chairman: Let me make the first point, Mr. Green. As a man who is in contact with the poor and whose job it is—do you not know what the poor want?

Mr. Green: I have some reasonably good ideas.

The Chairman: Well, between the group you have sitting here in front, here is Mr. MacDonald who is in the division of child welfare. No one gets more closely to a family than that particular aspect of the problem. I should think if he told me and as I am going to ask him now to tell me—what have you to say, Mr. MacDonald?

Mr. E. A. MacDonald, Director, Division of Child Welfare: Mr. Chairman and senators, I would like to say this in answer to your first question.

Where have we gone wrong? We have been treating the symptoms rather than the disease. Anyone can identify a cough but it takes someone more skilled to diagnose what a cough really means, whether it is T.B. or something else.

We have a tradition of putting people into the field of the poor who can identify coughs and who treat coughs and this, I think, first of all, betrays society's attitude towards the poor.

We do not allow, for instance, any unskilled person to practise medicine but we allow most unskilled people to practise what we call welfare—in big quotes—on people and believe me, they practise.

Now, here is the basis of where we go wrong. First of all I would like to concur very strongly with what Dr. Maloney said and Mr. Green has just said rather than go all over this again; and speaking of fragmentation of services and getting people into the field and so forth; but I want to emphasize that it is of great importance to get the right people into the field so that we can study and really get to the basis and understand what the people's needs are rather than the fact they are poor, and our system of giving pittances here and pittance there is just creating a greater poverty; poverty in the sense that these people are impoverished of spirit when we are through with them rather than of the pocket because by our system we have created and we have promoted and we have crystallized a system of dependency in our poor and this is

a greater poverty by far than very often the kind of poverty with which they started or at least what we start when we start to deal with them.

Dr. Beck: Is there anybody else who would like to say anything?

The Chairman: Well, Mrs. Cudmore, you are a woman and a social worker in the city. What is your opinion?

Mrs. Evelyn Cudmore, Member, Premier's Task Force: My opinion is that in this province we need decentralization of services and our concept of regional service centres to me is an answer for our problem.

Again it is the personal contact with the people who have need and I concur with what the last person has said that many of the so-called poor are unable to articulate their needs. They are unable because of lack of education and lack of general knowledge. They are unable to find services they need and many times they don't really know so I would hope very much that these regional service centres could be established in the immediate future in Prince Edward Island.

Senator McGrand: Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The Chairman: Yes, go ahead.

Senator McGrand: This pertains to this question. I do not want to thrash old straw which we have been talking about for probably an hour but I want to go back to Dr. Maloney who mentioned something that interested me.

Education to me is the preparation of people to live with fellow human beings and with a sense of life around them. You mentioned that man lived for a million years or more before history was written, which is true.

Now, today anthropology reveals how our primitive ancestors lived and how perhaps we developed even today our present emotions. Now, that is very important.

Now, T.V. has been mentioned and it should be used to teach children but it is my impression that what children see on T.V. is usually crime and violence and they watch it because the adult members in the home want to watch crime and violence and we have developed a sort of crime culture.

Now, I will agree that geometry and algebra does very little to prepare a child to have

suitable emotions to live in his environment. Have you any comment on that?

Dr. Maloney: No. I agree with most of what you said. I do not quite know the point you are getting at but I think if you are getting at the point, which I think you are it is as follows: That as we live today we are in a material civilization and we have very definite evidence in our society that a sizeable segment of our society is rejecting that set of values.

Now, going back in the million years that you are talking about I think you will find there that people can find a very meaningful way of life in other types of living in which there was not that emphasis on material things.

I think that part of our society which chooses to be poor, if you wish, part of it should be allowed to do that if they can, because you know, you can quote Darwin. He said that after he had measured the bones in chickens in his comparative zoology for so long, he lost his taste for poetry and music. In other words when you get into one way of life, you can lose the taste and meaning that other people find in a way of life.

In our welfare we should always watch that we allow a segment of the poor who do that by choice to be that.

Senator McGrand: Yes. Supplemental to that: Mention was made by Mr. MacDonald we perhaps have got the wrong people in welfare, but how do you choose the people to do this work? It is only done by trial and error, is it not? You hire a person and if they fail to do a good job they are let out, otherwise it is done by trial and error.

There is no way I know of that you can go out and find a person and say, "This is a suitable person to carry out this type of planning."

Mr. MacDonald: Well, first of all I think society in general has to adapt or acquire a philosophy with respect to these people and this philosophy will be reflected in most of our people and then from this society we should have a greater choice of people, first of all. Certainly, to start right now, we have to be very very careful to study the types of people, what their attitudes themselves are towards the poor; what their concept of poverty is and such things as this. Then, they should be properly trained for the job and properly paid.

Senator McGrand: Who trains them? A person graduates from a school of social sciences and they get a job. How do you know that when that person goes on the job that they are tuned in? They have to book knowledge but how do you know they are tuned in to help solve the problem. It is only that they are tuned in? They have the book by trial and error.

Mr. MacDonald: This is a decision which should not be made after a person has gone through school. This is a decision which should be made prior to his going through school or in the early stages of his being in school.

If these people in these schools know their jobs properly they should then see very early in the first semester—if they have not found out when they applied—and turf them out.

Dr. Maloney: This is a perfect example of what I was saying earlier about our lack of knowledge in inter-personal relationships. The people that we need should be chosen for empathy. We have no tests of people to choose people for empathy. Certainly they are not obliged to.

Senator Belisle: Mr. Chairman, I believe that Mrs. Cudmore in her statement paraphrased what is in that last paragraph regarding integration but my question is this: How can we integrate them more closely with the local community without infringing on the local civil rights or provincial jurisdiction; and let us assume that the federal government will adopt a guaranteed annual income. Should the whole welfare service become a total federal responsibility?

Mrs. Cudmore: I don't think that I am prepared to answer that particular question. My interest in this whole thing is focused on the needs of the individual. I am particularly interested that the needs of every segment of society be met, whether it is from taxpayers' payments or taxpayers' donations, but I think we have to identify the need before we can fulfil it.

I see no way in this province where the individual needs of pockets of people in the province can be identified without well trained people in the local region and this goes back to our concept of regional service centres and as a citizen my interest is in having the needs of the individual identified and those needs filled.

Senator Belisle: You are aware under the B.N.A. that local and municipal and provincial rights are very jealously guarded and preserved.

Mrs. Cudmore: I think this is part of today's establishment in that we have many laws and regulations that probably need to be changed in the future of what we are talking here about human needs.

Somebody said it would take five years to get anything changed. I think we have to start immediately and proceed to carry on from there.

Dr. Beck: May I try to recount what I think is the underlying problem in your question, Senator.

There is an implication that if we pay in a guaranteed annual income that the federal government assumes more and more responsibility and this is one of the problems of our society which is that the man who pays the piper calls the tune.

This comes down to something we dealt with at length in the Task Force Report which is to try to introduce into our society the concept that services must be operated by the people who know the people who are getting the service and this demands decentralization in administration and professional authority in the operation of services.

Now, we have done this in some fields and done it quite well. We have done it in hospitals. We have done it in schools. We have overdone it in school situations but we have left the operative decision-making at the level of the local community which can be responsive to the client in need and the point that I am trying to make here is that we must get away from this concept of, because the federal government supplies the money, the federal government must operate the service or because the provincial government supplies money the provincial government must operate the service. Because I think we have enough objective evidence now that when the provincial government operates a service, generally those services do not operate well and I cite the instance of the Mental Health Service as a fine example.

Rather, what we have to do is to get the operation of the service decentralized and then secondarily, integrated.

Mr. Green: I think that many of your questions can be answered tomorrow morning if you people will see that you are able to go

out, as we have arranged, and meet some of these poor face to face tomorrow morning and I can guarantee that two or three of you are not going to have dinner afterwards because your stomachs will not be in shape for it.

I hear that your plane may not be going and you may be going by bus and I would urge you to make that bus late enough so we can get you out there and if you want the answers to some of these questions, come out and ask these people.

I am probably one of the few people here in this room who has been poor.

Senator Belisle: I am two of eighteen.

Mr. Green: We have a definition I think here which was, you are poor if you do not have enough to eat and I talked to a woman in Minto, New Brunswick when I was out doing some work there, who had 19 children and whose husband was a trip runner in the mines, which means he doesn't make much money. She was so frustrated. She said to me, "This is just hell." And then she said, "No, that is not right. If it was hell it would be a little warmer and there would be a better class of people."

The Chairman: If there are any Senators who have any other questions, please ask them. If there are no Senators with questions...

Senator Hastings: May I ask Mr. MacDonald with respect to this visit tomorrow morning.

The Chairman: I will speak about that later. Mr. Blakely told me all about it.

Mr. Green: Mr. Chairman, is it possible to make one other remark?

The Chairman: Yes, certainly.

Mr. Green: There is a mention in regard to services for the poor which most people ignore. I am thinking in terms of recreation. When you commonly refer to recreation, this is a notoriously related activity or a middle class function because we do not think of the poor in terms of recreation. By recreation I mean a way of enjoying your environment, getting happiness and pleasure out of where you live.

You do not have to think always in terms of being somewhere else or doing something you cannot afford to do.

I would like to suggest that somewhere along the line you consult with some people competent in the field of recreation to see if there is any way that you can get recreation therapists—by this I do not mean organized and accredited team sports—I mean activities by which you can enjoy the environment in which you live, so if you can get some information on that, it may assist you.

The Chairman: On behalf of the Committee, Dr. Beck, through you and to all the members—and we have tried to have you participate—our very deep appreciation. It is obvious that although the members of the Committee had a very short opportunity to scan through the Task Force Report, it is a monumental work and while we have no opinions on it you say the government has taken notice of it and they have opinions on it, your answer to questions here this morning were useful and valuable.

We think it was well worth while coming down here and speaking to you even though we have heard just one witness and will hear many others.

On behalf of the Committee whom, I am sure, feel that you know the score and will bend your efforts in the future to having the best possible, I thank you and all the members of your group.

Dr. Beck: Thank you, sir.

—Recess.

The Chairman: I have two announcements to make.

Doctor, we asked Mr. Blakeley and the group yesterday to make arrangements, within the confines of our problem, to visit the poor here and he had told me earlier that arrangements had been completed and we will convey that to the Committee some time during the day.

The other is that there are two or three new and very interesting briefs have come in. I do not know how we are going to be able to arrange to give these people some attention.

As soon as this meeting is over I would like to see Mr. David Morrison, Mr. Paul Pelletier and Mr. Bernard Cahill if they are here. I would like to see them and talk to them about matters in the brief and see what arrangements can be made to give some attention to what those new briefs represent.

Now, our witness at the moment is Mr. Frank Sigsworth. He is a barrister and solicitor

and a very distinguished lawyer who has a brief to present. He will speak for himself without fee, I am told.

Mr. Frank Sigsworth, Counsel for the Fraternity of Grey Knights: Mr. Chairman and senators, first of all I would like, with respect, to correct Senator Croll. (a) This is not my brief. (b) I am not speaking without fee, and (c) I am glad that it was another lawyer who was introducing me.

First of all then in carrying out the instructions of my client I understand there has been some rather valuable inquiry as to who my client is, the Fraternity of Grey Knights, and I am its lawyer.

I am not one of the poor. I am well off, opulent and live comfortably.

Senator Pearson: Most lawyers are.

Mr. Sigsworth: Well, I don't know. It depends how good you are. When you are as good as I am, you are.

My client is a provincially-incorporated organization under Part 2 of the Companies Act. It pays me well for my activities or I wouldn't be here. Part 2 of the Companies Act incorporates bodies politic for charitable purposes. Their charitable purposes are to help themselves. From the Letters of Incorporation, if I recall correctly, they assist others in difficult circumstances by enlisting the assistance of other persons of means, practicality and interest. Difficult to find but they somehow find them.

They are a secret society. They do not like to talk about themselves. They gave me very very rigid instructions about how much I could say about them, but I can say that much about them because their incorporation is public information on the record.

They have two levels of organization, their corporate organization and their fraternal organization.

Faternally they operate within themselves in their own way and declare it to be nobody else's business. Who gets in, how you get in and what you do. They decide. They bring in their own members. They help whom they want and they help themselves.

One of the Committee members asked where the name came from. They are neither black nor white. They are grey. They live in the grey twilight very often that exists between enthusiastic and generous interest to total heartless disinterest in their lives.

They have no axe to grind and no drums to beat. They are here to bring before you, as I am instructed, circumstances that exist that they feel you might overlook. Many of them have been in intimate contact with it. They know a great deal more about it. Indeed, some of them know much more about procedural law than a lot of lawyers I know.

The two members of the Grey Knights whom I have with me—and who watch very very rigidly to see that I do not exceed my instruction—the Prefect Commander of the organization, Mr. Gass, Barry Gass on my immediate right and next to him the Pro-Consul Adjutant, Curtis Barkhouse. Mr. Gass is 23 years old and a student at Holland College in commercial art. Mr. Barkhouse is a Grade 10 student at Charlottetown Rural High School.

The brief which you have before you, gentlemen, I have been instructed to present. Aslo I was to draw to your attention first of all the reason that they engaged high powered legal help. They see a lawyer—they are very practical people. They deal in a very practical level. They need a mouthpiece who is articulate and there is nobody more articulate than I. They want the best, they got the best.

Somebody during the last brief said that the poor do not like to come before people and they do not like to talk too much. Certainly whether or not these people are poor, I do not know. It depends on this terrible definition and I do not propose to go into semantics here. I know one thing: They want a mouthpiece. They are not prepared to embarrass themselves before the Senate Committee so that they engage a shield. I am that, I suppose.

The brief was prepared by them. They engaged the assistance of some expertise besides myself among which was Mr. Green whom you heard in the last brief and whom they asked to sit with them, so he is a party to this, too.

The brief itself was drawn as closely as possible to their words and their thinking on the subject and this has to do with the law of the poor in the face of the law, justice and the poor. You will bear with me, perhaps.

This is as brief a submission as could be made of a vast and complex problem. The Grey Knights are very happy that the Senate Committee came here. They feel they can do something. They feel it is a God-given opportunity to make themselves articulate to a

group that can do something about it and these are things that perhaps would go unnoticed by the Senators unless it was brought to them in this manner.

They do it with all respect and in the hope that it will be some assistance in your work.

First of all, as the brief sets out in the beginning, it is not a learned brief because it is not a learned society. That doesn't mean they are not intelligent or they are not educated or they do not have a great deal of ability. They do. Some of them have gone through grade 6 or 7. Some of them had to stop their education. Some of them got it in the penitentiary. Some of them got it afterwards. Some of them got their start elsewhere. Some of them learned about the value of doing something with their abilities in jail, but they spend their time on the practical and very very important job of developing what they have to their use and the use of society and that doesn't often allow much freetime to do anything else.

Barry here was very concerned about the fact there was a member of Manpower here. He is subsidized at Holland College in commercial art and he wondered whether or not he would lose a day's pay for coming before the Senate Committee, but he thought it was worthwhile.

I mentioned that I would look into the law on the point.

First of all on page 1 of the brief the brief sets out as you see:

We propose to deal with the experience of the poor with our system of justice, from the time of the reporting of an incident involving a possible violation of the law until the matter is finally disposed of. It goes on to deal with the report and the report being somebody phones the police and says, "My warehouse is being broken into."

The system of justice, as we get involved with it, begins moving at the moment of a report and at this point the system begins to divide itself.

My clients instruct me that immediately an incident is reported to the police, consciously or subconsciously, there is a division right away.

If the report is made by an important person the immediate presumption is that an offence has indeed occurred. If Joe Doaks, who owns the warehouse, is "clean" as my clients say, has never been mixed with the fuzz, if he reports that somebody broke in the

police—again it is not critical of the police—but the presumption is implicit, if he says something happened, something happened. The police begins searching for a man or men who fit the pattern of the incident, which is very proper and logical for the police to do.

If the report comes from the poor, the call for help may not be answered, the presumption being that there is no sense or that in other circumstances the person reporting the incident would be doing the same thing himself.

Barry gave me certain instructions on the point and two or three others have mentioned the same thing. He said, "Can you imagine one of us calling the police and saying somebody just hit me a punch on the mouth?" It is quite conceivable the desk sergeant would think, "Is that so. Well, he probably deserved it anyway for some of the things he got away with and who knows that if he wasn't busy reporting the incident, he was probably out punching somebody else on the mouth." That is the division. The poor puts a call in and there is no immediate action. The rich, the well off, those of position, the establishment, put a call in and the presumption is there is something the matter, we must go out and investigate.

Some of the clean people, some of the clean poor will get a better response. The clean poor—the word "clean" you will notice is in quotation marks—that means "clean" "no mug shots", no penitentiaries", "no record." But the point is that there are many people who cannot expect that a report to the police means help for them. That is the division, immediately there is a report.

The next point is the round-up of suspects. We have never heard of anyone but the poor being involved in the round-up.

Now, this is in no way critical of the methods of the police. This is a most logical and indeed reasonable way to find an alleged violator of the law. If, for example, a youngster is involved the police will go to the school and pull a poor child out of the classroom, or go into the home and do the same thing, sometimes without a warrant in order, we presume, to get him while he's hot, to find the stolen goods on him or to get him before he is able to consort with his accomplices and what have you.

No such thing will happen to the children of the well-do-do; the parents will first be contacted for a polite discussion of the possibility that their child might be involved in a demeanor.

We do not suggest that the latter should suffer the same treatment as the poor, but rather that the poor should get the same consideration from the system as the well-to-do.

The system works well with the well-to-do. That is the way they say it should work with the poor. It is not that the well-to-do should be treated like the poor but quite the reverse.

We believe that if the presumption in every case were that the poor have the same access to legal defence as others, they would get fairer treatment on arrest. Maybe members of this Committee have not had an opportunity to witness the different treatment handed out to a poor man who is a "shako" and the professional person who is an "alcoholic". They make a distinction. If you have no money, are poorly dressed and are picked up drunk on the street, you are some "shako"; but if you have a shirt and a tie on and you are shaved and you are just as drunk on the street, you are an "alcoholic".

A similar thing happens in the realm of theft. If you shoplift during Christmas time and you are from the establishment, from the well-to-do—who knows why they shoplift, but then who knows why these people do some of the things they do—if you do this shoplifting, if you steal, you are a kleptomaniac. If you have no money, you are a thief.

The foregoing are not major points, and we can live with the system even if nothing changes because up to this point nothing serious has happened. We present it simply to show that the police are not commonly regarded as the poor man's friend, and that the attitude on the part of both to one another is as much the cause of crime as the result of it. We are now addressing ourselves to more serious matters.

Now, the charge. We have had the report of the incident. We have had the round-up of suspects and now somebody is charged. The moment the police decide to lay a charge, the poor are in trouble. Normally, the system provides that the accused may obtain a lawyer, post bond and be released on bail, prepare himself for a court appearance and a defence, and so on. And that usually happens unless you are poor. This does not apply to the poor. They have no access to bail unless they can get a lawyer to come to the jail, and lawyers will not respond to a call from a man who has no money. No lawyer will, very few will. A poor person in jail finds he can get bail. The system does not deny bail to the

poor. He has to have a lawyer to draw the bail bond and carry on other formalities.

If the poor call a lawyer—"What is your name?" "so and so" that slots in his mind, "poor, no fee. Sorry, get somebody else." So he sits in the jail whereas somebody with means gets out forthwith. This is an indictment of lawyers but then lawyers are part of the system that they attack.

We believe that the Legal Aid system should move into action at this point to ensure that the poor have the same access to bail as the monied. If this is not possible, then the matter can be solved in a number of other ways which would cause pain to no one but an immense relief to the poor.

The other ways is: (1) Greater use should be made by the police of summons, rather than arrest. Instead of arresting the person and putting people in jail simply summon them to appear and tell them, "Fine, we suspect you have committed an offence. Be here in court tomorrow morning and then you don't need bail"

(2) Rather than the posting of a bond, release should be by means of a court order directing the accused to appear for trial. If it is a more serious offence then say, "Fine, you be here tomorrow at 9 o'clock. If you do not you are in trouble for violation of a court order and there is a second offence, now go home."

(3) Even within the present system much greater use, they say, could be made of release on the accused's own cognizance. If there is no change in the present system, we believe that the desk sergeant should be empowered to set bail. Instead of needing a lawyer, let the desk sergeant set the bail for the offence. Let the police clerk draw the bail bond and let the magistrate sign it. Let the persons who are already paid do the work and then you don't need a lawyer.

You see, I am cutting my own throat.

The Chairman: You are cutting mine a bit, too.

Mr. Sigsworth: The point we wish to make here is that there are people in jail awaiting trial because they do not have money, while other people charged at the same time with the same offence may be free and on the streets. It is not unusual that some persons have served as much or more time in jail awaiting disposition of their case as their eventual sentence or possibly more and even in some instances eventually proven innocent.

We wish to make another point concerning the charge in that this is the point where there is a separation. In Prince Edward Island the statutory age of a juvenile is 15, or up to his 16th birthday.

We believe there are very good reasons for the juvenile court system, among them being that it gives troubled youngsters time in which to mature and prepare themselves for the demands of society without incurring the penalty of adult offenders, and a criminal record which can follow them for the rest of their lives.

Now, it is interesting on that point this is not a matter of a criminal record being wiped out at some time. That is a lot of claptrap. A criminal record exists. It is fiction. It is a national thing. Pick up an application for any job. It doesn't say "Do you have a criminal record?" It says "Have you ever been convicted of a criminal offence?" Whether you have legislated or not it is like sex. You can legislate against it but you will not make it unpopular.

You can legislate a criminal record out of existence but still you must answer that question, "Have you ever been convicted of a criminal offence?" You are a criminal.

The majority of juvenile delinquents are from poor families, and they start life at a serious disadvantage. We believe that they need that extra year in P.E.I. just as is provided for in many other provinces, and therefore ask that the government of this province increase the statutory age of a juvenile to at least his 17th birthday, with an analysis of the pattern of offences to determine whether or not 18 might be a more appropriate age. Simply stated, if it is illegal for a young man to be in a liquor lounge at 20 on P.E.I., he should not be sent to a penitentiary at 16.

The court appearance now after the charge.

We mentioned this as an indication...

The Chairman: Is he sent to a penitentiary at 16? Are you talking of a federal penitentiary or are you talking now of a provincial jail?

Mr. Sigsworth: He went when he was 16 to Dorchester Penitentiary, Exhibit A.

We mention this as an indication of one of the side effects of the bail system. The poor man who has been held in jail over-night or over a weekend appears in court unshaven, with the clothes he has slept in, feeling beat

in every respect, frequently without an attorney.

The well-to-do are there clean, shaven, neatly dressed, accompanied by an attorney. There is fear in the mind of the poor man that he is going to get the gears, because of the fact of his poverty and his appearance and presentation in court can easily leave the impression that he is capable of doing anything. The well-to-do just don't do the things these poor people do—they start with that advantage.

We would like to refer briefly to the Legal Aid system, which is non-existent in this province.

Here the Attorney-General's department will appoint a lawyer to defend an injured person in the case of an indictable offence when the accused elects trial by judge and jury.

In effect, this eliminates the option of electing trial by magistrate, which is often not only faster but fairer because of the number of cases handled by magistrates and the pattern they can establish.

We believe that the Bar Society in P.E.I. or some responsible group should take the initiative in setting up a Legal Aid service, or that some type of public defender system be established by government.

Now, the conviction. This is page 5 and there is just another half of it left, gentlemen, and then I will leave the matter to my clients.

On conviction, there are many offences for which the penalty is a fine, or jail in default of payment. We would recommend that this Committee undertake a study of the number of people in jail because they are poor, and how much it is costing this country to maintain a system of detention for the poor and for alcoholics.

When there is no money to pay the fine the result is frequently loss of employment, with additional difficulties for the family. Where there are dependents there will be a need to turn to welfare departments for relief, and the system takes so long to release a cheque that the family can suffer hardship. This is indirectly the result of the offence directly, it is a result of being poor and unable to pay the fine.

We believe that the court system should be prepared to accept payments of fines on the same basis as other creditors, on the time set-up. It may seem a ridiculous suggestion to some, but that is because they haven't had to

serve 30 days because they could not raise \$30.00. You can get released today but it sometimes is hard to hold on to the \$15.00 or the \$30.00 or the \$10.00. Why not pay by instalments? It means they would have to set up an accounting system within the system.

We wish to say one other thing about sentencing.

We would like to hear the end of having people sent to the penitentiary "to learn a trade." If the court is interested in having people learn a trade we would suggest that they be sent to some more appropriate place, like P.V.I. That is the Provincial Vocational Institute here.

Trade training in the pen is a useful way to spend time, but people are not sent there to learn a trade. It seems to us that this is a way the court has of justifying its sentence, and we would recommend that they stop using it. It doesn't soften things a bit for the accused; in fact, it makes him feel sick.

And finally the jails.

Here my clients have instructed me to make the strongest and most violent of my strong and violent representations to have you people come down and have a look at the Queens County Jail. Go in, look around and leave. They don't make any other comment than that.

We believe that the reasons that we can't get anything effective done to improve jails is that for the most part only poor people go there, especially to the county jails. While you are in Charlottetown we would like to suggest that you go and visit our jail and go to the tank too and see the lock-up where you are kept for a while before you graduate into more comfortable places, and see how the people in this province wish to have their fellow human beings—in fact, their neighbours—treated.

This organization was successful in placing a television set in the jail a year ago last Christmas, but the men do not even have benches to sit on while watching it.

Now, then it was put in and the suggestion of some place to sit on was under discussion, there was that group associated with the administration of the jail that were protesting the inconvenience now to have to drag blankets out because they will probably want blankets to sit on instead of the floor. At least Louis the Fourteenth said "Let them eat cake."

In addition, the set is turned off at 9.00 p.m. although the men have nowhere to go and nothing to do with their time. There is simply nothing whatever to do in the county jail, and it is possible for people to serve up to two years there. You get this same position of the court saying, "It would not be merciful to send you young men to a place like the county jail and therefore I am going to send you to Dorchester Penitentiary."

We have just opened up the subject in this brief as a means of enabling us to discuss these matters with members of the Committee. We would like to have been able to put together a more scientific document, but we thought we would touch on the little things which can be easily corrected with a little twist in the right direction, and a little more humane consideration for troubled people. None of us get in trouble because we prefer it that way; we could not yet give you an explanation for some of the things we have done—they were often done impulsively, or compulsively, without premeditation or forethought, and often while drinking heavily.

On the other hand, the "corrections" system has been deliberately and rationally designed. If we plead the mercy of the court, say my clients, will society do the same?

Such then, gentlemen, is the brief of the Grey Knights and the two Grey Knights are here with me and will answer your questions.

Senator Pearson: I just have a short question.

Where does the division come in the administration of the court, that is judge and jury? Where is the division in crime?

Mr. Sigsworth: Well, Senator Pearson, with certain offences in the law you are declared to have the right to elect. It depends on the offence. For example, theft under \$50.00 you must be tried by a magistrate. You have no choice. Theft over \$50.00 you can elect to be tried either by a judge and jury or a judge without a jury.

I am not charging for that.

Senator Sparrow: In the discussions which we will be getting into with representatives of your group, can we get into the area of the discussion of the relationship of poverty to crime? As a group are you prepared to discuss the brief in that light?

Mr. Sigsworth: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: I am just wondering if he is going to make a statement.

The Chairman: Give him the question and he will battle it.

Senator Sparrow: Are they going to make a statement now?

Mr. Sigsworth: You put the question to them and they will give you the answers.

Senator Sparrow: You mentioned that this is a secret organization or a fraternity. Is your group primarily made up of ex-convicts?

Br. Barry J. Gass, Grey Knight: Yes, it is.

Senator Sparrow: Totally or primarily?

Mr. Gass: Yes. It is primarily made up of people that have been in trouble and ex-convicts.

Senator Sparrow: You are talking to a Poverty Committee now. I would like to have my question really relate to your organization as such.

What percentage of the people in your province are there because of poverty? For example is there any relationship directed to poverty in your study?

Mr. Gass: Well, yes. There has to be a relationship because like it states in the brief, only the poor are in jail so this must have something to do with the poor people going there or getting in trouble. It is just the poor who are in jail. You do not see any rich people there at all. They have the money to get out. The poor person has not.

The Chairman: Are you now speaking of the man who has the alternative of \$20.00 or 5 days in jail? Is that what you are talking about, or are you talking of the man who commits a criminal offence? What are you talking about?

Mr. Gass: \$20.00 in costs or 5 days in jail, this is county. This is something that is done in the county. It doesn't matter if you are rich or poor. If a rich man is fined \$20.00 or 5 days he can pay his fine and he goes. The poor person goes to jail.

When you get into criminal offences, there is not much distinction between the rich and the poor man. If it is a criminal offence the rich man goes to prison as well as the poor man although there are things leading up to it like we said in the brief. If you go to court clean-shaven and everything, you have a lot better chance of probably a minor sentence,

but whereas the guy that goes up there with a criminal record before and is all dirty and everything and can't afford to get cleaned up to go to court or is not allowed to get out on bail before court to get cleaned up, he usually gets probably a bigger sentence.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, I am very interested. I want to ask this witness if these people who have acquired these criminal records in the case of robbery, is it from need of food or need of clothing that they commit these things? Is it because they are poor? Can you give me some reason why they are tempted to do these things?

Mr. Sigsworth: If I may, Senator, I am sure either one of these gentlemen could answer it, but I represented Mr. Gass, the witness, the last time he was sent to the penitentiary. I do not use that as public relations. It is a lost case. He got two and a half years for break, entry and theft.

After my plea of mitigation because of his youth and because of his background he received this sentence and the judge sentencing him pointed out—I think this, perhaps, senator, will help you towards an answer to the question. I had said in the sentencing Mr. Gass is a young man who has been the victim of difficult circumstances. He came from a broken home. He never had many of the advantages that those from a more stable and well-to-do home have.

He found himself with a great deal of ability, no money and nothing to do on the street, and the only cheap thing in Charlottetown is trouble.

He found that from his previous sentence in penitentiary he had learned to be a cabinet maker. He had made 83 marks in the last year of the schooling they gave there. There was nothing else for him to do in penitentiary. When he came out he couldn't get a job. He couldn't do anything but travel the streets and just wait.

The judge pointed out "Oh no, Mr. Sigsworth, that is just forensic eloquence. We have places like the YMCA and the Basilica recreation." I always act on my client's instructions and so I leaned down to him and said, "What do you say to that?" He asked me a very penetrating question. He said, "If you had a son my age and he came home and told you he was talking to Barry Gass at the rec centre, would you let your son go back?"

I told the judge that. He didn't go in there because it was not for him. Nobody told him he couldn't. His mother worked as a cook. He had no job. He would have to ask his mother for enough money to sit and buy a coke in there. The result of it all was to put in the time he used his ingenuity and mind you his crimes are ingenuous. I am sure he could qualify for a senate seat if only they had been on this side of the law.

The upshot of it was that he asked at that time to speak on his own behalf. It is a dangerous thing to let a sentenced client talk to the court. Sometimes they have nasty things to say to the judge and the system of justice. I asked of the court and he was granted permission. He said just that. I have taken all the courses that the penitentiary has to offer and I could not get a job when I came out. I am a cabinet maker. I have finished grade 10 in school. I tried. If you are sending me to the penitentiary to be trained more that is not going to be achieved.

I think it bothered the court's conscience. He got into trouble. He became a break, entry and theft artist. He became a real expert in a number of very intricate areas of crime that are only mastered by the most intelligent because there was nothing else to do.

Senator Inman: Just one other question. You mentioned a point about them not having to work. Don't you think it would be a good thing for those two men on your right, do you not think it would be better if you had something to do and occupy your time?

Mr. Gass: Well, definitely.

Senator Inman: Learn something to improve yourself.

Mr. Gass: Definitely, but what is there? It definitely would be better, but what is there to do?

Senator Inman: Of course, I have always had the theory that at least you could have some sort of farm or something where they could go.

Mr. Gass: A jail?

Senator Inman: Yes.

Mr. Gass: The county jail is all they have here and the recreation is the television.

Senator Inman: Yes, I grant that but I think it is wrong to do that. I do think there should be something.

Mr. Gass: It might be a very good idea.

Senator Sparrow: Mr. Chairman, if there wasn't poverty and this is what we are trying to alleviate, find the roots of the problem, solve the problem of poverty this presentation, you are saying, would in fact be unnecessary because the courts and the laws are satisfactory for the well off people.

This brief then is really unnecessary if we didn't have this poverty group that faced the court problems.

This is the first opportunity we have had—and we have been accused of not going to the poor people as such—of actually having a representative of a group here of poor people. You said you were representing that group we are talking about that gets into crime problems.

I am concerned about this brief because we put a little bit of band-aid, so to speak, on the problem without getting to the roots. Stop the necessity of poverty and we stop the necessity of this brief.

What can you tell us today now, not five years from now, but what can we do immediately to alleviate this poverty situation? We have outstanding briefs from educators that say there is a problem of education, but that takes a long time. We have got problems with housing but that takes a long time. Can you tell us now what we can do now; right now? Even now in government is still a long time, but right now.

Mr. Gass: I don't think you will ever alleviate it completely but say places for people to go like, say, somebody, John Doe had 30 days in jail now for drinking and couldn't pay his fine because he didn't have the money to pay it. If there was a place for these people to go, say—I think some towns have flop houses and that is where people can go, you know, and if they were sentenced there, why not be sentenced perhaps to this here place and do their time there and not a jail, especially not this one out here.

It would help them to hold on to their jobs and they could go into these places and they could leave every day and go on to their job and go back there. It wouldn't be a county jail, any kind of building at all, and any work that came in, the people that were in there who were doing time could get this job and if the people running these places, probably the government more than likely, they could have an in with Manpower for any jobs or a couple

of days work could be allowed to these people that were in this flop house or whatever.

Senator Sparrow: You are talking about after the crime is committed?

Mr. Gass: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: I want to find out what the answer is before the crime is committed and we do not have to send them anywhere.

Mr. Gass: I don't think if everybody in the system was in the upper classes it still wouldn't alleviate all the problems because we have had it through the centuries. I guess we will always have it to a certain extent.

The Chairman: Always have what?

Mr. Gass: Crime.

The Chairman: As long as you don't make up your mind you are going to be poor all your life, it is all right with me.

Mr. Gass: Yes, because on my own if I had money at times when I was out getting in trouble and that, I know myself I would not have done it. I do not think a lot of other people would do it either.

Poverty produced poverty, as far as I am concerned. If a person is poor in some ways just because they get money it is not going to solve everything. If they have a broken home or something like this, money is not going to solve the whole problem. There are many different categories that it would fall into.

The Chairman: Are you finished, Senator Sparrow?

Senator Sparrow: Yes.

The Chairman: Do you want to say something, Senator Connolly?

Senator Connolly: Yes, Mr. Chairman. I just wanted to say I listened with a great deal of relish to the delightful sense of humour of Mr. Sigsworth as he presented his brief. I have developed a tremendous admiration for Mr. Gass' courage in appearing before us today.

One question: Do you have any animus against society, Mr. Gass?

Mr. Gass: Not particularly in my own case I guess probably I did, probably up till a year ago until Manpower did get me into a school and stuff like this. I am getting along all right now. I haven't got that much against them.

really, but I am thinking in terms of other people, people I know myself that are poor.

Senator Connolly: Thank you very much.

The Chairman: That is the line of questioning I was going to take. I think the Committee better do a little thinking, not knowing what this brief was going to bring up, about people coming here and sort of opening up things that are not perhaps our business in principle as individuals, but it is here now.

You are now in Manpower and training for something.

Mr. Gass: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: Why didn't you go to Manpower originally and ask them to train you before anything happened to you?

Mr. Gass: Well, I was in trouble since I was a juvenile and I was as you know, an incorrigible.

Senator McGrand: We cannot hear you.

Mr. Gass: I was noted as an incorrigible when I was a juvenile and I didn't know about Manpower then, I didn't know anything about these places—home school and taking trades and this here stuff. I knew they would find you a job but Manpower wasn't even in then. It wasn't even here. Then, it was the unemployment department. Half of the trade systems and everything they have got now were not available.

The Chairman: Amongst the people with whom you are working is Manpower having a purpose and a good one?

Mr. Gass: As far as the poor are concerned?

The Chairman: As far as training is concerned?

Mr. Gass: Yes, definitely. I think it is a very good idea.

The Chairman: You think it is very good. Are there many of your friends or acquaintances in there?

Mr. Gass: Not that many people are in right now. They only hold twelve seats.

The Chairman: At one time?

Mr. Gass: Well, this year. This is the first year for Holland College. They only had twelve seats.

The Chairman: Twelve seats for a particular trade?

Mr. Gass: For all the trades that are there.

The Chairman: All trades, twelve seats?

Mr. Gass: For commercial art, yes.

The Chairman: For all trades undertaken, they have twelve seats.

Mr. Gass: Yes.

The Chairman: This is the first year?

Mr. Gass: Yes.

The Chairman: Just while you are here, are there other people taking trades in the same way you are at the College?

Mr. Gass: Yes.

The Chairman: How many?

Mr. Gass: I think there was close to 90.

The Chairman: 90 trades?

Mr. Gass: 90 people.

The Chairman: How many trades?

Mr. Gass: Four different trades, maybe five.

The Chairman: Four different trades and are they making progress?

Mr. Gass: Oh, yes, definitely.

The Chairman: And are they young people?

Mr. Gass: The biggest majority of them are, yes.

The Chairman: Now, are the people who take this training and sort of graduate—and that is as good a word as any—policed? Do they get jobs?

Mr. Gass: They have a good chance, but I don't think they have that much of a chance around here. Mostly everybody that just graduates from school I think leaves the island. There is not much industry or anything around here.

The Chairman: From what you know and since you are interested in this part of the thing, are these people trained well enough to hold a job in comparison with the man from Nova Scotia or New Brunswick or Ontario?

Senator Pearson: Mr. Chairman, why can't Manpower begin to train young people or older ones for some position or job that is

suitable to this island, not Nova Scotia or somewhere else where they can return to this island.

The Chairman: That is what he said.

Mr. Gass: What do you want to be, a farmer?

Senator Pearson: If that is all there is. You have a community freezer that is a different thing.

The Chairman: I was trying to get at whether these people are sufficiently well trained so they can hold a job in industry.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, how can this witness answer that?

The Chairman: The question was asked by Senator Sparrow: Is this a group of people who have some difficulties and I imagine it is what he hears from his friends.

Mr. Green: May I help Barry in this situation by rephrasing the question for him. Do you think it enough for people you know or your friends in the trade to have a service offered to them or do they need a great deal of support and encouragement all the way through to stay with it; and first to go into the service and stay with it?

Mr. Gass: Oh, definitely. Just because they get a chance to take a trade doesn't mean they are going to be rich.

Senator McGrand: We cannot hear you.

Mr. Gass: Just because they are offered a trade in one of the schools doesn't mean they are going to be rich in a few years or that they are going to make use of it when they get out, but they need help all the way through and these people I am talking about, my friends now and members of the Grey Knights, these are not—you probably got the impression they were all classmates of mine which they are not.

The Chairman: No, no. You are working with them. I am asking you whether from listening or hearing from them these people can be placed after having gone through the Manpower service?

Mr. Gass: Well, like I said, they all leave the island. It is the only thing to do. There is not that much here for them.

The Chairman: Do you hear from them at all?

Mr. Gass: No.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, pertaining to the operation or activities of this organization, without divulging your secret aspect or what you are doing, do you feel in your opinion from the work you have done that you, as an ex-prisoner have a better appreciation and do a better job for ex-prisoners than a parole office or a professional counsellor?

Mr. Gass: Certainly. I know what it is all about. They don't.

Mr. Green: May I explain here something that happened to me.

One of the Grey Knights phoned me and he said he was drunk. He was one fifth away from a penitentiary term. He was afraid he was going to get into violence. This is his pattern, and so he phoned me to see if I would come and keep him from getting into a fight somewhere—he was quite drunk and I wanted him to go without it and sober up. I couldn't get him. I had to go to Barry to find out how to do it and Barry said, "You will have to go to a bootlegger and get him two beers." So they took me to a bootlegger and we got him two beers and the guy did come out and sleep if off in the house that night, but I couldn't have got that guy home without Barry's help. He knew the two beers were necessary.

Senator Bélisle: Mr. Chairman, can I change my mind? I said a while ago I wasn't going to ask any questions. May I ask the main witness if he has, as a well-to-do lawyer, made representations to the Prince Edward Island Bar, to the Canadian Bar and what is their thinking about it?

Also my last question is: What do you think of our present parole system? Should we have a more liberal system? I personally feel we should have a more liberal system to permit them to work while they are under sentence.

Mr. Sigsworth: In answer to your first question as to whether I had made representations, no, no. I long ago got disenchanted and gave up making representations. I act on my client's instructions. They have better idea than I have. They are not interested in representations and they are not academic people. I am. I have five degrees and I am embarrassed about it because I am very theoretically minded. They are practically minded.

It is of very little interest to a Grey Knight ex whether the system is changed eventually. It is here and now he wants to know: "Fine. I am getting out tomorrow. I will get in trouble again. I have got no job. Who is going to hire me? I would like to go to school. What can I do now?"

The answer inevitably is M-o-n-e-y and that involves r-e-d-t-a-p-e.

That is one of our secrets. The Grey Knights have no red tape. They make errors. There are no files. There are no interviews. There is nothing. They know them. They can write somebody off. Never mind, he is a dead-beat. That fellow is a con artist. No—that guy—yes. There is no loan. There is no promissory notes. There is no this. There is no that. They get where they want what they want, and if they don't, if they step out of line they don't go to the system either. They have their own system. There are very few disciplinary problems inside.

As a lawyer I feel that (a) there should be an expansion of the parole system most definitely, most definitely.

For example, here Barry has just instructed me there should be a parole officer in the court when the prisoner goes up for sentence. There should be a parole officer—we do not have any probation officers here. We have a man in Moncton who flies over and chats to his parolees.

I am instructed by some of the Grey Knights who have done time in Dorchester Penitentiary, that there is nothing so frightening as to get out on parole with a set of rules—you must not do this, you must not do that. You must do this. Nobody helps and nobody cares. There is nobody around except a couple of weeks later you must report to someone and tell them "did you do this?" "Did you that?"—and then it just becomes a routine report.

That parole system should not be expanded. It should be altered as the brief points out, redirected; little changes made, some personal interest. The Grey Knights are not a parole organization, but when they under their auspices care for somebody, he is totally cared for. Indeed, he almost becomes a chattel of theirs.

The Chairman: I have two more senators, Senator Bélisle and Senator Fergusson. I will ask Senator Fergusson first.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to ask if there was a John Howard Society on the

island and if there is then do the Grey Knights cooperate with them?

Mr. Sigsworth: I will have to tell my client to restrain himself in answering that.

Mr. Gass: There is a John Howard Society here and they do make the odd trip over to Dorchester Penitentiary. I do not know how it is around the county jail. But I was over in Dorchester Penitentiary. I do not know how it is around the county jails. I have never seen them there myself in the county jail. But I was over in Dorchester twice and I have not seen representatives of the John Howard Society once.

Mr. Sigsworth: You got money from them; tell them about that.

Mr. Gass: I had to find my own job while I was over there. I had to do it through letters to mostly Mr. Sigsworth here, and to my mother, but I had to find a job myself or to have a place to stay and everything when I got out, whatever else took place.

Maybe the John Howard Society had something to do with it, although I doubt it very much.

When I did come out and went to see them, of course, I was paroled to a member of the John Howard Society. I went to see them and while they gave me the odd "You are not allowed to do this—you are not allowed to do that" and \$60.00 for work clothes and report to them every two weeks and I had to sign a promissory note to pay them the \$60.00 when I got my pay.

Mr. Sigsworth: Tell them how the note was called.

Mr. Gass: Yes. It was called in after a certain amount of time.

Mr. Sigsworth: He had to get money from the Grey Knights to pay the note.

The Chairman: Let me just say this for the record and I am not only doing this for the record.

It looks like you will have some work ahead of you. It is the custom and it is the practice in many provinces in Canada for locals to be—people who are known—permitted to go home without bail and instructed to report the next morning. It is not unusual at all in many provinces.

It is also common for desk sergeants in the evenings when no magistrates are available or justices of the peace to fix bail, and that is

common practice in many provinces in Canada.

It is also very common practice for a time basis to pay, \$5.00 a week, pay \$10.00 a week or pay \$2.00 a week until you pay it off, not what we used to do "\$30 or two weeks," and that is carried on.

It is also the federal practice to allow a man to absent himself from the penitentiary in the day time now to work and to return to the penitentiary or to the reform jail at night and serve his sentence out and be out in the day time and work and support his family.

These things are very important. All of them are vital and some of the provinces also permit this under the provincial regulations. The federal government does permit it under the penitentiaries, some of them. I do not say it is common, mind you but just recently the federal government invoked a rule permitting a man to go home and live with his family for a period, perhaps for good behaviour, and it is given to him as a reward. He goes back and serves again.

If he is to be let out in two months, and he has been put away for 5 years, they will let him out to make visits to his home and sort of break in slowly until he is released. That is not uncommon. It is being done now so that we are not without wanting to do the right thing.

I think what you need to do is your good friend Mr. Sigsworth here, who knows his way around and can do some valuable speaking on the matter, should bring some pressure where it needs to be brought to bear and that is on the provincial government here who can do much of this within their own scope, except for the penitentiaries. Under two years they can of course in the penitentiary.

Your problem is really one of your own problems and what you have pointed out is very very important and from our point of view it is vital because the people we are concerned with, as Senator Sparrow points out are this group in this position, so if you can do some work at this end, we will do the work at the broader end.

Senator Sparrow: May I ask one more question, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: What could society have done and what should society have done so that you would not be here today, you would not have got into that problem? I think this is

what we are not getting at today so that we can see or we can stop this from happening in the future.

I don't know what age it starts at. Maybe you got in trouble at 15 or 14, I have no idea, but are we talking about the word "money"? Where did society fail you and at what period of time? What should society have done?

Mr. Gass: I don't think money had that much to do with it. I think services would be more appropriate.

Mr. Sigsworth: One final thing, if I may.

I assume we have reached the end of our time. I want to, again following my client's instructions here, thank the Senators for taking the time to listen to them and taking such a sincere interest and I am within my instructions in assuring this Committee this:

Curtis Barkhouse, who has not been as vocal as he might have been, could have told you a great deal, as much as Barry. He is probably just as happy because he was petrified he would stutter in front of the Senators.

One thing you have achieved. These people will go back to their own jubilant that eleven senators focused their attention on their little problems for this long and there is one final thing.

You took such an interest—I may be fired for this one—in Barry here that I think it is only right I should point out: Barry Gass, declared incorrigible by the juvenile court, sent up at 16—15, to the adult court for trial, twice sentenced to the penitentiary and twice over there. There at 16 finished grade 10. There came out, went to the vocational school, took art there. Is now a student in Holland College in commercial art and he did the silk screen work for the advertising for the National Gallery poster that will advertise Canada's display from the National Gallery at Expo 70 in Osaka, Japan.

The Chairman: You know, it pleases us too when we hear some of the things we do find favour with people and we have helped somebody, lifted somebody's spirits. That is our purpose and I hope that we will be able to do that to other people.

We thank you, Mr. Sigsworth. We thank Mr. Gass. We thank Mr. Barkhouse for coming here today. It has been most interesting.

We have not had this problem before and it has been a most useful morning.

Mr. Sigsworth: Thank you very much.
The meeting adjourned.
Upon resuming at 2:00 p.m.

The Chairman: I will call this meeting to order. Late last night and this morning we received some additional briefs. We hadn't planned for these briefs and we couldn't make arrangements to hear them or we would have had to set somebody aside who had an appointment fixed some time ago to be heard, so we decided to appoint a subcommittee. I discussed this with the persons who presented us with the briefs and we appointed a subcommittee of Senator Pearson, Senator McGrand and Senator Belisle who will hear these persons involved in another room starting at three o'clock. One brief from three to four and the other brief from four to five or however long it takes. Mr. Holman of our staff will act as secretary and clerk.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, before you proceed with this afternoon's hearing, I might report to you that Senators Sparrow, Belisle and myself accepted the invitation of the Grey Knights and visited the County Jail and the local police station over the noon hour and we will be filing a report with you on our visit. Secondly, I wonder if we could have, sir, a quick resume of the programme for tomorrow?

The Chairman: Well, I just can't give it to you at the moment. It just depends on things and it has been arranged almost as we had discussed it originally subject to weather conditions and a lot of other things.

Senator Hastings: But we will be making as of now the visits as planned for tomorrow morning?

The Chairman: Yes. Mr. Blakely, who is here, was one of the men who arranged it.

The brief that we have here is from the Catholic Social Welfare Bureau and on my right is Mr. Lawrence MacPherson who held the position of activities organizer for the Young Christian Workers, Antigonish Diocese, for a period of four years. He then supervised native residential students at Prince George College, Prince George, British Columbia, for two years. Later, he attended the Nova Scotia Institute of Technology in Halifax and was granted a social welfare worker diploma. In his capacity as Social Welfare Administrator for the Catholic Welfare Bureau, he is involved in family counselling and the organ-

ization of a day-care programme in the Charlottetown area. Mr. MacPherson is married and resides in Charlottetown.

I will now call on Mr. MacPherson.

Mr. Lawrence MacPherson, Social Welfare Administrator, Catholic Welfare Bureau, Charlottetown, P.E.I.: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, ladies and gentlemen: we have gathered here today to look at some of the causes of poverty and what means may be taken to combat it effectively. For the next few moments I would like to enlarge on some of the views which we presented in our brief. We have dealt with the attitude of society towards poverty and how these attitudes perpetuate poverty. Society is a giant mirror which reflects to the poor their own feelings of failure and atrophy. Society's institutions have been set up on middle-class values and leaves no room for that segment of the population which has not been socialized to these values. Our own educational system is one example. A set of standards must be reached before a child is given the same opportunity as the middle-class. A child must be clean, well-dressed, healthy and alert before educators feel he can be successful academically. The poor child enters the school system with very little in common with the majority of his classmates. He is distinguished by the clothing he wears which reflects to the poor he is in some way inferior to his peer group. This is reinforced by the fact that he misses more school time due to poor health and automatically falls behind academically. In six or seven years he is put in a category as a likely drop-out.

This morning a brief was presented by the Grey Knights on our legal structure. I won't go into this in any detail but the middle-class indirectly dictates the makeup of welfare programmes. The middle-class forms the voting majority in this country and, admittedly, is the group which must bear the cost of welfare programmes through their tax dollars. Government is forced to use this income in a way which will satisfy the middle-class. In many cases, the outcome of an election is based on the possibility of the increase or decrease in the tax load. In this regard the poor are voiceless. Here again is another example of society's attitude towards the poor. If we do not begin to change the general attitude of society towards the poor, how can we ever expect to overcome poverty? Our social assistance programmes give money to

the poor in the form of welfare cheques, but fail to give the needed support to make these moneys truly effective in combatting poverty.

In order to make the moneys that have already been legislated to help the poor effective, we must attach a personal involvement to the problems of the poor. We can use these moneys not only to satisfy the inner needs but also as a lever to further extend the rehabilitation programme. In the Charlotte-town area the welfare assistance is granted from two local agencies. The workers at these agencies are involved with families receiving this assistance. Presently, the workers are unable to spend the long hours that are necessary to work intensively with these families. They carry a large case load and so cannot exert a concentrated effort in each individual case.

At the present time in the Catholic Welfare Bureau, we are setting up a pilot project and will be giving courses in budgeting, home management, nutrition and child care. These courses would be given to families who recognize their weaknesses in these areas and are willing to take steps to improve their situation.

The workers have been involved with these families for a number of months and have gained their trust. Their immediate needs can be satisfied to some extent through welfare assistance, but it is hoped that this programme will enable the families, through their own efforts, to solve their problems and be able to hope for a decent standard of living.

Our present Social Assistance Act states that a family of seven needs a minimum of \$325 a month to meet their basic needs. If we could give this maximum amount and aid the family in the proper budgeting of this money, we could show the poor that society is trying to make a just effort to satisfy their basic needs. But, in reality, we cannot afford to pay the maximum to the poor, because of our economic limitations. Prince Edward Island's economy is a weak one. There is a high level of dependency and on a fifty-fifty cost-sharing plan with the Federal Government, this is an expensive one for this province. Before we can put any programmes into effect we must take the programme known to the poor. At the present time there is very little information directed to this class of people. There is such a stigma attached to any welfare organization that the poor are reluctant to seek this help. When the poor

decide to seek help, they must locate the service themselves. They must go through a degrading experience in order to receive any help at all. When they receive the help, it's only the minimum. Any information they can gather is only a very small portion of what should be available to them. Most of the poor's rights are hidden from them and this increases their feeling of insecurity and failure. These programmes have to be known to the poor in intelligible terms to which the poor can relate. We must be there when the poor need help and not when we have time for them.

There is no stigma attached to the Family Allowance assistance because all of society receives it. If there is a change in this legislation, as everyone knows he is entitled to receive these extended benefits. When there is a change in the Social Assistance Act, are the people who are affected by the change informed of how they may benefit from it? No. This is kept from them and only in extreme cases do they become aware of their rights.

We tend to judge the poor by those four or five per cent who try to take advantage of welfare programmes. Welfare programme policies are geared towards this percentage rather than trying to help the ninety-five per cent who are honest and sincere in their efforts to try and help themselves. In a democratic country, the majority decides what course of action is to be taken and all must abide by their decision. For the poor, the minority are the major factor in the setting up of policies. Why does the democratic process apply only to the rich and not to the poor?

These are all the comments I have at the moment, Senators, but I would be happy to try and answer any of your questions.

The Chairman: You said that when there are changes made in the Social Assistance, no one appears to know it except the person directly concerned. What have you in mind on the changes? Do the changes need consent; can it be made at the local level? I am thinking of consent of other governments?

Mr. MacPherson: Before we speak of changes the poor are not even informed of the legislation that is now available to them. Our Social Assistance Act states that a family of seven needs three hundred and twenty-five dollars a month just to meet their basic

needs, but when they come into the office you can't afford to give them this three hundred and twenty-five dollars, so you try to give them a hundred and fifty to a hundred and seventy-five dollars and you say, "You make both ends meet on this." They don't know their rights. Legislation has said "We know you need this and it should be available to you, but it's not. We are not going to tell you about the programme." It sounds good for a government to come out at election time and say that this is what we are going to do, but in order to implement it we need the money and our island here hasn't got the money.

The Chairman: Well, what you are saying, in effect, is that the Legislation says you can go up as high as three hundred and twenty-five dollars a month on the basis of need and we will contribute fifty per cent of the money that you spend on the basis of need. In the rich Province of Alberta and Ontario the person gets \$325, because they can put up the other half. You can't afford to put up the other half so you get along as best you can. That is what you are saying?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes.

The Chairman: And that's not very good, is it?

Mr. MacPherson: It's not for Prince Edward Island.

The Chairman: Well, how do we change that then; you're a social worker?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, I haven't got all the answers. Even if the money that we have had's legislated for the poor and we give it to the poor—there has to be more than a welfare cheque from the central office. Here in the Charlottetown area we are unique. The welfare agencies are able to use the money as a lever to get to the poor, but we spend hours and hours of our time each month going through reams and reams of paper to justify the \$175 that we have given to this particular family. If the agency itself was granted this money—"saying this is your budget for the year and you will work with these families and at the end of the year you have to account for the moneys"—I think we could bring more effective service to the poor.

The Chairman: You told us that there were no local agencies and I gather from what you said they are doing what you are suggesting, or am I wrong?

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Mr. MacPherson: Yes. This is the way we are trying to work it now. Still we have to answer to the Provincial Government at the end of each month for each amount of money that we handle.

The Chairman: Why shouldn't you have to answer to the Provincial Government? The Provincial Government answers to the Federal Government why shouldn't you have to answer to the Provincial Government?

Mr. MacPherson: Because each month takes hours and hours of a worker's time to put this down on paper and to justify giving the money to the poor and if the grant was given initially to the agency itself where they are going to be responsible at the end of the year to account for this money rather than spending hours and hours a month just to justify to the Provincial Government.

The Chairman: Don't you see that what you are doing is that you are using money that belongs to people in British Columbia—public moneys and somebody has to account for public money surely?

Mr. MacPherson: I agree with that, yes, but what's the difference between accounting at the end of the year and at the end of each month?

The Chairman: Well, I suppose one of the reasons that they ask that is that they can keep a finger on what is going on and they have a little closer contact. This is an experimental thing.

Mr. MacPherson: The poor okay. We have to justify why we give this man \$175 and justify for every cent of it. When the money comes down—I shouldn't be saying these things because I haven't got things to back them up, statistics, but when this money comes down from Ottawa to the different provinces throughout Canada, if a full investigation goes into this, there are some missing there too you know, so does the money get down to the poor? This is what I want to know. If a million dollars is allocated from Ottawa for the poor, does this million dollars get to the poor? Or is there some taken out in the meantime for different odds and ends—whatever they may be?

The Chairman: No, no.

Mr. MacPherson: I don't want to get into this.

The Chairman: Well, you asked the question; let's understand it. If I don't explain it correctly, you set me right. The contract is for an open end contract on a fifty-fifty basis with certain limitations and it's administered by the province and all the Federal Government is doing is have their accountants come in and check the books—not what you did, but how much they spend and they check the books. Isn't that right?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes.

The Chairman: So it isn't a question of money going elsewhere. All of the moneys that are spent on welfare by the Province of Prince Edward Island must be spent on welfare. It must be directly spent on welfare in order to receive fifty per cent. There is not a dime that is bypassed. It all goes in. The point you're making is that there isn't enough going in and you haven't got enough authority to give them what they require because the province can't meet her share. That's what you are saying?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes. In our province with the Canada Assistance Plan, if we could initiate a programme—maybe I am wrong on this—but we'll say that the programme is going to cost two million dollars. The province itself has to come up with the two million dollars to initiate that programme and then at that year end they get a million dollars, half of it, back.

The Chairman: Yes, that's right.

Mr. MacPherson: Why can't we have a cost-sharing right from the beginning?

The Chairman: You are perfectly right. I suppose the answer to that is because you are such frugal people and have such good credit—I don't know the answer to it, but that's the method that they employ but that really doesn't handicap you.

Senator Sparrow: You asked the question and maybe you could answer the question. Your question was how much money filters down to the poor. Of the amount of money you handle—you distribute. How much of that money is filtered down to the poor in the form of money and how much is used up in the form of administration—you know, salaries and offices, etc.?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, our work—we work on a deficit financial base or basis where we deal with the agency. The agency's money is

allocated to the poor and then at the end of each month, the Provincial Government comes in and investigates the files and says "Well, you paid out \$8,000 benefits for the poor and we will return your \$8,000 to you." In our agency we have two workers, secretaries and the administration head of the organization. I don't know the figures of what was taken up in administration.

The Chairman: How much money would you spend in the course of a year?

Mr. MacPherson: I don't have that figure.

The Chairman: How much in a month?

Mr. MacPherson: You mean in social assistance?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. MacPherson: Oh, I can give you that figure. In the summer months probably six hundred dollars; in the winter we probably go to nine or ten thousand. Six thousand dollars in the summer and nine or ten in the winter.

The Chairman: Do you get an average of seven or eight? Would you run a hundred thousand dollars a year?

Mr. MacPherson: Somewhere around there.

Senator Sparrow: You referred in your verbal presentation to the value, or at least I believe you were suggesting that there was a certain value in a universal programme. Are you suggesting that all help that is given should be universal like a guaranteed annual income or that type of thing? Are you suggesting that all programmes should be universal?

Mr. MacPherson: No. Only of those who are entitled to the programme. Welfare everyone in Canada is entitled to it. There are some that don't qualify to receive under these programmes, but all in Canada are entitled to it. But this is the thing. No one makes these facts known to the poor. They figure that they are the only ones that are receiving charity in Canada. There is a stigma attached to this. Take a man that goes in to cash cheque, a family allowance cheque and a welfare cheque. The bank teller reflects society attitude for the family allowance cheque. The family allowance cheque is taken and there is no reaction at all, but you put a welfare cheque over the counter and they stop at

look. I am seeing this personally, because when I get paid from the agency, I get paid by cheque and it's the Catholic Welfare Bureau and when I go in the bank and I put this across the counter, the initial reaction is to stand back and look.

The Chairman: Well, that's because of its size.

Mr. MacPherson: I wish it was.

Senator Connolly: What is your view of the means test?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, this is it. We have to work on the means. If they need it we have to be there at least to try and give it to them.

Senator Connolly: If they don't need it could they get it?—this social allowance of any kind?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, we are getting into the Family Allowance and the Family Allowance has been accepted as universal assistance. I can't see personally that a man that is making fourteen thousand dollars—where the extra ten or twelve or twenty dollars a month is going to matter to him either way. If this money can be taken and given to the lower categories there would be more funds; there would be more benefits received.

Senator Cook: That's means test, though, isn't it? The only way you are going to determine it is to have a means test?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, I am not very well versed on the means test or on basic needs, you know, but you should deal with people under the circumstances that they find themselves in.

The Chairman: Well, in the first place I think we should make it very clear that we in the Federal Government under the Canada Assistance Act did away with the means test and replaced it with a needs test and that was a great forward step, so let's forget about the means test. The needs test is on the basis of need. If you have a client who comes in to see you and needs \$325, what is there to stop you from giving them that final \$325?

Mr. MacPherson: We don't have the money to give each individual that comes in exactly what they need.

The Chairman: Yes, but you told us that at the end of the month the Provincial Government comes in and looks at your books and

says that you spent \$8,000 and they reimburse you that \$8,000. They don't go through your books and say did you give Joe Smith \$200; why did you give it? Am I wrong in assuming that?

Mr. MacPherson: Right. Because my files are taken out and a number of records are selected at random and they go out and each thing is checked. It's a funny thing, but he may have gained \$10 a week by collecting bottles on the street and a neighbour reports that he received extra income and then they say you people are not capable and if I make the mistake, I misjudged this, we are back again judging the few who may take advantage of the welfare programme. This is what we get back to each time. You made a mistake and so then they come in and you are put under pressure so that each person that comes into the office you are skeptical. You say to yourself: "I don't want you to cheat me because I will look bad in front of the investigator when he comes in here and I am not doing a proper job." This is why we give him the feeling of inadequacy and make them beg and crawl until we decide what we are going to give them.

I know for a fact that when I am in touch with Manpower on Monday morning that there is no jobs available and if I have a person that comes in to the office, I have the pressure on me; I have to say, "Did you check Manpower?" and I already know that there is no jobs available at Manpower, because if my files are going out to be investigated they are going to ask "Were you down at the Manpower Office on such-and-such a day? Were you told to go to Manpower?" and if he says no, we are not doing our job at the agency level. This is why the poor are put through such hell to receive assistance. This is the reason. "Go to Manpower and get a medical certificate to show me you're sick." We never take their word for it and it has been proven that there is only five or six per cent that try to take advantage in these ways. They are not willing to go out and work.

The Chairman: Senator McGrand?

Senator McGrand: I can't recall your exact words when you were introducing your brief, but I think you said when they receive it, it is only a minimum and inadequate.

Mr. MacPherson: Yes.

Senator McGrand: Now our Chairman has explained a good many times that welfare

started during the dole and has grown step by step to old age pensions and Family Allowances, etc. Any true welfare programme should try to rehabilitate the person as an individual, as a human being. Would you share the opinion of some people who believe that welfare is a continuation of colonialism by the upper classes that says to the poor "Here are a few extra dollars; put them in your pocket now and don't bother us for a while."

Mr. MacPherson: No. Money is not going to be the answer. I can give my clients \$500 each which would be enough to buy their basic needs, but that is not going to help them with their problems.

Senator McGrand: That's right.

Mr. MacPherson: We have to sit down with them and this is why if the money is at the agency level and the workers can come out and use this money as a level—a lever to deal with the families and work with them and find out their problems and what steps can be taken to help them overcome of these problems, then we will make some progress. Until then we won't.

The Chairman: Well, really we have to get down to the raw bone here and talk it over. The real poor people on welfare really don't trust the social worker, do they?

Mr. MacPherson: That's a lot of nonsense. It depends on the social worker. It depends on the person who is working with them.

The Chairman: He answers your questions gladly and favourably?

Mr. MacPherson: It depends. It doesn't come when you first go in and interview the man. You have to prove that you are there willingly to help them. You have to prove that you are there to help with an honest effort and this doesn't come by one or two interview or three interviews in the office. You have to go down to the home and you have to come back and you have to win his trust.

Senator Hastings: You are not there as the ambassador of the society that put him there?

Mr. MacPherson: No.

Senator Belisle: In other words, you disagree with your own brief.

Mr. MacPherson: No.

Senator Belisle: Well, I was interested when I was reading it last evening on page 3 you said:

What do the poor really know about the services and assistance that our society, through Government, has made available to them?

Why don't you tell them?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes, I agree. We perpetuate it. The workers, the people who are working with the poor because we relate to the poor what society wants us to relate to them. We are afraid of our jobs too. You gentlemen have gone through life and you have reached your position...

The Chairman: We are set for life.

Mr. MacPherson: Exactly, but if I go into an agency and sit down and start working this way and I bump somebody above me, I have to make a living too. There are pressures on me and I have to work.

Senator Belisle: Don't misunderstand me but maybe it was the aeroplane ride or the weather that disagreed with me, but as I am reading it—you go along further and you say:

We hide from the poor the rights we have legislated for their benefit. We appear to feel that we must give the poor the minimum to which they are entitled. Why have we not disseminated the policies and the legislation to that segment of the population which it was designed to help? Are we afraid that when this knowledge becomes available we would be unable to financially meet the needs of the people to whom we have already committed ourselves in legislation? Or are we afraid that people will take advantage of these programmes? These are questions that can only be answered by government.

And then you go on to say:

"The maximum help, even if the maximum were given, is not the answer."

M. MacPherson: I was trying to relate in that brief as to you the Senators that this society's attitude toward the poor. We don't want to know about these programmes. If we don't attack these attitudes that we, society has towards the poor, we won't, no matter what we do, we are not going to succeed.

Senator Cook: Well, it isn't fair to say that we hide from them. This amount you speak of, the Canada Assistance Act is only cond

tional and the province puts up so much money, so therefore you don't hide it from them. You say that is their right. It is only their right provided the provinces put up their share.

Mr. MacPherson: How many of my clients come in and know anything about the Canada Assistance Act?

The Chairman: Why don't you tell them.

Mr. MacPherson: Well, this is what I'm doing now. We are telling them of their rights and we have various families who are working—I mentioned this pilot project in here—we have families who are working and making \$200 a month. We are going to try to supplement their income on a pilot project and get them into these courses in child care and nutrition and budgeting to see if this is going to help. We have already started towards this goal.

The Chairman: In the course of your talk you used a word that strikes my fancy and I wonder if you would take a minute just to tell me about something. You said clients. When does a welfare person become a client? At what stage?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, this is what we are taught in school.

The Chairman: Is that what you were taught in school?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes.

The Chairman: When he comes in and you take him on...

Mr. MacPherson: Then he becomes a client.

The Chairman: Well, I haven't heard the time applied that way for some time.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to ask one question. The written brief on page 4, it says:

It must be pointed out that recipients of welfare assistance are but a small portion of those who are living at or below the poverty line.

Would you comment on that? Would you enlarge on that, please?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, in the beginning of the brief I mentioned two things that were perpetuating poverty here. One, of course, was the lack of job opportunities and low wages. We have a lot of people in the Charlottetown area, a great number of them who

are good workers and who want to carry out their responsibilities, but if you have a family of five or six or seven and you make \$210 a month, this is not enough to meet your basic needs. This is not enough to make your basic needs, let alone any extras in life.

Senator Fergusson: Well, these people are really just getting along on less than the reasonable conditions, or are they doing this without applying for welfare? They are living below the poverty line?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, here's where we get into another problem. They don't come to welfare because there is so much stigma attached to it and then they turn to local loan agencies and they get deeper in debt because it offers immediate solutions to their problems; then they find a year or two years later that they are \$800 in debt and they have a payment to meet each month or their wages would be garnisheed. This is when the welfare agency begins to receive their clients when they have nowhere else to turn. We have to reach them before they reach this stage.

Senator Fergusson: Then you have many people living on that borderline?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes, many.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, down page 3 about halfway down the witness says:

If we neglect the poor's psychological needs, no amount of money is going to satisfy their inner wants; such as the feelings of being needed and being part of society as a whole. It is only when we can make them feel that they belong to society where we hope to break the chain of poverty."

Do you feel that there is a great cultural poverty here?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes. They feel their values are not the same. They can't walk up the street and hold their heads up and say "I am doing my job and I am doing what the rest of society is doing." They can't do this and society reflects to them all their inadequacies, all their failures.

Senator Inman: What would you propose that we do to remedy this?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, first of all we have to get down to their level and find out the problems and show that we do care and that we are interested in them as people and not

as statistics. This is going to take work and personal work with the individuals involved and it is not going to be carried out by having the central office giving more welfare money out. It has to be by new supporting services like homemakers' services to show a mother that if she doesn't know how to look after her home to help her to understand her problems. Day-care centres. We have day-care centres in our Charlottetown area and we are serving sixty children, but if we can't work with the parents the programme is not going to be that much or have that much effect.

Senator Inman: In other words, it's an educational problem?

Mr. MacPherson: It is.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, on the last page it says:

We have made reference to those who exploit the poor.

The Chairman: What page?

Senator Hastings: The top of page 7.

... Many of the poor are deeply in debt with one or more of the money-lending institutions in the area.

Could you enlighten me on this? Any other areas that you feel institutions are exploiting the poor? Any other areas other than the loan companies?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, I would try to answer your question this way. We have people who get in debt with small doctor's bills or small clothing bills, just small bills that are placed with a collection agency. They write them off as a lost cause, so you know they just pass it over to them and just maybe we will get something back. They have given up all hope themselves so that these people then apply the pressure because they are making a living off of this. What they collect is their business, so these collection agencies—you know you have them going into a man's place of work and wait for him while he is getting his paycheque. Two weeks ago there was a man waiting while the man received his cheque, cashed it, took his payment out first and that took the food off the table.

The Chairman: When does this province go into Medicare?

Mr. MacPherson: I'm afraid I don't know.

Mr. Alexander Burke: Sir, you made...

The Chairman: Do you live here?

Mr. Burke: Yes.

The Chairman: Fine. Go ahead.

Mr. Burke: You made a statement about the collection agencies seeing a man at his job and taking his money. What can the people do about that? It would be through the powers of government, would it not, to give them the power to go to the job and take the money off the man? Who allows them in our community to do this?

The Chairman: It's not his fault.

Mr. Burke: Just answer the question.

Mr. MacPherson: I would just like to point out that these are problems which we have to attack. We have to help the people who are the poor who are being picked on by this segment of our society who are living off of the poor and these are points I'm just finding out by going out and working with the poor. These are things that we have to fight. You know they shouldn't be in the building. They shouldn't be allowed to bother the workers and this is an education process and this is what we have to do. This is a need that we have to overcome.

Mr. Burke: Thank you.

Father Simpson (Charlottetown): There was one question asked or at least it was insinuated that the amount of money that was used or gobbled up in administration, money that perhaps would do better good or more good if it got directly to the poor. Now, I have in mind particularly the Department of Indian Affairs and the criticism has often been made that a large percentage of the money that is allocated for the Indian Affairs branch of the Government is certainly gobbled up by the bureaucrats and by public servants and so on, and only really a small portion really gets down to help the Indians.

Now is this true and is it true of all the welfare organizations or welfare department? Altogether too much is gobbled up by bureaucracy.

The Chairman: Well, Father Simpson, Senator Belisle who asked the question asked, it because it was a very reasonable question and a very appealing question because it certainly appealed to you.

Senator Belisle: Mr. Chairman, I didn't ask the question.

The Chairman: Well, whoever asked the question. Senator Sparrow. It's a very sensitive question and it's often asked and people want to know how much for administration, how much goes out and this is quite a reasonable question. You asked the same question to us but none of us can answer your question in detail but when one makes the statement that the vast proportion of it is paid out in administration as against what goes to the Indians you are entirely wrong. Whoever makes that statement is entirely wrong. The administration in the Indian Affairs Department situation as I know it is in no ways higher—maybe a little bit, I don't know because we have—they have to do a great deal of personal work—maybe a little higher, but not out of line as far as I know.

Father Simpson: What information have you got?

The Chairman: I have no data here.

Father Simpson: What control have we got?

The Chairman: Well, only government control. The Department has the control over spending the money and they are pretty careful on that. My contact with the Indian Affairs Department has been that they are spending the money pretty usefully. They may not be doing too much good, but I didn't think it was overburdened with administration although I can't give you the figures. I have been at various times on the Indian Affairs Committee and that is what I have learned and I know something about Indian Affairs.

Father Simpson: Well, I have talked to the people who are in the field helping the Indians—not only on the island but particularly in Western Canada and this is their impression.

Senator Sparrow: Mr. Chairman, we're discussing this administration cost and I wasn't asking the question to try and find an answer that there was too much administration costs, out in this presentation and in the many others we have had there is the continual recommendation that we have more administration, more workers in the field and we require more money for more workers and we heard this in the Education Brief and the Social Workers' Brief. If there is more money to come it's got to come and what you are suggesting is that it has to come—more money to be filtered directly down as well as additional money to have the administration

administered properly. Is that what you are saying?

Mr. MacPherson: The supporting agencies to go along with this and to give these agencies a chance to work.

The Chairman: You spoke of local agencies who were working pretty well independent of everyone else. Would you please describe what these agencies are doing here, because I believe they are doing something a little differently.

Mr. MacPherson: Well, our Bureau instead of the social assistance being granted directly from the central office, it comes down through a bureau and this way we can work with the poor and still have the money to help them with their basic needs. This way instead of having two contacts and an investigator from the central office comes out and gets these files on them and myself goes in to the house and tries to find work for them and help them with their problems. I have control of both and I can use the money as a lever to work with them. Also the Bureau runs an adoption agency and a home for unwed mothers and counselling and now they are starting the courses for the poor. This is what the agency is doing.

The Chairman: Well, does the agency have complete discretion to do what it thinks ought to be done subject to accounting for the money; is that all?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes. This is what we have to account for, for the money. We are limited. We can work with the poor and give them the money but if the investigation is taken over by the Provincial Government, they think that this man was paid too much money, we are responsible for it.

The Chairman: They charge you back?

Mr. MacPherson: Right.

The Chairman: Well, how long have you carried on this rather interesting programme?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, I don't know the number of years but I know it's for the past two years.

The Chairman: You have been in there two years?

Mr. MacPherson: No.

The Chairman: What is the incidence of charge-back? What is the incidence of charge-back in any period that you can remember?

Mr. MacPherson: I only know of one and maybe I will ask Sister Joan from the floor out here. She might know of some. How many times were there charge-backs?

The Chairman: How many times did you have to account for overpayment, sister?

Sister Joan: Well, you don't have to account for it because we really try not to have overpayments. Last February we had some overpayment, but not really possibly through all the fault of the agencies. In a few cases, you know, we took at face value, but most of the time we never pay the maximum in our agency so you don't really have to worry about overpayment.

The Chairman: Well, it was just a matter of judgment, wasn't it? Did it involve a great deal of money?

Sister Joan: No. Not too much because it was under the alcoholic treatment programme.

Mr. MacPherson: What it does, when you do make overpayments and then there is more pressure which comes from the top to check your files because you made some mistakes with the files and since then we have had our files investigated once a month instead of every six months; so this just adds extra work because you have to make sure.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the witness how many employees are there in your office administering this thing?

Mr. MacPherson: Two employees.

The Chairman: Besides yourself?

Mr. MacPherson: No, counting myself.

Senator Hastings: Two people?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes.

Senator Hastings: And is there anyone in the field?

Mr. MacPherson: We are in the field and we are doing that work too.

Senator Hastings: And how many clients would you have?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, we have roughly one hundred and fifty.

Senator Hastings: Have you given consideration to employing or taking into your office

some of the poor themselves to train them in social welfare work?

Mr. MacPherson: No, not to my knowledge. We have been talking about this. We were talking about bringing somebody in. I come from a family of twelve and my father was a miner and I know what it's like. I didn't come from a family with a ten-thousand-dollar income. He raised us on four or five thousand dollars; he brought up twelve of us. He gave us all an education, but just because he worked extra time himself to make this, you know; we can't expect it of all the people.

Senator Hastings: I am not questioning your qualifications or your motives.

Mr. MacPherson: No, I know that. We haven't taken any of the poor in for training.

Senator Hastings: You mentioned that they have to be educated as to what is available to them. This would be one way by starting to educate three or four of them in your office and you might find that they would be very good administrators, being well qualified on poverty themselves.

Mr. MacPherson: Along with that we hope in this pilot project we are starting to make it known because they are the ones who have friends in this category and they are going to take it to the people and this is what we hope to do. The question is how far can you go with nothing? This programme that we are setting up is strictly volunteer. We have borrowed a hall, we have borrowed instructors to give these courses and it's all on a voluntary basis.

Senator Hastings: I was going to ask who finances your operations?

Mr. MacPherson: We are supported by the United Appeal.

The Chairman: Up to a point?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes, up to a point. Somebody asked who was the administrator of the job and she said "St. Joseph".

Senator Hastings: Who is the other agency?

Mr. MacPherson: The Protestant Family Service Bureau.

Senator Hastings: Is it the same way?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes.

Senator Hastings: Not St. Joseph?

Mr. MacPherson: No.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to ask the witness isn't a hundred and fifty a very large case load?

Mr. MacPherson: For two workers it is.

Senator Fergusson: Well, isn't it unreasonable large to be able to do a good job?

Mr. MacPherson: Well, depends on how much time you are going to spend. If you are spending twelve or fifteen hours with them a day and you come back to the office at night to do your paper work and catch up—it all depends on how much effort you put into it. It is a large case load and we have to be sure that we do a fair job, but we are trying our best with what we have to work with.

Senator Fergusson: You should be congratulated for handling such a large caseload as that.

The Chairman: As I understand it, when you were at school you were taught thirty was the load?

Mr. MacPherson: Yes, twenty-five to thirty was a load.

The Chairman: The two briefs that are being heard in the other room is the one by Mr. Batcheler and Mr. Cahill and Mr. Morrison. That is in the other room and you can go out there and Mr. Lord will show you the way out.

Mr. Blakley: I think your question of the cost of administration versus the amount of money being administered to reach the poor is adequate. You have two workers and a hundred and fifty people for a caseload. I had occasion to look at the Kings County Welfare Bureau Administration costs last year and the only conclusions I could come to were that they were providing the service from a donation that amounted to several thousand dollars by each member of that agency. The director's salary would be probably four thousand dollars below that of any equivalent position elsewhere and this goes down through the agencies. So our administration costs for welfare in this province are miniscule.

The Chairman: Well, Mr. Blakley you know better than that. Listen to me for one moment while you are on your feet and you are such an intelligent fellow. You start out doing your job, looking after one hundred

and fifty people with two people whom you work to death and they don't do a good job because there is only twenty-four hours in a day. The result is that people are not getting the kind of service that they ought to get from poorer people where they could conceivably get better service and save you money. There isn't any saving at all.

Mr. Blakley: It's not a saving, but is a very responsible use of money and I think the purpose of our brief this morning was to point out that we do not have adequate resources for administration.

The Chairman: No, but the one hundred thousand dollars he has to spend isn't squandering. At the moment, he is just breaking his back.

Mr. Blakley: That's the point.

The Chairman: Yes but they can spend a few more dollars on administration, do a much better job for the poor.

Mr. Blakley: I hope so.

The Chairman: Not spending any more money.

Mr. Blakley: I would hope so.

The Chairman: Well, that is what I am talking about. I hope you agree.

Senator Sparrow: Are you suggesting that this is a cold calculated conspiracy against the poor—were you telling us this and I think you were—a person, a family is entitled to \$325 by law, but we conspire against them to cut them down to \$175. That's what we are doing. Is that because of the shortage of the dollars—sure they are entitled to it by law, but there is just not enough money in the pot to give each one the \$325. Is this what it boils down to?

Mr. MacPherson: To my knowledge this is true. There is just not enough money to go around.

Senator Sparrow: If you had a budget of \$400 and you gave one person \$325 the next person that comes along almost in as much need, you only have \$75 to give them?

Mr. MacPherson: Right.

The Chairman: No, no. You have him running out of money when the second person comes along and that is not right.

Mr. MacPherson: That's true. If I am dealing with say seventy-five clients and I give everyone the maximum amount, I could probably go over fifty before my money runs out, but I have twenty-five that I can't do anything for as far as supplying the basic need is concerned.

The Chairman: No, just a moment. What you are doing is dividing the money evenly amongst the seventy-five and if you only looked after fifty you deny twenty-five. Let's get this straight. You don't deny the twenty-five. You divide the money as best you can amongst the seventy-five, so that they all get a fair deal.

Mr. MacPherson: Yes, I think that is what the senator was asking?

Senator Sparrow: If you are distributing welfare now and you have a family that is getting, say \$325 a month, do you have a family with less than that, say, with as much need?

Mr. MacPherson: No, we are dividing it out as equally as we possibly can to everyone. Everyone is treated on an equal basis and nobody's given so much because he is so-and-so and we just try to work it this way.

Senator Hastings: Who sets your budget?

Mr. MacPherson: You mean from the social assistance end of it?

Senator Hastings: That's right. At the beginning of the month do you have so much money to work with?

Mr. MacPherson: We work with the agency's money and then at the end of the month the files are turned over to the Provincial Welfare and then they reimburse us.

The Chairman: There is no limit to the budget?

Mr. MacPherson: We can only work with what we have.

Senator Hastings: But you are not limited to so many cases next month or so much money next month?

Mr. MacPherson: No. I would just love to see what would happen if we could work it this way.

The Chairman: We have another brief to consider. Thank you very much, Mr. MacPherson. You have done very well; you have

done your job very admirably within your limitations. Thank you.

The next presentation is from the Prince Edward Island Newstart Incorporated. On my immediate right is Miss Andrena Sandford, the programme designer, and Mr. Louis Richard, counsellor. In the course of their dialogue they will indicate what this programme is all about and then the questions will come afterwards.

Mr. Louis Richard (Counsellor, Prince Edward Island Newstart Incorporated): Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, we at Newstart think it is a very commendable venture for a committee of such national scope to give such timely importance to the problems of poverty. We hope that these discussions will lead to future better planning for the problems of poverty that we are all here to study. We wish also to add that we in our own way have a research organization and are very interested and eager in bridging the gap between the affluent members of our society and the poverty stricken.

Miss Andrena Sandford (Programme Designer, Prince Edward Island Newstart Incorporated): I think it might be useful to begin with if we were to give you a short resume of what Newstart is, what it is trying to do. The P.E.I. Newstart, as perhaps you know, is part of the Canadian Newstart Programme and there are actually six Newstarts, one in each of the three Maritime Provinces and one in each of the three Prairie Provinces. The individual Newstarts are all funded by the Federal Government, but each is set up as an independent corporation.

All of the Newstarts are concerned with researching to human resource development, but each one is dealing first of all with a different type of population and secondly, each is using a different approach and each is giving a different emphasis to human resources development. The Prince Edward Island Newstart, of course, operates in Kings County, so that it is dealing with a rural population. It is working an area which has traditionally been concerned with farming and fishing. At the beginning, the Prince Edward Island Newstart's main concern was to develop a training programme and in the course of giving these training programmes in the field with farmers in the area of farm management and with the homemakers for families who have a very low income—\$2,000

or less a year and they have also worked with young men and women who have been either unemployed or underemployed and lack training to prepare for future employment. In order to prepare them for a better type of working life, we have given them basic education and vocational training that might be business fields or it might be an introduction to trade training or it might be preparation for what we call parent professional occupations, things like daycare attendance, nursing attendance and so on.

However, since the beginning of the P.E.I. Newstart a couple of years ago, its mandate has broadened somewhat and now we are trying to fulfil other parts of the human resources development and in order to do so we have instituted some community service centres in two communities in Kings County. One in Souris and one in Morell. The community centres have daycare centres associated with them and they look after approximately twenty to thirty children. We also have a counselling service which is in addition a referral service in an attempt to link the people in the area with the social agencies and with government departments which for the most part are located in Charlottetown.

The community workers also serve as a catalyst for community action in Morell and in Souris. This is just a brief outline of what Newstart is doing and I haven't touched at all on the theory behind what we are doing.

Mr. Richard: I introduced the concept of bridging the gap and I would now like to develop this for a few moments with you. In our North American society abundance where many people have the right to great affluence and in a society where free enterprise is in vogue, it seems to me that the distance that exists between the disadvantaged and the haves and have-nots will have to be breached if for no other reason than we are losing a lot of human resources.

It seems that the history has shown that these people, the haves, will not come down to meet the have-nots. I think it's fairly safe to say that the haves will continue to prosper; they will continue to acquire wealth and profit by the good life. It seems that we must find some way to upgrade many of the have-nots, preferably all of them, so that they too can fully benefit of the good life. These people are not going to be able to do it on their own. They will have to be helped to take giant steps not only to meet the haves,

but also in the hope of reaching the haves when they will have acquired additional wealth.

Miss Sandford: I think I should emphasize the Prince Edward Island Newstart is a research organization and therefore probably we have a more academic approach to the problems of poverty. We are not a service organization. We are not primarily concerned with solving the problems of individuals or families or communities, although in the course of our research we try to give the best service that we can. Newstart is concerned with accumulating a body of knowledge which will be useful to the service agencies. We are not on the front line of the battle. We are hopefully performing a useful function by acting as a recourse for the service organizations. They don't have the time nor the personnel to get involved in the individual cases or to document them in the course of operating their services; so this is the job of the organizations like the Prince Edward Island Newstart and all the other Newstarts.

Rather than trying to solve immediate problems, we are working towards longterm goals. First of all we are making an attempt to discover where the roots of poverty lie and where the efforts of Government Departments and the service organizations should be directed. Probably our community centres make more contributions than our training programmes and we have accumulated some information already on human resources surveys which were carried out in Kings County in the summer of 1968. Secondly, we are trying to discover more effective methods of training people toward employment, and this is where the training programmes come in. Thirdly, we are trying to explore possible methods of lessening the lack of knowledge of their rights and to the help that is available to them either on the part of the disadvantaged people in Kings County. Most of our training programmes are accompanied by a social development programme which we call life skill programmes.

The Chairman: Life what?

Miss Sandford: Life skill programmes. Skills for living; in these life skill programmes we are attempting to provide our trainees as we call them with the ability to find a better job with sufficient knowledge of the helping agency, so that they can actually go out and get help. We are trying to help them to handle the little money that they

have sufficiently well so that they can lead a fairly successful family life.

Another objective of the life skill programmes is to help the people who are being trained to learn to articulate better. I think it's essential that poor people should have their voice heard. Therefore we are trying to help them articulate their situation. However, we don't say that at the end of the five years that we are going to have all the answers to the problems because we are only touching a very small area of poverty and the more you get involved in this kind of thing, the more you realize just how great the problem is. I think the case study that we used in our brief illustrates just how complex the problems and difficulties of any one family are. We are going to show you one or two slides and go into this case study just a little bit.

Mr. Richard: Mr. Chairman, I have just received word that it will be a problem to show slides, but with your permission, however, and for the benefit of the audience I would like to read a few excerpts from our brief—describing this one family.

The Chairman: Go ahead, please.

Mr. Richard:

The 'Smith' family, as we shall refer to them, lives in an impoverished section of Kings County. The parents are in their mid twenties; they have three preschool-age children and are expecting a fourth child shortly. The father is unemployed, but for occasional seasonal work, and is inclined to periodic drinking bouts. At the moment, the husband and wife are separated, and since this occurrence, Mrs. 'Smith' who is now at home with her father, has received Social Assistance for herself and her three children. In the process of working with the family, the counsellor discovered that 'Mrs. Smith' had not once shopped for groceries during a period of nine months.

Now, this statement was recorded in August and the counsellor who did ask Mrs. Smith this very question was myself. After the separation of these two, Mrs. Smith obtained some social assistance. The day after her voucher for food was spent she was very excited. She told me of shopping with her sister and children and this was a great source of excitement to her. When I did question her about when was the last time she

bought groceries, she said it was a long time before last Christmas. We know that the groceries that the father did bring home were very limited and most of the food that this family ate was obtained from the neighbours. The following are excerpts from our file about this family and I quote.

The house is small, approximately fifteen feet by twenty feet, consisting of only one room—kitchen and livingroom combined, and at the far end of the house are two beds. As far as furniture is concerned, they have an old couch and a five-gallon can for one chair.

The home is an absolute firetrap. The ceilings are all stuck with potato sacks and there is not even a chimney—only pipes. There are no toilet facilities indoors or outdoors. They carry water from the stepfather's place.

One example of the father's consideration for the children comes out clearly in the case where he took one of the little girls, who attends our daycare centre, for a drive on an old Honda while he was drinking; he upset the Honda and the little girl received a badly burned leg from the exhaust pipe.

The child was in great pain all night and cried considerably; the father then beat her in an attempt to stop her crying. The next day the supervisor at our daycare centre discovered that the leg was badly infected and sent the child to the doctor where she was treated with antibiotics and the wound dressed. The child was returned to the doctor a second time for a checkup.

We can hypothesize that if there was no outside intervention the said wound suffered by this young child might have been aggravated to a great extent.

They have four or five dogs which seem to occupy a more permanent place in the home than the mother or children. It must take quite a bit of food to feed these animals and it is not known where the food is obtained.

There is no type of entertainment for the mother whatsoever. She is shut up in this 'hole' seven days a week; she has no type of relaxation or entertainment but maybe she does not realize it.

I should have added as well that this family does not even have the luxuries of electricity

or telephone and they further show in the records that on a cold rainy day she was washing outside by hand. Mr. Chairman, these are the comments that we have prepared at this time and we are prepared to answer anything that is in the brief or to anything that is not already given.

The Chairman: You say you have a daycare centre here now serving between twenty and thirty children?

Mr. Richard: Yes.

The Chairman: What do the people who treat these children at the daycare centres do and why do they take them to the daycare centre?

Mr. Richard: The daycare centre was begun with the idea of providing a worthwhile service to the most disadvantaged group of the area where the centre is located. The people did not ask to come to the daycare centre. In a programme we call "Out-Reach" where we knock on doors and told the people that we had this programme where their children could come and learn to socialize with other children and learn to prepare themselves for school; there was a gradual acceptance of this programme. We provide transportation for these children and a hot meal at noontime as well as a snack at mid morning and mid afternoon and for many of these children the warm meal that we provide five days a week is the only complete meal that they get. Our purpose in doing this besides providing a service for the children was to free the mothers that have large numbers of children so that they would have a little breather for a few hours. It was also a chance to give the mothers a chance to work outside of the home where money was needed and as well to take various upgrading courses.

There is one incident that I would like to relate to this audience. When we approach poor people—especially living in a disadvantaged area and characterized by isolation and small community attitudes, we are not always met with great enthusiasm. One case that illustrates this is a family that had two children in Grade 1 and five preschoolers at home. Upon our initial contact they refused to send their children to the daycare centre. We did not get in touch with the family for a number of weeks and after it was seen that the welfare was not taking the children away, we sent a counsellor to see this woman and at

this later stage she was very agreeable that we bring her children to the daycare centre as well. What happens is that when these children arrive they fit in very well with the group we already have. The mothers can convey to their children by their attitude that the mother was ready to leave them in the care of somebody else for extra hours of the day. By this time mother knew that we were not going to take the child away as is often the fear of these people.

The Chairman: What are the age of the children that you take?

Mr. Richard: The youngest child that we have is two and half and the oldest is five years. We have these divided into two groups.

Senator Inman: Speaking about this example family that the witness spoke of, this 'Smith' family, would you consider this an isolated case or would you find several families in those conditions? Another thing, why all the dogs? I live in Kings County and when we found a lot of dogs in places like that, we were rather suspicious that there might be a little moonshine around?

Mr. Richard: You might be right in that, Senator. I will give you a blunt no that this is not an isolated case. There are many more for which I have prepared no records.

Senator Inman: Could anything be done about these children? Would you consider that they should be taken by Welfare?

Mr. Richard: As was pointed out earlier this morning, we have to intervene at the family level and interject—inject something which the family can understand and use constructively. The example was given from the Child Welfare Division where a homemaker was sent to the home and at the end the young mother said "I didn't know I could be so happy as a poor person." This is a programme that we have also—a homemaker programme, who goes into the home and teaches these women the basic concepts of nutrition and how they can best deal with the money that they have at their disposal. As Miss Sandford pointed out, we are not a service organization and we are looking at better ways of reaching out to these people as I was saying our homemaker programme and our home economists work with these mothers with what they have. They have gone into such things as family nutrition, budgeting,

sanitation and I must say that the response to this has been excellent. Our home economist started with a small number of people and a number of referrals from the women themselves and I think when you go into these homes—this is where we need manpower—and you have time to develop a relationship with these people, sit on their dirty chairs without raising an eyebrow—I think this is where Newstart is helping.

Mr. Skip Hambling: Louis, I am interested in the development—

The Chairman: Just a minute, please. You speak when you get permission to speak from the Chair.

Mr. Hambling: No sir, I will speak right now.

The Chairman: You don't speak now.

Mr. Hambling: Why not?

The Chairman: We are holding a meeting now and there are other people who are speaking.

Mr. Hambling: Yes sir, but I am asking a question. I have a question that I would like to have answered.

The Chairman: You will put the question through me. Go ahead, Senator Hastings.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman I want to ask a question. You spoke of one daycare centre; do you have one or two? Your brief says two?

Mr. Richard: We have two. We have one in Morell and one in Souris.

Senator Hastings: And you state you have twenty or thirty children each?

Mr. Richard: A maximum of twenty in each.

Senator Hastings: Now then, getting back to this human resources survey which you took last summer, who conducted the survey?

Miss Sandford: The survey was conducted by the P.E.I. Newstart and it was restricted to Kings County. We tried to get all of the adult population in Kings County over the age of thirteen. Of course, not all of them answered the questionnaire or were willing to be interviewed, but we got the majority of the people in Kings County.

Senator Hastings: And it was conducted by the staff of Newstart?

Miss Sandford: The actual interviews were done by university students.

Senator Hastings: By university students?

Miss Sandford: Yes.

Senator Hastings: From Prince Edward Island?

Miss Sandford: Yes, that is where the majority of them come from.

Senator Hastings: How many of them would you use?

Miss Sandford: Thirty.

Senator Hastings: Now, getting to your staff of thirteen, is that the whole staff?

Mr. Richard: No. The staff of thirteen people—these people are people who have been involved in one or another ways in the preparation of this brief. We have approximately eighty in our staff.

The Chairman: Eight zero?

Mr. Richard: That's right.

Miss Sandford: This would include secretarial staff and so on.

Senator Hastings: Where do these people come from—the poverty class?

Miss Sandford: We do have additional people who are working in the daycare centres and some of the girls went through our training programme—went through a programme of training and now they are operating the daycare centres. They operate in these centres in Morell and Souris.

Senator Hastings: So that practically all of your staff is either professionally oriented or comes from middle class?

Miss Sandford: Yes.

Senator Hastings: Now, I would like to quote you from a brief that was presented to us recently in Ottawa with respect to professional staffs. It says:

The poor themselves are the most experienced and knowledgeable experts on what poverty is all about. Yet the poor are never paid to study poverty, and never paid to sit on committees and di-

cuss it, are never paid to research it, and are never paid to administer poverty programmes. One gleaming concrete example is a Newstart programme set up two years ago in an area heavily populated with Indians and Metis living in extreme poverty. After a year and a half of operation, the programme had built up a staff of forty-seven middle-class professionals and trained a total of twelve people, including one Indian. If research is the goal of such programmes, why don't they train the poor to be the researchers? Filtering "poverty money" down through the bulging ranks of the professionals in hopes that it would reach the poor.

I would like you to comment on that.

Mr. Richard: I don't know who said this...

Senator Hastings: It was the Company of Young Canadians in their brief.

Mr. Richard: That particular programme is not a Prince Edward Island Newstart.

Senator Hastings: No, that's in Alberta, but...

Mr. Richard: As Miss Sandford indicated, we have attempted to hire indigenous people and we have trained some. We believe that there is a lot of work to be done in this area. This is one of the areas that we are studying. We are studying a number of other areas as well, but we are giving some consideration to this. If I may read from one of the recommendations—one of three recommendations at the end of our brief on page 8, and I quote:

The poor, in order to achieve a sense of responsibility and overcome a sense of powerlessness, must take an active part in the solution of their problems. To this end it is suggested that consideration be given to consulting with the poor themselves prior to making definite statements about their conditions and plans for their future. Perhaps the time is ripe to complement the recommendations of politicians, senior civil servants, and the people in the professions with the opinions of the disadvantaged.

We feel very strongly about this.

Senator Hastings: I can give you the benefit of the manpower centre in Halifax who set up a special office in a certain part of the City of Halifax and hired twelve local people and gave them a crash course in counselling and

so forth and from the views of the manager of that company that the people were ex-convicts right from the local area, and from his views it was working fine. They were just as qualified as the professional. They had the one qualification which he looked for—desire to help. It was working and working very well.

The Chairman: What research do you think might be important to us which has now been undertaken? What particular aspects are you researching perhaps with some success or immediate success?

Miss Sandford: I think probably the most original aspect of our training programme is the training that we are beginning to give in life skills, which was the term that we used. As I mentioned before, life skills is concerned with very practical skills that every person needs in his daily life. The ability to handle money, the knowledge of the resources that are available to him, the ability to speak out. Mostly these programmes are rather nebulous and they cover just about every area that you can think of, including life in the home and family.

Mr. Richard: Somebody made a comment this morning that most of the curriculum in our schools today is irrelevant—that it should be closer where the students are living. I think we are trying to make an attempt in familiarizing the disadvantaged with some of the knowledge, some of the skills that they require to compete in a highly complex world. This involves communication with the banks, interest companies, insurance companies and various types of insurance credit buying and this sort of thing as well as the information on family living.

Miss Sandford: I might add that something we haven't yet run into, but we plan to in future programmes is legal rights. Familiarizing the people who are taking our training programme with their right and the right that they do have.

The Chairman: You heard the programme this morning?

Miss Sandford: Yes.

The Chairman: Was that of any interest to you?

Mr. Richard: Certainly. I think that the points that were brought out—the fact that it was a much more difficult situation financially on the poor people who commit a crime

than it is on the richer segments of society. They don't have the money. The suggestion of instalment payments if we are going to continue the present system of buying I think is an excellent idea.

The Chairman: You had a question?

Mr. Hambling: Yes, I was interested in community development component of the Newstart planning. Exactly how it works and what it seeks to do.

Mr. Richard: I think the person who is asking the question...

The Chairman: Hold everything. Your name please?

Mr. Hambling: Skip Hambling.

The Chairman: Do you live here?

Mr. Hambling: No.

The Chairman: Where do you live?

Mr. Hambling: Nova Scotia. The Company of Young Canadians in Nova Scotia.

The Chairman: You are from the Company of Young Canadians?

Mr. Hambling: Yes.

The Chairman: Whereabouts in Nova Scotia?

Mr. Hambling: Cape Breton.

The Chairman: Who is in charge?

Mr. Hambling: In Cape Breton?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Hambling: Bert Deveau.

Mr. Richard: Mr. Chairman I think the gentleman who is asking the question can possibly be as verbal if not more verbal than myself to explain to the group here what we haven't done in our community service centres because he has been hired on a consulting basis with P.E.I. Newstart and with your permission, senator, perhaps he can explain to the group what is happening.

The Chairman: What you are saying is that he is a member of your staff?

Mr. Richard: He has been with us on a consulting basis for three months.

The Chairman: And he is still a member?

Mr. Richard: Not at this time.

The Chairman: He is not now a member of the staff?

Mr. Richard: That's right.

The Chairman: Was he doing the community consulting work?

Mr. Richard: Yes.

The Chairman: That was his job precisely?

Mr. Richard: Yes.

The Chairman: Well, you tell me how well he did it then.

Mr. Richard: The theory behind the community development work is to give power to the people. This involves the work of one very dedicated person among a group or a number of groups of disadvantaged people. This person acts as a catalyst and informs a group of persons of their rights. He assists them to form into groups and to take a common united front for a solution of their problems.

The Chairman: He is an activator. That's what you call it, isn't it?

Mr. Richard: You may use that term.

The Chairman: Well, we use that term in other places; he is an agitator which has a legitimate purpose. He takes the community that is sitting on its rights or doesn't know its rights and explains the rights to it and it gets it into action and I think as a matter of fact it has worked very well in many parts of Canada.

Mr. Richard: There are indications that it is working very well in two areas where we have set this up under Mr. Hambling's supervision and the people have been assisted through a greater awareness of themselves, of their human dignity and as their value as citizens.

Mr. Dennis MacKay: Is this the type of programme that you want?

The Chairman: Just a minute. I have made it very clear that you have to put your questions through the Chair. What is your name?

Mr. MacKay: Dennis MacKay. A month ago we were contacted and told we could present a brief. Yesterday we were told that we could not present a brief. Today again we were told that we could present a brief.

The Chairman: Just a moment, please.

Mr. MacKay: Then you wanted to send us down into a room where there were a couple of Senators and a couple of members of the press. Now we don't want to only speak to you; we want to speak to the people here. I have a brief and I am going to give it. I have a brief and I am going to give it here and now. We are not the poor. We are merely witnesses. The real experts on poverty are out on the—out in their communities around the island. But they should be here. Why aren't they? Why weren't they considered? Simply, they are never considered. Welfarism dictates that they shall serve that very system that keeps them in poverty. Welfare considers the poor to be clients and the Government considers them to be poor. Now, when in the hell are we going to start treating them as human beings? Welfarism must be smashed. The people must be considered. The people will be served.

The solution is simple; not simplistic. We must stop ministering to the poor and begin working directly with them. All economic exploitation and political oppression must end. We must give power to the people. We must do it today.

Power is simply the ability to act. To consider the people is to make them free to develop their own destinies as they see them. In any way the people find. The state is the people.

The people only are sovereign. We must realize this. They don't have to command the confidence of the Government. The Government—you—must maintain the confidence of the people. The people are always right. The country and everything in it is theirs. Your only duty is to serve.

To serve the people you need only make it possible for them to achieve those goals they select; to facilitate the realization of self-defined community needs in all ways. There need be no question of fiscal responsibility or efficient administration. The only question to be asked is: What do the people want? As all comes from them, so all should return to them.

Therefore we call on you now to give power to the people. While you are still able to give it. Take the lead. Dissolve yourselves and make your funds immediately available to the citizenry.

You must act today. Yesterday was already too late. All power to the people.

The Chairman: Do the senators have any questions of the witnesses here?

21352—5½

Senator Fergusson: I would like to ask about the day centres. This is something that has been brought up in your brief and you say a great many day centres—we don't have so many but we are trying them out. I would like to know—I think if they don't do anything but provide the mothers with a little free time to catch up on what they might like to do in their homes—but I would like to know from your research how you found the mothers made use of their time. Did they use it just to catch up on themselves or did they use it to perhaps go to work, part-time work or perhaps to take some of the courses that are provided to upgrade themselves to do the work in their homes?

Mr. Richard: I think perhaps Miss Faulkner would be the person to answer that question.

The Chairman: Where is Miss Faulkner? Come up here please.

Mr. Richard: I think a member of our staff could possibly answer this question better.

The Chairman: Please, come up here.

Miss Rosemary Faulkner, Home Economist: Senator Fergusson, I agree with you that there are not enough daycare centres and especially on Prince Edward Island. On the Island there are only nine and tomorrow I am giving a brief regarding legislation for daycare centres on Prince Edward Island and hopefully a grant will encourage them to establish daycare centres especially in disadvantaged communities. Where daycare centres have been established we have found that mothers have sought employment and the mothers have been freed from the burdens of nervous tensions which is so very often the case where there are lots of little children around and a drunk husband most of the time. Mothers have sought employment and they are taking our home-making training and if nothing else they have become aware of their needs. They have also become aware that they have resources that can do these things that they never thought they could do before. If nothing else, also the family is much closer, that's what we have found.

Senator Fergusson: From your research, Miss Faulkner, you feel that we should have more daycare centres, not only in Prince Edward Island, but throughout Canada?

Miss Faulkner: That's true. For instance, the Canadian Welfare Council is putting out their paper on research done on daycare cen-

tres all over Canada. When this paper is out—I've been waiting for it for three months but it still hasn't come—you will see a great many changes that have been made, I hope.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you.

Mr. Richard: Another comment I would just add is that communities outside the communities where we have located our daycare centres and people have read about these, they have visited our daycare centres and a number of women have come to us asking for the feasibility of setting up another daycare centre, so the word is getting around.

Miss Faulkner: The problem is that no one supports people who want to start daycare centres. There is no guide or anything. Even poor people who want to start their own centres can't because there is no one to help them. In a letter we wrote to the Premier we requested daycare legislation immediately. As it stands now, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island are the only provinces without daycare legislation.

The Chairman: New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island?

Miss Faulkner: Yes.

The Chairman: What do you mean by daycare legislation?

Miss Faulkner: Daycare legislation is required so that people may establish daycare centres that they may be most useful to the children because a lot of people will establish daycare centres only to obtain means for themselves and have no regard for the children. Daycare legislation lays down required facilities, programme requirements, staff requirements, etc. I would like to comment on C.Y.C's. comment that we should be training the poor. All our girls in our daycare centres are from the disadvantaged and wherever we work in the home we work with disadvantaged ladies. By training disadvantaged women to work and visiting homemakers for the Department of Welfare.

The Chairman: What do you mean by "disadvantaged"?

Miss Faulkner: Disadvantaged both culturally and economically. Income below the subsistence necessary for survival and culturally they don't—they aren't aware of their legal rights, they aren't aware of things around them or where to get good buys, where to send children for their education; you know,

for example daycare centres—just that they are disadvantaged. They just don't have the chance that middle-class society does.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you very much for a very informative answer.

The Chairman: Were you asking a question, Mr. Burke?

Mr. Burke: Yes sir.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Mr. Burke: Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, there are two parts to this question. Part one is how many, if any, of our colleague friends who have presented the brief, how many, if any, poor did he invite to this meeting today?

The Chairman: What is your second question?

Mr. Burke: How much money is it costing the people of Canada for this Committee to talk among themselves when the poor people hear nothing of it?

The Chairman: I can assure that it's costing the people of Canada nothing more than it would under ordinary circumstances. If we weren't employed here we would be employed in Ottawa and if they weren't here they would be some other place.

Senator Sparrow: We have the same problems in our minds as these people have since we have started out on these hearings. The problem is not finding the means of talking directly with the poor people and we are finding that we have to go right out into the field which we are doing. Is there a way from the Newstart people as to how we can get to the poor people themselves up here?

Miss Faulkner: You come around to my home tomorrow morning.

Senator Sparrow: No, no, I said that we are doing that.

The Chairman: We are going out tomorrow morning and it has already been arranged.

Miss Faulkner: I think it is the development department.

The Chairman: Well, it might be the development department but no matter who they are, we have been invited out tomorrow morning.

Senator Sparrow: All of us here are saying the same thing, that there is no poor people here. We would like to see this hall full of poor people. How do we get them here?

Mr. MacKay: They will come to you.

Senator Connolly: Mr. Chairman, perhaps we should improve the loudspeaker system so that everybody could hear. I must confess that there were some things that I couldn't hear and I am a member of the Committee. Now these mechanical difficulties are not the responsibility of this Committee and I say this with some trepidation, ladies and gentlemen, because I too come from Halifax. There are different types coming from Halifax. Now, if the public address system is at fault, then perhaps our staff could make arrangement the next time we sit to improve these public speaker systems. I don't think they were adequate in Halifax and I don't think they are adequate here. I think when people are sufficiently interested in this problem which is such a massive problem and can't be solved by slogans, and it can't be solved overnight, and it can't be done instantaneously and anybody who knows that, so perhaps we can let everybody who does attend with interest in their heart at least what is being said. This, as Mr. Burke says, they have not heard today, then the fault belongs to this public address system.

Mr. Burke: We only read it in the paper.

Miss Faulkner: They don't read papers.

The Chairman: Both sides here will conform to the usual practice. You have a question?

Mr. Hambling: Senator Sparrow, I think I can give you a suggestion as to how you can get the people here because this is the work that I have been involved in. You can get the people here through the process that has already been delineated somewhere from the floor, that is, through community development. That is simply going out and giving the people the power which is simply the ability to act—for if they have the ability to act, they do become vocal, they do become mobile and they do become articulate and they will be here if you gentlemen ever hold an insurrection of this nature again. Our point is simply this. Community development programmes are being instituted all across North America today. The Province of Manitoba has its own component. Newstart even has a component. The Company of Young Canadians have some projects working here. Man has been working at this for twenty-five years in the United States of America, in Pakistan, in India and in all of the emerging countries of the world. It is not a new tactic. There is nothing to be researched or done any further on it. Simply do it. It's very simple. You get the workers out there with the people and the people will come to you and they will be articulate. I suggest to you, gentlemen, that what you are afraid of is that very fact. You don't want the people to be articulate so you do not seriously consider our brief about giving power to the people. It is again, not simplistic, it is very simple and you are simply deluding yourselves if you do not direct your attention to it.

The Chairman: Senators, no further questions. This meeting is adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

Submission to

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON
POVERTY

The Premier's Task Force on Extended Care
and Alcoholism Treatment Facilities
in Prince Edward Island

Mrs. E. M. Cudmore

Mr. R. Blakely, Mr. C. W. Hill,

Dr. J. H. Maloney, Dr. M. N. Beck

together with

Mr. E. A. MacDonald, Director of the Division
of Child Welfare

Mr. J. E. Green, Coordinator, Human
Resources Sector,

Department of Development

A. Explanation of Format

First may we apologize for the inadequacy of this submission. This reflects neither our deep concern regarding the matters into which you are making enquiry, nor the respect which we attribute to your Committee and the importance of your work.

Rather the evident lack of preparation of this submission is related to two factors. Firstly, none of us are primarily concerned in our professional roles with the problem of poverty and therefore did not take an early initiative in preparing this submission. Secondly, when your local staff representative asked us to consider making this presentation in mid-October it was then too late to entertain any thought of making adequate preparation.

We have, therefore, done the best we could under the circumstances, viz.; to prepare this covering memorandum and append to it two already prepared documents which we think have relevance to your area of enquiry and especially to that part of your charge which is stated as, "to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures".

APPENDIX I. The Report of the Premier's Task Force on Extended Care and Alcohol Treatment Facilities in Prince Edward Island contains the basic concepts required in developing meaningful delivery systems of the helping services. We would direct your par-

ticular attention to the Introduction and Chapter 1 of this report. These we think will be of interest to your committee and we are prepared to discuss them with you. APPENDIX II. An address to Rotary on Helping Services for Youth on P.E.I., adds to this basic document some local statistics and a brief review of the progress to date in working toward an improvement in the helping services in this province.

B. Basic Principles

In an attempt to focus attention on the areas in which this group might make some contribution to the deliberations of your committee, we would state the following principles as guidelines for discussion.

1. The extent of personal and social problems generally comprehended under such terms as poverty, cultural deprivation, disability, child neglect, alcoholism, mental retardation, unemployment, family breakdown, mental illness, delinquency, etc. is simply enormous. Human need cannot be defined solely in terms of cash income and poverty cannot be discussed in terms of economics only.

2. These human situations and conditions are highly inter-related, interdependent and really inseparable from one another.

3. Our helping services, in Prince Edward Island and in the rest of the country, are not now able to cope effectively with this vast range of human misery and personal suffering. They are underdeveloped, underfunded, undermanned and badly organized.

4. The historical traditions in the development of our helping services have resulted in these services becoming fragmented into isolated professional and administrative empires which communicate very poorly with each other and collaborate hardly at all in their efforts.

5. This fragmentation of service delivery systems results in serious gaps and overlaps in the services being provided.

6. Our helping services must become visible to persons in need, must become aware of persons in need as individuals, must be prepared to work with the whole person and his family, and must welcome their clients.

7. An effective attack on the enormous problems of human need in our society demands expansion of these service programs.

a decentralization of helping services to the home communities of the clients being served, and above all the integration in the local community of those services now being provided through private agencies, and the various governmental departments—Health, Welfare, Education, Corrections (Attorney-General) and Manpower.

Respectfully submitted,

Mrs. E. M. Cudmore
Mr. R. Blakely
Mr. C. W. Hill
Dr. J. H. Maloney
Dr. M. N. Beck
Mr. E. A. MacDonald
Mr. J. E. Green

APPENDIX "B"

A SUBMISSION TO THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF THE
CATHOLIC SOCIAL WELFARE BUREAU
NOVEMBER, 1969

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age, or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Article 25, United Nations Declaration of Human rights

Even though there is widespread national and international acceptance of this declaration, we still find within our urban setting many families, who through no fault of their own, have not attained this standard of living.

What are some of the causes of such a situation? We feel that the more prevalent ones in the Charlottetown area are low wages, limited job opportunities, inadequate education, inadequate household management, alcoholism, poor mental and physical health. We do not feel it necessary to go into these causes at any length because they have been studied and restudied by many experts.

We are more concerned with the attitude that society has toward the poor and how this attitude is communicated to the poor. Do we feel that the poor are, in the main, responsible for their own condition? Or do we admit that society, through its attitude, has perpetuated poverty?

It is evident that society has accepted its obligation to its members by means of legislation passed by government in the hope of

alleviating the social conditions of the poor. However, in many cases, the humanistic basis of the legislation is soon lost in the midst of the bureaucratic organization which administrators feel necessary to implement the legislation. We become so concerned with the economic and financial aspects of a program and the fear of its effect on the tax structure, that we in welfare barely meet the basic needs of the poor in relation to today's standard of living. As a result, we do not look at the seemingly more expensive, long-term rehabilitation possibilities but seem content with social welfare programs as they are. So often, we give money to the poor in the form of welfare cheques because to some this still appears to be the simplest and most economical way of satisfying, to some degree, this segment of our population. At the same time, we realize that we have not solved the problem of poverty in Canada. Are we looking for new programs that are going to perform miracles in a short period of time? Perhaps we should look carefully at the established welfare programs to see if they are reaching the potential which the legislators envisioned.

In order to illustrate this point, we would like to briefly examine the Social Assistance Act as it is administered in Prince Edward Island. Assistance to the poor is simply a means of obtaining the bare essentials of life. The policy has been to make it extremely difficult and complicated for an applicant to satisfy the qualifying regulations. Our attitude has caused the poor to feel degraded when they request assistance and so we support the feelings of inadequacy which they already have.

What do the poor really know about the services and assistance that our society, through government, has made available to them? We hide from the poor the rights we have legislated for their benefit. We appear to feel that we must give the poor the minimum to which they are entitled. Why have we not

disseminated the policies and the legislation to that segment of the population which it was designed to help? Are we afraid that when this knowledge becomes available we would be unable to financially meet the needs of the people to whom we have already committed ourselves in legislation? Or are we afraid that people will take advantage of these programs? These are questions that can only be answered by government.

Financial help, even if the maximum were given, is not the answer. The poor need to know that society really does care what happens to them and their families. If we neglect the poor's psychological needs, no amount of money is going to satisfy their inner wants; such as the feelings of being needed and being a part of society as a whole. It is only when we can make them feel that they belong to society will we hope to break the chain of poverty. We are handicapped in this area by a shortage of qualified personnel in the field of counselling, budgeting, nutrition, public health and community development.

In addition to qualified personnel, we must inform the poor of the programs and services that have been set up for their benefit. There is a segment of society that seemingly makes its living by exploiting the poor. How does this segment reach the poor and convince them of their "needs"? Through the use of the mass media, they contact the poor and lead them to believe that they will attain the standard of living towards which they have been striving. In the end the poor are in a worse state than originally. We, as a society, take no steps to reach these people before they are exploited. Our programs have only given the poor the bare essentials of life, forgetting their need for guidance and support.

It must be pointed out that recipients of welfare assistance are but a small portion of those who are living at or below the poverty line. There are families who struggle through life unable to reach a decent standard of living because of a poor educational background. They are forced to work for wages that are out of step with today's cost of living.

In Charlottetown there has been little or no industrialization and, consequently, job opportunities for the unskilled and semi-skilled are very scarce. If we are unable to supply jobs at adequate wages, we have denied the worker his right to find in his work the means whereby he may satisfy his own needs and those of his family. Such a

situation upsets family life and endangers the peace and harmony that should reign in the home. The head of the family is humiliated because of his inability to fulfill his family responsibilities; he feels that he is a failure. Moreover, a good number of those who are working, live in daily fear of losing their job. They know that there are many unskilled and semi-skilled workers on the labor market who could easily replace them.

As a consequence of low wages, many people are forced to live in substandard housing. Rodent-infested buildings which have been condemned by the health authorities still house some of the poor. Heating such premises is a major expense which adds to the frustrations and tensions of this class of people. This type of housing is the only kind that is available to the poor who usually have large families.

The poor are a very real part of society. If they cannot contribute to society and share in its productivity, the whole of society suffers. We must realize that by bettering the social, educational, economic and psychological conditions of the poor, we will be bettering the whole of society. An investment in the rehabilitation of the poor through better wages, better housing, better education and so on is an investment in the whole of society.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The two major causes of poverty in the Charlottetown area can be clearly identified as lack of job opportunities and low wages. We, therefore, recommend if this is feasible that government encourage diversified and profitable industries to locate here and pay a living wage to its employees thus the first step in combating poverty would have been taken.

In Charlottetown, we have a unique situation regarding the distribution of social assistance. The two private welfare agencies are able to administer this program directly to the poor. This enables the worker to use the money not only as a means of satisfying the client's immediate needs, but also as a lever to become involved in the rehabilitation process of the client. We believe that this set up offers a greater advantage over the central distribution of welfare cheques. We recommend that for this system to be truly effective we need more workers and additional supportive programs such as courses in child care, budgeting and nutrition.

A valuable asset in our work would be the availability of the maximum amount of

assistance to which a client is entitled. However, we are aware this is hampered by the economic limitations of our Province.

We have made reference to those who exploit the poor. Many of the poor are deeply in debt with one or more of the money lending institutions in the area. The fact that they have no hope of ever regaining solid ground is a strong supporting factor in their feelings of inadequacy. We try in so many ways to aid the poverty-stricken but offer no protection against the wolves of society. We recommend, therefore, legislation compel such companies to make a full-scale investigation of each case before credit is granted. If a person is found to be in a financial state that would likely make it impossible for him to meet the repayments the applicant should be refused credit.

CONCLUSION:

We are devoting much of our time to searching for ways to break the cycle of poverty. But in order for the poor to feel a part of society the rest of society must change its attitude towards the lower social economic group. If the stigma that is attached to poverty was erased, it would be a major breakthrough in the war on poverty. All must be educated to an awareness of the problem and all must be willing to work for a satisfactory solution.

This brief is one of the many that you will hear throughout Canada. It is concerned with the problems of the Charlottetown area which are similar to other areas in the Atlantic region.

We thank you for the opportunity to be heard and we hope we have aided you in

some small way in your responsibility to make recommendations which would benefit the poor.

BRIEF HISTORY OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL WELFARE BUREAU

The Catholic Social Welfare Bureau had its origin as an activity of the Charlottetown Hospital, which was operated by the Sisters of St. Martha. In 1931 a Social Service Branch of the hospital was started to serve the needy of the city and provide part-time nursing care.

1934—Organization of Catholic Charities on a diocesan wide basis.

1942—Moved to location at 135 Pownall Street

1948—Catholic Social Welfare Bureau became incorporated

1950—Constituted as a child welfare agency under the "Children's Protection Act".

Services:

Administers general welfare assistance to needy persons in the Charlottetown area.

—Child Welfare Services:

- (a) unmarried mothers (residence)
- (b) foster homes
- (c) adoptions

—Co-operates with other agencies in operation of a day care program.

—Operates a detoxification unit for alcoholics (Talbot House).

The Catholic Social Welfare Bureau is a member of the Canadian Welfare Council and the Catholic Charities of Canada.

APPENDIX "C"

Brief
presented to

THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

by

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND NEWSTART
INCORPORATED

Montague
Prince Edward Island
November 6, 1969

Confederation Centre, Charlottetown
Prince Edward Island

The following brief has been prepared by Prince Edward Island NewStart, which, as part of the Canada NewStart program, is conducting research into methods of human resources development. Based in Kings County, P.E.I., the company, which began its actual operations in the winter of 1967-68, has been concerned both with the development of individual potential (through educational and occupational training programs) and with community development (principally through community service centres in Morell and Souris, two of the larger communities of Kings County). By instituting the training programs and the community service centres, P.E.I. NewStart has been brought into close contact with some of the large number of disadvantaged people in the area. In addition, by carrying out a Human Resources Survey in the summer of 1968, it has accumulated evidence that poverty does exist in Kings County, information which has since been substantially confirmed and expanded by the reports of NewStart personnel involved in the actual implementation of our projects.

Innumerable attempts have been made to define exactly what constitutes poverty, and the bemused inquirer can only conclude that there are as many faces to poverty as there are poor people. However, certain factors continually recur in any description of the disadvantaged and, as the Human Resources Survey convincingly demonstrates, these factors operate upon the people of Kings County. Lack of steady, well-paying employment is undoubtedly a major cause of poverty in an area in which the traditional sources of work (farming and fishing) are in a process of decline and which has little in the way of natural resources to attract industries. (Of the men

who responded to the survey, 47.55 per cent of those unemployed at the time reported that they could not find work.) It follows, as a result of this fact, that many families in the area are subsisting on an extremely low income (consisting for the most part of welfare payments and family allowances). Unavoidably, these families are restricted to the lowest possible standard of living—highly inadequate food, clothing and shelter, with the inevitable accompaniment of physical and mental deprivation. In this situation, education becomes an expensive luxury rather than a basic right, as the drop-out rate from schools shows (61.10 per cent of the men and 41.21 per cent of the women who took part in the survey have an education of grade 8 or less). Without education and vocational training, the unemployed are severely handicapped in their search for jobs. In addition, while jobs may be available elsewhere (e.g., in urban centres of other provinces), it would appear from the survey that the disadvantaged population of Kings County is relatively immobile or, if eventually impelled to move, will prove to be incapable of achieving successful adjustment to an environment other than the one they are accustomed to. The survey revealed that 57.62 per cent of the male population interviewed and 44.48 per cent of the female population—i.e. 1,390 men and 1,016 women—had left Kings County to look for employment or for higher-paying jobs, and had subsequently returned.

The immobility of the disadvantaged, combined with the isolation of a rural population, affects not only employment, but also their physical and mental well-being. Since most of the medical services and social agencies which could provide the poor with valuable assistance are located in the larger centres (principally Charlottetown), they are, to all intents and purposes, virtually inaccessible to the people who require them most. It was largely to provide a necessary link between the people and the services that NewStart decided to set up its community service centres.

Lack of employment, minimal incomes and a low standard of living, insufficient education and job skills, immobility: these factors crop up with significant striking regularity.

So far, we have been concerned with a general appraisal of some of the causes of poverty in this rural area of P.E.I. In order

to illustrate the effects of poverty and the seemingly insoluble web of frustration in which the disadvantaged person finds himself, we would like to present the case of a family with whom the counselling staff of one of our community service centres has been working. The "Smith" family, as we shall refer to them, lives in an impoverished section of Kings County. The parents are in their mid-twenties; they have three pre-school-age children and are expecting a fourth child shortly. The father is unemployed, but for occasional seasonal work, and is inclined to periodic drinking bouts. At the moment, the husband and wife are separated, and since this occurrence, Mrs. "Smith", who is now at home with her father, has received Social Assistance for herself and her three children. In the process of working with the family, the counsellor discovered that Mrs. "Smith" had not once shopped for groceries during a period of nine months.

The following are excerpts from the file compiled by the counsellor who has been most involved with the "Smith" family:

"The house is small, approximately 15' x 20' consisting of only one room—kitchen and living-room combined, and at the far end of the house are two beds. As far as furniture is concerned, they have an old couch and a five-gallon can for one chair.

"The home is an absolute fire-trap. The ceilings are all stuck with potato sacks and there is not even a flue—only pipes. There are no toilet facilities inside or out. They carry water from the step-father's place.

"One example of the father's consideration for the children comes out clearly in the case where he took one of the little girls, who attends the Day Care Centre, for a drive on an old Honda while he was drinking; he upset the Honda and the little girl received a badly burned leg from the exhaust pipe; the child was in great pain all night and cried considerably; the father then beat her for crying. The next day the supervisor at the Day Care Centre discovered that the leg was badly infected and sent the child to the doctor where she was treated with antibiotics and the wound dressed; the child was returned to the doctor a second time for a check-up.

"They have four or five dogs which seem to occupy a more permanent place in the home than the mother or children. It must take quite a bit of food to feed these animals and it is not known where the food is obtained.

"There is no type of entertainment for the mother whatsoever. She is shut up in this "hole" seven days a week; she has no type of relaxation or entertainment, but maybe she does not realize this exists."

The "Smith" family is representative of many disadvantaged families in Kings County, in that their situation is compounded of an intricate network of problems. Since NewStart's intervention in the case, the father has succeeded in finding steady employment and his drinking bouts have become less frequent. The mother and children, although still separated from the husband and father, are temporarily in a more stable environment and are better-off financially. However, a great deal of work still remains to establish the "Smiths" as a successful family unit. NewStart has only begun to document the nature of poverty in Kings County. The importance of continuing research into the causes and possible solutions of the problem cannot be too strongly emphasized.

During the past two years, P.E.I. NewStart has carried out a number of experimental training programs in farm management, homemaking, basic education upgrading, introductory trades training, and vocational training (for day care attendants, male institutional attendants, and sales personnel). Many of these courses have been accompanied by a social development program designed to teach the practical skills (money management, job-finding techniques, etcetera) necessary for successful family life and rewarding employment. The community service centres, since their opening this summer, have been active in teaching home management and in providing day care centres for pre-school children from disadvantaged families. The community workers, operating from the centres, have been involved in encouraging community action and in providing a counselling service.

Since NewStart is primarily a research organization, all of its projects are being documented and evaluated, and it is proposed that the results of the research presently being carried out will be made available after the close of NewStart's operations to various government departments and social agencies. Although final conclusions cannot be reached until a later time, we would like to present the following recommendations based on our findings to date.

Recommendations:

—The problem of poverty in any area, whether rural or urban, must be met by a combined force, rather than by a host of individual organizations, whose independent actions often result in much duplication of effort; there is an urgent necessity for all private, public, and voluntary sectors to pool resources. However, it must also be remembered that no single program will suffice; the problems of the disadvantaged, many and varied as they are, can only be solved by an energetic, simultaneous attack on every front.

—Rural poverty, aggravated by isolation and small community attitudes, can be dealt with most effectively on a regional rather than a national level. A national body, no matter how competent and concerned is unavoidably removed from the immediate impact of poverty. A local body is more aware of problems particular to the area and is better able to institute measures most appropriate for that area.

—The poor, in order to achieve a sense of responsibility and overcome a sense of powerlessness, must take an active part in the solution of their problems. To this end it is suggested that consideration be given to consulting with the poor themselves prior to making definite statements about their conditions and plans for their future. Perhaps the time is ripe to complement the recommendations of politicians, senior civil servants, and the people in the professions with the opinions of the disadvantaged.

—If the problem of poverty in Canada is to be overcome, it is essential that extensive and comprehensive research such as that presently being conducted by the Canada NewStart program be continued until effective solutions can be found and implemented. The disadvantaged segment of the population will then be provided with the opportunities for healthy development and successful living which the advantaged already enjoy.

The study of the development of human resources and their utilization can yield much new knowledge, knowledge which can teach us about the social and economic interactions of man and by which we may alter these interactions. We must continue through research to seek knowledge and to use that knowledge for the betterment of the Canadian people.

Respectfully submitted,
Austin L. Bowman
Executive Director

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

STAFF OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
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Position: Executive Director.

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Position: Social Development Specialist

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Education: B.A. 1965 Bishop University M.Litt. 1968 University of Edinburgh

Position: Social Development Program Designer

Name: Louis Richard

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Position: Counsellor Supervisor

Name: Leo Walsh

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Education: B.A. 1969, Saint Dunstons University

Position: Counsellor

Name: James Cain

Age: 21

Education: B.A. 1968, St. Dunstons

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Name: Charles Mair

Age: 32

Education: Grade XII, working experience
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Position: Counsellor

Name: Christelle MacKenzie

Age: 35

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Dunstons Univ. 1950

Position: Community Development Worker

Name: Theresa MacDonald

Age: 46

Education: Teachers licence 2. Five years
teaching experience

Position: Counsellor



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 5

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1969

WITNESSES:

Dr. J. R. Smith, Chairman, Economic Council of Canada. Dr. Sylvia Ostry, Director, Economic Council of Canada. Mrs. G. Stewart, Staff Member of the Economic Council of Canada. Mr. B. Lacombe, Staff Member of the Economic Council of Canada. Miss J. Podoluk, Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators

Bélisle	Everett	Lefrançois
Carter	Fergusson	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Connolly	Fournier (<i>Madawaska-</i>	McGrand
(<i>Halifax North</i>)	<i>Restigouche,</i>	Pearson
Cook	<i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Quart
Croll	Hastings	Roebuck
Eudes	Inman	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

GERRY LEMIRE,
Clerk of the Committee.

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969.

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban; rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

“With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

WEDNESDAY, November 12th, 1969.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Croll, *Chairman*; Cook, Eudes, Ferguson, MacDonald (*Queens*), McGrand and Quart.

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

Dr. J. R. Smith, Chairman, Economic Council of Canada.

Dr. Sylvia Ostry, Director, Economic Council of Canada.

Mrs. G. Stewart, Staff Member of the Economic Council of Canada.

Mr. B. Lacombe, Staff Member of the Economic Council of Canada.

Miss J. Podoluk, Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

(Biographical information respecting Dr. Smith, Dr. Ostry and Mr. Lacombe follows these Minutes.)

At 11.50 a.m. the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chairman.

ATTEST.

Patrick Savoie,
for Gerard Lemire,
Clerk of the Committee.

Curriculum Vitæ

Smith, Arthur J. R. Born Simcoe, Ontario, 1926. Family: Wife (née Ruth Carey of Hamilton, Ontario), children, three daughters. Primary and Secondary School Education: Coonor and Ootacamund, India; and Simcoe, Ontario. Degrees: B.A. (1947), McMaster University (Hamilton, Ontario), Mathematics and Political Economy; M.A. (1949), Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.); Ph.D. (1955), Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.), Economics. Previous Positions: Teaching Fellow, Harvard University, 1949-50; Economist, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, 1950-54; Canadian Economist, National Industrial Conference Board, 1954-57; Lecturer, Extension Department, McGill University, 1955-56; Secretary-Treasurer and Director of Research, Private Planning Association of Canada, 1957-63; Director of Research, Canadian-American Committee, 1957-63; Secretary, Canadian Trade Committee, 1962-63; Director, Economic Council of Canada, 1963-67. Present Position: Chairman, Economic Council of Canada. Member: Science Council of Canada; Social Science Research Council of Canada; Agricultural Economics Research Council; American Economic Association; Ottawa Political Economy Association.

Ostry, Sylvia (née Kneiman): Present Position: Director, Special Manpower Studies and Consultation, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Born Winnipeg, Manitoba and attended Winnipeg public schools and University of Manitoba (two years pre-medicine and one year medicine). Degrees: B.A. (honours economics) McGill University, 1948; M.A., McGill University, 1950; Ph.D. Cambridge University and McGill, 1954. Theses: The Canadian Pulp and Paper Industry: A Study in Comparative Costs: M.A., 1949-50; The Development of Countries of Arrested Economic Development: The First Indian Five Year Plan: Ph.D., 1950-54. Awards: Isbister Scholarships, University of Manitoba, 1943-44; 1944-45; Aikins Scholarships, University of Manitoba, 1943-44; 1944-45; Alexander MacKenzie Scholarship, McGill, 1947-48; Cherry Prize, McGill, 1948-49; Arthur Tagge Fellowship, McGill, 1948-49; Moyse Travelling Fellowship, McGill, 1950-51; Canadian Social Science Research Council grant, 1959-60; Canada Council grant, 1960 (summer); Canadian Social Science Research Council, 1960-61; Canada Council, 1961 (summer); Research grants from McGill University, 1959-60-61. Teaching Experience: Graduate Assistant, McGill, 1948-50; Sessional Lecturer, McGill, 1951-52; Lecturer, McGill, 1952-55; Lecturer, Sir George Williams, 1948-50; 1951-54; Assistant Professor, McGill, 1958-62; Visiting Lecturer, Carleton University, 1959; Associate Professor, University of Montreal, 1962-64. Research Activities: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation—Member of Interdisciplinary team studying the extent and nature of urban development in the province of Quebec in the inter-censal decade, 1941-51. Manuscript on economic aspects in McGill School of Architecture, 1951-52; Federal Department of Labour—"Third Party Intervention in the Canadian Railway Industry; Non-operating Unions, 1948-54", manuscript in Economics and Research Branch of the Department of Labour, 1955; National Film Board of Canada—Background research for film series on unionism in a modern industrial society, 1954; University of Oxford Institute of Statistics—Research Officer, 1955-57; Senate of Canada Committee on Manpower and Employment—Commissioned for Study

on the Definition and Measurement of Unemployment, 1959-60; Government of Manitoba Committee on Manitoba's Economic Future—Commissioned for Study on Population, Labour Force and Wages, 1961-62; Dominion Bureau of Statistics—1961 Census Monograph on the Labour Force (in collaboration with F. T. Denton), 1962. Assistant Director (Research), Labour Division, 1964. Consultant on Manpower Studies; Economic Council, 1964-65, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1966.

Publications: "Wage Criteria in Collective Bargaining", *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, Jan. 1956. "The Wage Structure of a Large Steel Firm", *Bulletin of the University of Oxford Institute of Statistics*, Aug. 1958. "Interindustry Earnings Differentials in Canada", *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, April 1959. "Some Aspects of Canadian Wage Structure: Implications for Union Policy", *Proceedings of the McGill Industrial Relations Conference*, 1959. "Inter-establishment Dispersion of Occupational Wage Rates: Ontario and Quebec", *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, May 1960. "The Canadian Wage Structure", *The Canadian Economy: Selected Readings*, edited by John J. Deutsch, Burton S. Keirstead, Kari Levitt and Robert M. Will, Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1961 and "Real and Money Wage Levels" in Revised Edition, 1965. *Senate of Canada, Committee on Manpower and Employment*, Vol. VI. "The Definition and Measurement of Unemployment". "The Senate and Unemployment", *Canadian Banker*, Winter, 1961. *Labour Policy and Labour Economics in Canada*, (with H. D. Woods) Macmillan Co. of Canada, Toronto, 1962. "A Note on Occupational Differentials", *Southern Economic Journal*, Jan. 1963. "The Economic Impact of Canadian Post-War Immigration", *Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto*, April 1963. *Population and Labour Force Projections to 1970*, Ottawa, 1964 (with F. T. Denton and Y. Kasahara). *An Analysis of Post-War Unemployment*, Ottawa, 1964 (with F. T. Denton). *Economic and Technological Change in the Sixties: Its Implications for Labour Standards Legislation*, Proceedings of Twenty-Third Conference of the Canadian Association of Administrators of Labour Legislation, Charlottetown, 1964. "Uses of Job Vacancy Data in Various Countries", *The Measurement and Interpretation of Job Vacancies*, National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1965. *Economic Status of the Aging*, Ottawa (DBS), 1966 (with Miss J. Podoluk). *The Female Worker: Labour Force and Occupational Trends*, Ottawa (Department of Labour), 1966 (with N. Meltz). *Regional Statistical Studies* (editor, with T. K. Rymes), University of Toronto Press, 1966. "Comparative Research Approaches", *Industrial Relations*, Vol. 21, No. 4, October 1966. *Historical Estimates of the Canadian Labour Force* (with F. T. Denton), Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1967. *Provincial Differences in Labour Force Participation*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1968. *The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1968. *Unemployment in Canada*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1968. "The Canadian Job Vacancy Survey", *Proceedings of the Industrial Relations Research Association*, Washington, Dec. 1967. "Problems and Possible Solutions in Measuring Job Vacancies: The Canadian Survey", National Manpower Advisory Committee Subcommittee on Research, Washington, March 1968. *The Female Worker in Canada*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1966. *Geographic Composition of the Canadian Labour Force*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1968. *Working Life Tables for Canadian Males*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1968 (with F. T. Denton). "Canadian Manpower

Problems and Policies" (with Gerald Somers) in *Manpower Planning and Labor Problems in Canada*, R. V. Miller and F. Isbester (editors), Prentice-Hall, Toronto, (forthcoming).

Lacombe, John B.: Born: Montreal, Quebec, September 10, 1944; *Education:* St. Mary's University—B. Commerce, Honours Economics Courses taken at University of Ottawa primarily on quantitative side of Economics. *Positions:* Bank of Canada 1½ years prior to joining staff of Economic Council of Canada in 1965.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Wednesday, November 12, 1969

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Our witness today is Dr. Arthur J. R. Smith, Chairman of the Economic Council of Canada. Dr. D. L. McQueen, who was Vice-Chairman of the Council at the time, appeared before the Committee on April 22 and 24 of this year and gave us a great amount of valuable information. Before we proceed I wish to inform Dr. Smith and the members of the Committee that we have some ladies here from the Adult Education Division of the Collegiate Institute Board of Ottawa. Mrs. Pauline Posluns is in charge and they are taking a look at how government operates. This is about as good an example as they will be able to find, so they are welcome.

Dr. Arthur J. R. Smith, Chairman, Economic Council of Canada: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, I should first introduce my colleagues here: On my right is Dr. Sylvia Ostry, who is a director of the Economic Council. On the far side is Miss Jennie Podoluk of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, who has been our consultant with particular reference to the field of poverty. Mr. Fred Belaire is Secretary of the Council. Mrs. Gail Stewart, Miss Angela Julien and Mr. J. Barry Lacombe are members of our staff who have been working in this field.

May I also say that it gives us a good deal of pleasure indeed to be invited to return to this Committee to testify again. It is rather like an encore.

Mr. Chairman, I think I should say a few words at the outset, especially since I was unfortunately unable to attend to testify last April when the Economic Council appeared before you at your first two days of hearings. I will fill in a little bit of background about what we have been doing in this field. We have continued to do some work in the field of poverty during the past year. The hearing last April was concerned largely with the

work we had done in the preceding year which was reported upon in our Fifth Annual Review. Since that time we have published some further information on the work of the Council in the seventh chapter of the Council's Sixth Annual Review. Yesterday we released a technical document entitled "Measuring the Cost of Poverty: Some Considerations and Estimates," which I believe the members of the Committee have. It is a paper attempting to set out some rather preliminary and rough measures of at least part of the economic cost of poverty in Canada.

The Fifth Annual Review, as you will remember, had a number of purposes. It attempted deliberately to draw attention to the problem of poverty in Canada, to focus on the fact that it was a large and serious problem in Canada. It attempted to give some idea, even if very rough and approximate, of the magnitude, the dimensions, of poverty in Canada. It attempted to set out some of the basic characteristics of poor people, to the best of our ability with the information we could pull together from the 1961 census, in order to provide a better basis for an approach to planning anti-poverty programs. It also attempted to touch briefly on some of the relevant background information, including some of the developments that had taken place in the war on poverty in the United States, and to consider the relevance of some of these developments for Canada. It attempted, again in a very initial and preliminary way, to set out a few proposals in order to begin to lay the basis for better, more co-ordinated and more effective efforts to deal with the poverty problem in Canada.

In the Sixth Annual Review, we have continued our work, and in this case focused attention mainly on the economic significance and various economic aspects of poverty. This, as we emphasize at the beginning of the chapter, is not in any sense to suggest that the economic aspects of poverty are the main or, necessarily, the dominating aspects. In the past the human and social aspects of poverty have tended to be viewed as those of almost sole importance, and I think it is fair to say

that there perhaps has not been enough attention focused on some of the economic aspects of poverty that are also significant and important.

In the course of the work we undertook, on which we reported in the Sixth Annual Review, we have tried to focus on some of the economic costs of poverty. We have tried to focus on some of the failures in our economic system as it has affected poverty, especially on the failure to seek out, to develop and to harness more effectively the potential manpower resources and capabilities of the poor. We have also taken a look at some of the effects of poverty on people, and we have placed considerable emphasis on the need to generate income earning capacities much more effectively among the poor.

In the course of our approach in that review, we drew attention to the fact that one could view the poor in basically two main groups. One is the group of people who have very little income earning capacity to develop or to deploy. For this group, which is by no means the largest group of the poor, it is obvious that income maintenance policies are essential. On the other hand, there is the larger group of people among the poor who appear to have what one might call "remediable disadvantages." They have disadvantages because they do not have an adequate amount of preparation, education, training and "investment in themselves"—if I can put it that way—to be able to play an effective part in our economic system. At the same time, our economic system tends to operate in a variety of ways that do not provide adequate opportunities. In many cases and in many places our system seems to discriminate against making effective use of people whose capacities may be limited but who nevertheless do have capacities, and have capacities that certainly could be developed further, especially as they gain work experience and perhaps some on-the-job training.

We have had a look at a number of sources of information, at various studies that have been made, and have concluded that for the most part those who are heads of families of working force age do not appear to be people who lack motivation or potential capacities; that given adequate training and investment in themselves they are people who can play a useful and significant role in our economic system.

On the basis of that premise, and on the basis of a variety of assumptions, we have

attempted to calculate roughly in the technical document which we released on Monday, supplementing chapter 7, "Poverty", of the Sixth Annual Review, some estimates of what the economic cost of poverty is, or at least what a part of that cost is,—the part which we have called "lost output", the lost income that we have in our system—because of the lack of adequate participation by poor people of working force age.

In those calculations we have attempted, through a series of different kinds of assumptions, to examine how much more output we would have in the economy had we been able to bring poor people into more effective participation in our economic system—those who are unemployed under various assumptions of unemployment rates among this group, those who are not participating in the labour force at all, and those who are already employed but have very low incomes. Progressively higher estimates of lost output and incomes are derived from sets of assumptions about poor people's potential earnings—moving up from levels equivalent to those of people who are just entering the labour force to levels equivalent to those of the average person in the labour force of the same age and sex and education level.

Accompanying these estimates are other estimates attempting to indicate that there would also have been a larger total income—a contribution again to our gross national product—if adequate capital resources had been put in place to go with the higher employment and more effective employment of poor people. Putting these numbers together, we indicated a range of lost output from somewhere just below \$1 billion to something of the order of \$2 to \$2.5 billion. That is a fairly sizeable amount of lost output. I should emphasize, of course, that that is a gross figure. That is an indicate of the benefits that would be derived from effective participation of poor people in our system. It does not take account of the costs that might have been involved in bringing them into active participation in this way, so it does not indicate the results which one might obtain from a cost/benefit analysis. It merely indicates the gross costs, but these are quite significant.

Mr. Chairman, I have covered a number of things, perhaps enough to start the ball rolling. We are very pleased to be able to assist in any way we can in the constructive work which this distinguished committee is undertaking.

Senator Fergusson: I have a question that is certainly not an economic one but is raised in chapter 7 of the Sixth Review. If the Economic Council has provided us with this reprint, I certainly thank them, because we look on your Sixth Review as sort of our bible. The reports are a little awkward to carry around, therefore, this will be most useful and I am sure we are very grateful for it.

What I want to discuss appears on page 111 of the Sixth Review where you refer to the misconception about poor people not wanting to work. You mentioned this already in your opening remarks, but on page 111 you refer to the widespread impression that the poor are poor because they do not want to work. Now, it is obvious from what is said in the chapter on poverty that you do not hold this belief and feel it is a misconception. I certainly agree with you and I am sure that many other people, including some members of the committee, find this misconception to be very widespread, because about 80 per cent of the people we speak to firmly believe it. You cannot convince them otherwise. Can you suggest any way that this misconception can be corrected? Is there any way to give effective publicity to it? Can the Economic Council help?

Dr. Smith: I would like to suggest, as an answer to that, that we should encourage them to read the Sixth Annual Review. I think this, as you so rightly pointed out, is a widespread, deeply entrenched view and it is a view which will probably only gradually get replaced. We all live, sometimes for a very long period of time, with certain kinds of mythologies. The myth that the world was flat was one that held sway for a long period of time before it was corrected. I do not mean to be pessimistic or flip about this. I do think it is a view that is widespread and I believe it will take some time. Probably one of the things that would help a great deal would be some demonstration projects of various kinds to indicate that this is not what the situation really is.

In the United States, where a number of projects have been undertaken, it is quite clear, from their experience, that this is not true. For example, the National Industrial Conference Board, in one of their recent Records, reported on some of these things. I remember one case in which they reported on a project seeking to bring the hard core unemployed into employment. They indicated

that in the course of seeking to integrate these people into industrial activity, well over 50 per cent proved to be highly satisfactory and only a really small percentage—something like 14 or 15 per cent—were dismissed or let go because their performance was unsatisfactory. It was a very small minority.

Senator Fergusson: That is really a small percentage in view of what people think now. As you have referred to the United States, I would like to read the following from page 113 of the Review.

Recent U.S. attempts to develop careers for the poor by redefining job specifications in a number of fields, such as health services, education and social welfare, are particularly worthy of note in this context.

Could you tell us a little more about those attempts to develop careers for the poor?

Dr. Smith: Yes. I would ask Mrs. Stewart to tell you about this?

Mrs. Gail Stewart, Research Officer, Economic Council of Canada: This development of new careers, and the movement which is called New Careers, is an attempt to bring many of the disadvantaged people into occupations in the service industries where the social needs are great and where the professionals working in these fields are very hard pressed. In order to do this successfully, a careful redefinition of the kinds of jobs that are done is required. Perhaps I could take the medical field as an example. In the development of nurses' assistants and nurses' aides, it is necessary to examine and redefine some of the jobs done by nurses and distinguish those which could be performed by less trained and skilled personnel. The same principle applies to the field of social work where the social worker traditionally does many things—where, if the job were looked at very closely, it might be possible to restructure the jobs in such a way that people of less experience or less training could undertake some of the tasks. Teachers' assistants who work with children in the schools are another example of the sort of area in which new careers have been developed for disadvantaged people.

There is a considerable amount of literature and interest in these possibilities now in the United States. I do not think you would have difficulty finding and drawing upon this in order to see whether some U.S. experience in this field might be relevant in Canada. We

would regard it as certainly worth looking into and would be happy to direct you to the literature that we know is available on this subject and some of the places where this kind of development is going on.

Senator Fergusson: This would mean that formerly when a job was advertised it required professionals with certain qualifications, and probably people with much less qualifications could do much of the work.

Mrs. Stewart: A job can be subdivided, in fact.

The Chairman: Mrs. Stewart, as I recall, much of the criticism has been directed against the federal Government for asking that certain jobs be filled by people with university degrees rather than less educated people who are well able to do the jobs. This has been brought to the attention of the federal Government.

Mrs. Stewart: In a very general way, in our Sixth Review we talked about barriers to entry which are generally set by educational requirements that are often unnecessary. I should point out that many of the principles embodied in "new careers"—this is a term which has been applied to bringing people into the service industries—are, of course, of much more general application in terms of looking at job specifications that can be applied to other industry and public services as well.

Senator Cook: Dr. Smith, you refer here to the extract from the Sixth Review on page 111:

The real sources of poverty among the potentially employable poor are generally to be found among such factors as a high incidence of inadequate skills and education...

That brings us right to the question of school dropouts. I have been surprised and interested in some of the excellent briefs we have had in which they make the point that dropouts occur, not necessarily because of economic reasons but because the student is not very comfortable in the system of education, which is designed primarily to fit him into a university. In other words, he has no intention, desire or ability to qualify for university. He becomes bored, and cannot keep up and so he drops out. Would you comment on that?

Dr. Smith: Yes. This has been a problem, but it is in the process of changing. The ear-

lier dropouts we had were indeed high. As one looks back over the course of educational development in Canada, one can see that we put an enormous amount of effort and energy into education in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of this century, primarily with the view of getting nearly all children, or at least a very large proportion of them, through elementary school. We were thinking of basic literature. There was a lot of discussion in those days of reading, writing and arithmetic. Just after the First World War we had largely achieved that objective, and a very high proportion of children, in fact, were graduating from elementary school.

During the 1920s we did not put a continuing effort into taking the children along further in the secondary school system. Our efforts flagged. It was not really until after the Second World War that that effort came through in a major way.

As I recall, around 1950 we still had only about half of the 14- to 17-year old children in school; the other half had dropped out. That has changed very dramatically in the course of time since then and we are now at a stage in which, of that age group, the 14- to 17-year olds, we have something like 85 per cent now enrolled.

This is an enormous advance in a relatively short period of time. The dropout problem is much less intense now. There is a variety of reasons, I suppose. Part of this reflects changes in the curricula and the introduction of somewhat more interesting things.

For a long time, too, we had a major educational gap in Canada. We had not developed post-secondary technical schools in any significant way, to provide skilled training at the higher levels. But this gap has been closing rapidly in the 1960s. Going back to the way in which you put your question, think there are now many more opportunities for people to go along and move into the non-university stream, into the higher level of skills, especially skills in which there have been intense shortages for a long time—indeed still are—in many fields. I think this in the process of improving.

Nevertheless, this is a problem. One of the questions to which we should perhaps be giving some more attention is this. Up to now we have put a very considerable amount of emphasis on enlarging the resources avail-

for the formal educational system. But when we come to think about how to allocate resources to develop people who are better educated, with more skills, and ultimately a more productive labour force, we should probably be giving some further thought to ways in which we might allocate resources—perhaps even more effectively, in some cases—other than simply building more and better schools, improving the quality of teaching, and so on. There are other kinds of ways of using resources that might help to influence the minds and attitudes of parents and students towards education, and encourage more of a commitment among younger people to stay on in school. There are certain frustrations that encourage dropouts, and we do not understand some of these yet. There should be more research on this subject.

The Chairman: You speak of more commitment. Can you think of any better commitment than the returned veterans had after the last war?

Dr. Smith: What happened in that commitment after the last war—I do not remember the exact figures—was that we had a very large surge in the educational system. But we did not sustain that.

After the war, the United States had a large flow into the educational system, particularly at higher levels, in the universities. In the United States enrollments never turned down again after the last war. In Canada, veterans came back into the universities and here was a general bulge, but then there was a decline in university enrolment again. Sustained growth did not come until the 1950s and 1960s.

The Chairman: The reason for that general bulge you speak of, was it not because there was that sustenance there?

Dr. Smith: Yes.

The Chairman: Was that not the main reason, that they had the ability to do it, they had the wherewithal?

Dr. Smith: It was partly that they had the wherewithal and partly that that in itself effected encouragement by our society for them to do it. It was indicated that it was a desirable thing to do.

The Chairman: What you say is that it did not carry over to the younger brothers and sisters, to the same extent it did for them?

Dr. Smith: Yes.

The Chairman: The evidence we have been hearing so far is that in very many instances, although not entirely so, it is because they were not capable of doing it. They had to get out and earn some money and bring it into the house, and they did not have clothes, they did not feel they fitted in, and so they dropped out to try and earn what they could.

Dr. Smith: Yes. Of course, this has been changed in a major way, because we have been now building up very rapidly very large resources in our educational efforts. The expenditures on education have been growing, as you know, with great vigour. Our expenditures on education in Canada, Government expenditures, have been doubling every five years. So we have an extremely rapid rate of growth and very considerable effort is now being put into this field.

Senator McGrand: Rapid growth in education that you just mention—how will that affect or remedy the large number of dropouts from schools which Senator Cook has just mentioned? Are these dropouts who do not want or cannot do a university course? Are they good material for the services that Mrs. Stewart referred to, these new careers?

Dr. Smith: I am not sure whether we are talking about two different things or the same thing. A significant part of poverty—by no means the only part, but a significant part—is attributable to an inadequate educational and training base among people who are now adults and mature. The major part of the problem here is to consider how we can move more effectively in many cases to upgrade their education and training. In some cases, because of very early dropouts, there may be need to provide some very basic education. We have some procedures now to assist in this.

In other cases it may be that, without very intensive training, people can be relatively easily equipped to play some better part. One talks about the dropouts. However, at the present stage in the educational system these have now been greatly reduced. We are taking young people much further along in the educational system. The basic educational base in going up for these people. In adult life, it is going to be relatively much stronger than that of the present adults. However, one would still like to move higher. We are really at a stage, I suppose, now where there is a counterpart to the objectives that I mentioned

earlier. We are really now at a stage where we are trying to move nearly all of our young people, if possible, through the secondary school system, and beginning to move a very significant part of them through at least a year or two of post-secondary education.

We have been building up the enrolment ratios very rapidly, and this is the major factor that has been putting a financial strain on the educational system.

When one looks at the enrolment in post-secondary institutions, there is sometimes a tendency to feel that this huge surge we have been seeing in the nineteen sixties is the result of the fact that the leading edge of the post-war baby boom has reached the secondary level, and become the leading edge of a boom which is occurring there; but, in fact, the longer retention of young people in the educational system is a far more important factor than simply increased numbers of young people in the rising enrolments.

On the question of the drop-outs that are still occurring, and whether these are people who can be brought along, I am not sure of that.

Mr. Lacombe, do you have anything to add in this field?

Mr. J. Barry Lacombe, Research Officer, Economic Council of Canada: Not right now, aside from saying that there are many factors which influence a student's decision to leave, some of which are, for example, operating within a school system per se, and others operating outside the school system—that is, family environment or some other factor. I do not know the relative importance of these, and there is not a great deal of evidence in Canada on this particular topic.

Senator McGrand: It seems that you have a great expansion in school building and school facilities. There have been tremendous expenditures, and that seems to go along side by side with the increased number of drop-outs.

Dr. Smith: Our drop-outs are declining, Senator. They have declined, as I indicated, quite steeply at the high school level over the past 15 years or so. They have been continuing to decline.

In the United States, if I remember correctly, in the 14- to 17-year old group, about 90 per cent of these young people are now in the educational system. In Canada we have about 85 per cent of them in the educational system.

Back in the early nineteen fifties we had something less than 50 per cent, whereas in the United States the figure was, as I recall, up around 70 per cent. So we have closed what was a considerable gap with the United States. We have gone a long way toward closing it.

If I recall our estimates on enrolment ratios for that group to 1975, we would anticipate that in Canada by that stage we would be up to 90 per cent or so. So there is some further way to go yet.

Senator McGrand: It is a general feeling you hear that children drop out of school in order to earn money to support their family. There is a big difference between dropping out to earn money to support the family that is at home and dropping out because the family has not got the financial resources to keep the student at school. You have to distinguish between those two groups. There is no mistake about the fact that the previous generation had a tremendous number of young people dropping out at school in order to help support their families. I wonder if that is so today? Have we any statistics or figures to indicate that young people are leaving school in order to support their mothers and fathers or the family that is at home?

Dr. Sylvia Ostry, Director, Economic Council of Canada: I think we have figures which suggest quite the opposite. Some portion of the surge in female participation has been undertaken in order to maintain the schooling of children for a longer period.

I also think it is important to try to put the role of formal education and its relevance to the questions you are discussing in some perspective. There is a tendency, I think, to believe that the extension of formal education is some kind of solution to all our problems, and while it is quite true that there has been a world-wide development of extending education to a larger and larger portion of people, the North American continent is unique in many respects in the degree to which that has gone.

In European countries, and even wealthy European countries like the Scandinavian countries, if you look at the relevant data, the streaming process starts much earlier than it does here. Young people who are clearly not either through motivation or aptitude or any other reason, intending to go on to university, are streamed at an earlier age. There is a good deal more vocational counselling at a

earlier age so that they have more information about the kinds of choices they might make. There is a much more extensive network of relationships between the school and the place of work so that the transition from the educational and training system into the world of work appears to be a much easier one.

If you look at the teenage unemployment rates in these countries, they are the lowest of the rates rather than the highest of the rates, as they are in North America.

I am not suggesting that their pattern would suit us. We are a different kind of society. Nonetheless, I think there are questions to be raised about the relationship between formal education and some kind of training and job success—however you want to define that.

In the sixties there was a tremendous spurt under the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act, which was enacted in order to develop technical colleges and schools and to promote some form of streaming. I think the effort at streaming has been a healthy one, although we do not have enough firm information on the output of these schools and their relative success compared with the output of the more formal academic institutions.

The Chairman: Dr. Smith, you spoke earlier about our emphasis having been on the human and social aspects of poverty. You were directing your remarks more toward the economic aspects. I think that was more or less the statement you made earlier. Now, as I recall the situation when we began our movement in the social field—and our efforts have been considerable compared with those of any other country in the world, the basic information was not only in respect of the human and social aspects of the problem but also concerned the redistribution of wealth. That is what we were talking about all the time.

Have we failed in our purpose of redistributing the wealth?

Dr. Smith: Let me make quite clear that in what is said in the Sixth Annual Review the Council is not trying to suggest that the human and social aspects of poverty are not important. Obviously, they are of very great importance indeed.

However, to a very large extent there was in the past a widespread tendency to think of poverty as a human and social problem, and

there has been an accompanying tendency to think that the problems of poverty can therefore be largely dealt with by welfare policies of one kind or another, by redistribution of income or redistribution of wealth. There is a tendency to think that poverty is basically a problem of lack of resources among the poor and that some sort of redistribution system will simply take care of this.

Obviously, elements of redistribution are very important and, as I stressed, income maintenance programs are extremely important programs for significant numbers of poor people who simply do not have a capacity to earn income. Nevertheless, I do not think we will find solutions to our poverty problems, if this is the sole or even the predominant approach to it.

There is something else that is also very important—the concept that the poor want to participate and should be participating in our economic system; that they have not had the preparation and they frequently do not have opportunities, because of the way in which the system works, to participate; that it is a very important objective—and this in economic terms—to help to bring poor people into active participation in the economic life of our nation. This is the approach we had in mind.

The Chairman: At page 112 you state:

...tend to make the economy function in a way that is pervasively discriminatory against the poor.

I think those are your words.

We hear it constantly said to us, "They are keeping us poor." We finally ask, "Who is keeping you poor?" They reply, "The system is keeping us poor." There is something to that statement by the poor, as you suggest in your report. Give us some leads, so we can go about helping to correct that, because we think there is something wrong too.

Dr. Smith: I suppose there is a variety of things. We have touched on one or two of these already.

The Chairman: Yes.

Dr. Smith: One of these, mentioned earlier, was that in approaches to recruitment there are frequently rules—if not formal rules, then rules of thumb—which tend to discriminate against the poor, perhaps by the fact of requiring higher levels of achievement in education or certain kinds of experience

which may not in fact be necessary for the jobs in question.

There are ways in which, perhaps, even our social welfare and social development policies tend to create barriers. For example, I think we would want to have a hard look at the way in which there may be impediments imposed on the poor because of high rates of marginal taxation on added funds for the poor.

The Chairman: You mean earnings, do you not?

Dr. Smith: Yes, earnings. In some cases they cannot use added resources, sometimes they cannot even use some social assistance payments, to take courses. There is a lack of day care facilities and centres which might provide a basis for better participation. In other words, there is a whole variety of things that appear, on the one hand, to make it difficult for people in poverty to make the kinds of advances that would allow them to participate, and barriers and impediments, in terms of discriminatory hiring practices and so forth, which reduce the opportunities for them to gain steadier and better employment.

The Chairman: Doctor, just take a quick look at the White Paper. Assuming it stays as it is, it would seem to me that at the moment there is some provision for such things as day care centres. That could be under the provision permitting a woman \$500 per child, up to four children, for some such care. There is something there about exemptions. There is something there about taxation. Do you see anything at all within the concept of that paper that should be of some considerable help to the poor of Canada?

Dr. Smith: I have not had an opportunity to consider in any detail the implications of that White Paper. Obviously, one of the major functions of the proposed changes is, in fact, to bring about a significant redistribution. The clear intention is to reduce the burden of taxation on lower income people and, relatively, to increase it on the higher income earners.

As for the day care provisions, Mrs. Ostry may want to add a comment.

I think with regard to poor people there is the question of whether the provisions of being able to deduct \$500 per child for day care centre payments will be of great value to most of those at the very low income levels,

because most of them do not pay significant amounts for such care.

Dr. Ostry: There was a survey undertaken a couple of years ago, which should be published quite shortly by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, for the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour, which showed that in the case of the great majority of working women with pre-school children the children are cared for under informal arrangements, either in their own home or in the home of a neighbour or a relative, and a very small proportion of mothers paid for child care service while they were working. In those cases, we have some idea of the amounts paid, and they were very small. This would suggest that even if they did pay and if they had to keep receipts and so on, it would be unlikely those women who were earning very little and paying nothing or very little for child care services could take advantage of the \$500 allowance. This might be a stimulus to a greater proportion of paid services in communities, but I do not know.

Senator Fergusson: Is not the reason that the women make use of this informal method because there are not enough services for them to use?

Dr. Ostry: Yes, that is one reason; and this might stimulate the building of day care centres, and so on.

Senator Fergusson: Do you think the \$500 would not be worth while?

Dr. Ostry: I have not looked at the data very closely. The earnings of these women are mainly in the very low end of the income distribution. I do not know, but I hope that study will be published quite soon. Certainly, the thing that is most surprising is that most of these children are looked after in their own home, and a great many by the father.

Senator Quart: I am sure I am not going to be very popular in saying this. I am not an economist or anything else, but certainly I am more confused than ever about all this, and I would like some things clarified, if possible.

To begin with, I thoroughly agree with what Senator Fergusson said about public opinion. Too frequently it is said of the poor that they do not want to work. From my very limited experience it seems that a poor person would soon become discouraged by continually going to see Manpower to find employment and discovering that they never seem to be

able to deliver what they are supposed to provide for the underdog, but seem to be catering to the ones who can manage for themselves.

I agree with what Senator Croll has said about the welfare system. If any of us here were really in need—and perhaps after all the attacks that have been made on us, we will be—and we were on welfare, then we would be afraid to take a position in case we would be cut off, knowing that it takes weeks to get back on. That fact in itself is discouraging. I have been told that if a person is taken off welfare, it takes him ages to get back on again. This is what I have been told. I have never tried it, but one day I will, so help me. I will do what two people in Montreal did when they decided they were going to find out if all of these things were true. They put on old clothing, and went around to the welfare agencies. I wish they would write about their experiences, because I know they were given the runaround. A similar thing happened in Toronto just last week. Perhaps the agencies and the social workers upon hearing about this, will act differently.

Another thing is that the poor read about the enormous sums subscribed by the public to the United Appeal and the Federated Charities, and they know that when they go to the agencies they get their counselling, but that does not put three meals on the table every day. A tremendous amount of money is being spent by the Government and other agencies on research. I have been told that the reason for the failure of the United Appeal to reach its goal this year is because it came out that the salaries of the social workers absorbed 80 or 85 per cent of the amount subscribed by the public. I know that in respect of the Federated Charities in Montreal that is a fact. Perhaps that is all very necessary, but at the same time it does not put food on the table for a family.

The voluntary agencies long ago—and I assure you I know something about this—were more receptive to the demands made upon them than they are now. Most of them have said: "We will allow the Government agencies and others to carry on. They are getting the financial assistance", and they do not even provide fuel, clothing, and so on, which they did in the past. They say: "Look at all this money that is subscribed. Look at the amounts spent on research and for social workers. Surely, we do not have to work so hard."

I know I am going to be very unpopular in saying this, but would it not be possible to cut down on the staffs of some of these funds like the Federated Charities and the United Appeal, and give a little more monetary assistance to the people who really need it. If I happened to be in that class I think I could be starting a revolution. The employers are also to blame. They are too exacting. As someone mentioned, they want a Ph.D. when they are looking for a furnace man. The employers should be alerted as well.

The Chairman: Senator, may we come to the question?

Senator Quart: I am making a speech, but I am very het up about this. Do not be surprised if I appear before some of the agencies in the guise of a poor person, because I want to find out what is going on. I do not blame the poor people for being thoroughly discouraged.

I should like to mention also the student loans. Loans are being given to students who do not really require them, and whose families can provide the money, just as we did, for the education of their children in universities. Such students apply for student loans, and they get them because they can tell the bank manager that their fathers are so-and-so. But, when a poor person goes to the bank for a loan he finds it very difficult to get one. I have been wondering whether we could arrange for loans by which the Government would take a chance on these people, and encourage them to set up in some sort of little business with which they could cope having regard to their education. That may be ridiculous, but I still come back to the point that the people who are in real need today in Canada need monetary assistance as well as counselling.

Dr. Smith: Well, senator, I do not think I have anything to say...

Senator Quart: I am sure you have, but you do not want to be as unpopular as I am.

Dr. Smith: ...as to the alleged excessive size of the staffs of the social welfare agencies. We did a survey in a number of communities in Canada this year of how the social welfare agencies were operating, and it may be that Mrs. Stewart will want to add something as to that, but I would like to say something briefly about two of the other points upon which you touched.

First of all, with regard to the question of the interconnections between the social welfare agencies and the manpower programs I should say that this is a matter of very great importance. At page 119, in the second paragraph, of our last review we said:

There appears to be a widespread lack of co-ordination between welfare and manpower services; good co-ordination is needed here to help family units achieve economic viability...

Senator Quart: Congratulations.

Dr. Smith:

...It is the poor who particularly need access to manpower programs, and this should be reflected both in the objectives and the operations of such programs in Canada.

It is quite clear, I think, that while our manpower programs have been developing and are doing some useful things, this particular concern so far has not really been reflected very much in their approach.

With respect to student loans, I think it is vitally important that we be quite clear in this country that no young person who has the ability, capacity, and desire to go to university should, for financial reasons, be denied an opportunity to do so.

Senator Quart: I agree.

Dr. Smith: Our developing programs, including the student loan program, are aimed at that objective, and I think on the whole we are probably doing fairly well with regard to that objective at this stage. The amount of resources we are allocating to education is quite substantial. The tuition fees and other incidental educational expenditures by students at university now account for only ten per cent of the total government expenditure of post-secondary education. It is a small part of the total expenditure. There is still a very large cost to the students but that is a cost they all share, namely the cost that is involved because they do not earn an income while they are going to school. It is a cost to our society as well, a substantial and perhaps a larger cost than the government and private expenditures on education.

Senator Quart: Please do not misunderstand me; I am not against student loans. Could some sort of arrangement not be made for the poor? Senator Vaillancourt, who died not so long ago, had a Caisse Populaire in

Quebec. During the war I had a lot to do with it as a member of the Soldiers' Family Welfare Committee. We could go to this Caisse Populaire if the dependents' allowances happened to be late or for some other reason these people really needed help. The wives of servicemen could arrange a loan at the Caisse Populaire as long as our committee was responsible. It was a marvellous arrangement that was set up at that time. It is just an idea I am throwing out, but surely I am entitled to express an idea. I am so confused about the whole thing, but something has to be done.

Dr. Smith: Mrs. Stewart, would you like to add anything about the social welfare agencies?

Mrs. Stewart: It is important to recognize that the question extends well beyond Ottawa. Indeed, there was an article in the *New York Times* within the last ten days about the role of voluntary agencies generally, and the communities who were contributing to them and how they were concerned about their needs and priorities. I think this concern is a very pervasive phenomenon throughout North America today.

It needs to be looked at in this broader context so that we can see it in terms of what the agencies are, and what they should perhaps be doing, and whether indeed they are there to provide services or to function as a channel through which income is transferred to the poor. We should see whether they should be providing services that we look to on a continuing basis as part of the service to the disadvantaged or whether perhaps some of the agencies should conduct experimental programs which the public sector might later take over on a continuing basis. The historical development of these agencies has frequently been that activities started in the private sector by voluntary agencies have been taken over later by the Government. Schools for deaf children, and so on, have moved in that direction.

Our survey indicated that the private agencies all across the country are in effect agonizing about the kind of choices they have to make. They are trying to evaluate in a systematic way whether their services are genuinely useful and whether some of them should disappear completely and other spring up. The whole movement towards citizens' action groups can perhaps be seen as a measure of the failure of the voluntary agency services to adjust sufficiently rapidly

changing needs. New groups are coming along and gradually moving in. This is a broad subject area in itself. Voluntary agencies too are handicapped, as are government services, by the inadequate information which we all have in this area, and by the institutional barriers which are as pervasive in the voluntary agency field as they are in the rest of the country. There are barriers between agencies from different churches, ethnic groups and other groups in a community. Many are trying to decide whether they should get together and offer services on a larger scale. It is all one problem in a sense, and it has these many facets which are much better looked at as highly inter-related in themselves and inter-related with the public services that are now offered.

Senator Quair: That would certainly be my opinion. May I just add that it is much more difficult for voluntary agencies today to go out and collect funds, because people say "We give to the United Appeal; we do this and we do that." People get tired of knitting baby clothes to be sold at bazaars to raise funds. Maybe they should be subsidized to an extent. Would you not say that would encourage them to go on and do a tremendous job for the community?

Mrs. Stewart: Yes, I think there is no question that the volume of activities carried out in this country by the private agencies and in the private sector is not to be overlooked in absolute terms. In dollar terms the amount of money they raise is not very large, but the kind of services and the thinking in these agencies are a part of the total package of Canada's social services.

The Chairman: We are speaking now of agencies which rely on gifts by individuals. They are not awarded grants or subsidies.

Mrs. Stewart: It is difficult to draw that line in a very hard and fast fashion. Some of them do receive some forms of government support from various levels of government, but typically this is a small part. These are generally privately financed services.

The Chairman: The amount of money they receive would certainly not be more than 10 per cent.

Mrs. Stewart: No, it is very small.

The Chairman: So that 90 per cent of the money comes from the individual who wants

to give charity. How do you tell him where his charity should go?

Mrs. Stewart: This is extremely difficult. It is difficult even for the people who administer the money to know where they should put it once they have got it. Some communities have carried out social audits for this purpose.

Senator Quair: Do you mean, Senator Croll, in order to prevent overlapping? Most women's organizations are rather cautious when spending money that has been so hard to earn. I think they would go in and make a little investigation before just giving out the money at random. I have a great belief in women's organizations, as you know. I should say the men's organizations too; I am sorry. I am not a militant suffragette, but I think most voluntary organizations are spearheaded by women anyway.

The Chairman: The voluntary organizations raise vast sums of moneys across this country which they spend in their own way. It would be a tragedy to the poor people and to us probably if we did not have an outlet for a great deal of that kind of activity. I know there are some problems in Ottawa but I picked up a newspaper the day before yesterday in Toronto and saw a figure for the welfare fund of \$12 million, over-subscribed one or two per cent. Other places may do better or worse. In the main it is an outlet that gives people a feeling that they are doing something of value, and they are.

Senator Fergusson: I do not agree that a community-minded organization raising funds for the good of the community will spend money at random. I have no experience of Montreal, but I have some experience in my own city, albeit a small one. I am a member and a director of some organizations that apply to the United Appeal for help, and I know they do not inflate what they ask for, and they do not waste money; the money is spent to excellent advantage. Maybe it would be as well to have an investigation to find out how these things can be done better in the future, as Mrs. Stewart says. I am all for that. However, I do not like the criticism that these people are spending money at random, that all the money is going into operations, because I do not believe it.

Senator Quair: Neither do I.

The Chairman: Dr. Smith, in speaking of the cost of poverty in Canada—I know it is an "iffy", but your "iffies" have not all been

bad in the past—you spoke of \$2.2 billion approximately. Then you said that was 1961, when the gross national product was \$37 billion.

Dr. Smith: We did not say that in our paper here. The newspaper said that.

The Chairman: I got that from the Canadian Press.

Dr. Smith: I assume they are correct.

The Chairman: They are usually correct. The gross national product is now \$77 billion. Can I properly assume that the cost at the present time, brought up to date, would be approximately \$4.5 billion?

Dr. Smith: I am not sure exactly what it would be. The conditions were somewhat different in 1961. For example, in 1961 there was 7 per cent unemployment in our economy, and under those conditions there would, I think, be an underlying tendency for there to be relatively more people in poverty. In the interim, there has also been a general movement of growth and development, many kinds of changes have occurred that might have some effect on this. Therefore, simply to take a percentage at that point and translate it to today's conditions is not quite correct. On the other hand, obviously with a larger GNP, the figure would be somewhat higher.

The Chairman: Somewhat higher than what?

Dr. Smith: Than the \$2.2 billion.

Senator Fergusson: I understood you to say that some provision might be invoked to reach the poor people who are not being used to full advantage by Manpower. Am I right? The only reason I mention this is that at one of our recent meetings we learned that Manpower in Halifax is conducting a sort of pilot project that is reaching the really poor people. I thought I would just mention that to you, although you are probably aware of it.

Dr. Smith: Yes, I have heard about that.

Senator Fergusson: I was greatly impressed.

Dr. Smith: Within the present framework of policies there is nothing to preclude much more attention by Manpower in some of these directions. It may very well be that there is a built-in tendency, seeing people who come into the manpower centres, to feel that since the chances of success in training and placement may be relatively better with those who

have a higher basic education; there is an ingrained tilt to bring those people into their operations rather than tilt it the other way and work on the basis of trying to make an effort for people who obviously have greater problems.

Senator Fergusson: It is easier not to do it, of course, but is there some way in which they could be persuaded to try this out?

Dr. Ostry: I do not think there is anything in the organization of the Occupational Training of Adults or in other parts of the legislation within the Manpower policy range to preclude their focusing on particular disadvantaged groups. In the United States the most recent pronouncements of the Administration and the Department of Labour have focused even more sharply on the disadvantaged. They have quite clearly said that the purpose and range of programs is to assist those who, for a variety of reasons, cannot accommodate themselves easily in the labour market. That has not been so here; that has not been explicitly stated. I think the project you mention, and other things I am aware of, suggest that the Department of Manpower is exploring this area. We really have no idea what portion of their program covers the group we would call the disadvantaged. We have to look into the characteristics of their trainees, the characteristics of their mobility grantees and so on, in order to know exactly what groups they are reaching in this program.

Senator McGrand: We have been talking a great deal about jobs for poor people. In the final analysis, this can come only from the development of our natural resources. Much emphasis has been placed on regional disparity and the poor areas of Canada. What part have these poor areas and these areas of regional disparity played in increasing the number of poor as we see the problem today?

Dr. Smith: In our last review we took a look at some of the regional patterns of poverty under the definition we used at that time, under the rough poverty lines we used as a proxy. We took a look at regional patterns and the regional incidence. What emerges, as you may recall, is that the incidence of poverty, the chance of being poor, is much higher in the low income regions, but in terms of total numbers the low income regions of the country do not contain most of the poor people in Canada. Most of the poor people are in cities from Montreal to the West.

We tried to emphasize at that time that approaches to anti-poverty policies and approaches to narrowing the regional disparities were two different things, and that we must be careful not to confuse them.

It is quite possible to conceive of a situation in which one might remove regional disparities—I am talking hypothetically—by bringing up the average incomes in the low income areas, in the eastern provinces, and still have a great deal of poverty in Canada, because most of it is not located there.

Secondly, it is quite possible to achieve, again hypothetically, a very large reduction—indeed, the virtual elimination—of poverty and still find that does very little to narrow regional disparities, because again most of the poor are not in the eastern provinces.

I think these are two separate problems and, in spite of certain inter-connections and inter-relationships, I feel it is very important that we have clearly different policy approaches to deal with them. There are two problems and we need two sets of policies in approaching them.

With regard to the question of natural resources, what has been happening in the long run in this country and indeed in virtually every country, as income rises, is a process that we loosely call "industrialization," but it is probably a rather bad word. When people think of industrialization they usually think of manufacturing activity, construction, and utilities. But this sector of economy, in terms of employment, has grown very little over the long run. It stays fairly stable. What happens basically in terms of the changing structure is a very substantial, relative decline, and in some areas absolute decline, in employment, along with a very large relative decline in output in primary industries such as agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining. On the other hand, there is relatively a very large growth in the service industries: transportation, retail, wholesale trade, finance, insurance, real estate, communications, community services, business services, personal services, government services. These all grow relatively.

In Canada this shift in structure has been taking place with great speed and vigour in the post-war period. Just after the war, about one-third of all our employment was in the primary industries. Twenty-five per cent of it was in agriculture and about the same in manufacturing. Today less than 10 per cent of

our employment is in the primary industries, about seven per cent in agriculture only. A vast change has taken place. At that stage, just after the war, we had about 40 per cent of our total employment in services and 60 per cent in all the goods producing industries. Today that is reversed and about 60 per cent are in services and less than 40 per cent in the goods producing industries.

This is the kind of change that takes place. In the primary industries and the natural resources industries, by and large, there are major job adjustments taking place. Quite a number of these are declining industries, and this is posing considerable problems in certain regions of this country. It is posing large problems in the rural areas, because over the last 10 or 15 years our rural population has declined somewhat. These are areas which, no less than the surging urban areas, need high quality services, such as education, in order to provide an effective base for future population, whether they work in the natural resources industries or shift to other areas. These processes of adjustment create difficult problems.

We have two sets of problems on opposite sides of the coin. We have great problems in the primary industries and in rural areas in the process of these adjustments and we have, as we all know, great problems in our urban communities, which are expanding so rapidly that we are facing a whole array of difficulties arising from increasing congestion and pollution.

Senator Cook: Mr. Chairman, I want to go back to one final question on this subject of dropouts. First of all, I am sure we are all very encouraged to see that the figures indicate that the situation is improving. I was wondering if you have any observations as to what should be done to hasten that improvement, in the way of the services that have now been offered and as to what can be done for those who are not particularly anxious to have an academic education.

Dr. Ostry: Again, there are some pilot projects in the United States which have tried a variety of means: (a) of preventing dropouts and (b) of streaming students so that this transition I talked about can be more effectively implemented from the schooling system into the world of work. These have been sponsored by the federal manpower administration or more often by some lower level of government, either state or municipal. They

have turned out to be extremely expensive projects from the cost benefit analysis that I have seen. There is not much of this available. They have turned out to be extremely expensive in the sense that for every person they retain, the amount of money spent in relation to the estimate of the benefits which flow from the retention suggest a very unfavourable cost-benefit ratio. This has led them to explore other means of doing this. That is the only evidence we have received that you can reduce the dropout level through very expensive campaigns and counselling.

There may be other factors of a more deep-seated nature, such as some that have been mentioned in terms of motivation and family atmosphere and environment. This also touches on the whole area of investment in education, and the returns to it. The reason people stay on or do not stay on at school is one which increasingly is being revealed through research to be infinitely more complex than we had thought even five or 10 years ago when the first literature was produced on this whole area of investment in human resources. Even that is not a very satisfactory answer. I am simply trying to say that we have done almost no work in this area. The Americans, who have done some, are uncovering more problems than they are providing answers for, and again one would hope that we would adopt the same approach that is the approach of demonstration or pilot projects of an exploratory nature where we could derive some information which would allow us to move forward.

Senator Fergusson: Dr. Ostry, you spoke about "streaming" children at a very early age and in some countries much earlier than in Canada. Do you think this is really valid? Can it really be determined, when a child is very young, as to which stream he should be put in, and is it not possible that at a later age a child may find himself locked into something which he does not like at all and for which he has no aptitude?

Dr. Ostry: Yes. I should make it perfectly clear that I am certainly not advocating the 11-plus system for Canada. I think the British have also moved away from this and are concerned that precisely what you have suggested is happening, and this is a great danger. Nevertheless, there is something intermediate between that very early streaming and the kind of system where everybody is prepared for university regardless of their aptitudes, desires, and so on. I am not suffi-

ciently up to date in regard to other provinces, but in Ontario there is an effort to provide a wide range of opportunity to children, in the hope that they will be able to effect this transition—that is really what we are concerned with, the transition from the world of school to the world of work—without as much difficulty as has been evidenced in the post-war period.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you.

The Chairman: At the bottom of page 108 you speak about "remediable disadvantages", and then you go on to define income maintenance, and you say: "a decent minimum standard of living, without qualification." That is the first one. Secondly, you say "their incomes should be fully protected against inflation." How do you do that?

Dr. Smith: One way of doing that is to provide for escalation in relation to price changes. We have some of these now, as you know, in the case of the old age payments, but that is partial at this point.

The Chairman: It is usually well behind the actuality, and seems by comparison to be minimal. Is there any better way of doing that, than the way we have?

Dr. Smith: What happens if you do not have this is that you get major changes that occur from time to time—periodically one has to go through a difficult process to effect some major changes in payments. This has happened in the past in regard to old age payments, when some large changes were made. It is a very difficult process—it is a difficult process politically, among other things.

The Chairman: When you say "politically," you mean that if you suggest it has to be cut down, it is as well to leave town? But that does not happen or has not happened up to this. Then you say they "should be assured of some participation in the rising average real standards of living which the growing productivity in our economy makes possible." I may be misreading you there, but I think what you are saying—and you can correct me—is that there should be some participation in the gross national product. Or are you saying that?

Dr. Smith: Yes. What we had in mind is that, over the long run, as our economy moves forward, as we make increasingly efficient use of the resources, manpower and materials, at our disposal, as we learn to "work smarter and not harder", there is

general basis for raising the real living standards of our people. Our view is that, as the Council's Act has indicated, all Canadians should share in rising living standards, and this means that elderly or disabled people, among others, should benefit from our growing economic strength and share in the fruits of our economic progress, as our productivity rises in the long run.

The Chairman: Assuming for a moment that old age security is spartan—that is my word, not yours, so you will not be blamed for it—on the other hand you have the “protection against inflation”, whatever it is at the moment, and there is some basis for it.

The figure often quoted on the gross national product is that the \$78.50 that we pay now should run well into—the last figure I saw was, I think \$125—if you took the figure at the time we fixed it at \$75 and if you gave them the benefit of the GNP.

Dr. Smith: In a measurement of that kind, a lot depends on whatever base one uses. When one takes the longer term development in the post-war period and makes allowance also for the fact that there is a supplement to the old age payments as well at this stage, I think one could probably basically say that, on the trend, there have been adjustments which on the whole, have allowed elderly people to share in the progress and development of the economy.

The Chairman: There are two problems that plague us in our studies. There are many, but these two stand out constantly. They are the welfare system and the minimum wage.

You have had a look at the welfare system. Generally, across the country, it has not worked, it is not working. In many respects, it is considered to be a failure. We have devoted much brains and money to the welfare system. Our first question is: I would like to know why we failed in it? Our intentions were good. We tried. We looked at some other countries to see what they were doing. Why did we fail?

From that, I would like you to go into another aspect which is troubling us. It is said that the average family is 3.6 persons. We took the figure of 4 in a family and found that if a man is working full-time at minimum wages, in every province in Canada, he can earn less than he is entitled to receive on welfare. We have not been able to reconcile our views on that at all. I would like you to

give us your views, or anyone else to give any views on it. I am sure you have views.

Dr. Smith: On the first question, I do not think I would like to write the welfare system off as a total failure. It has helped to achieve a number of things. What has become clearer is that we need a basic review of all aspects of this system. We need to go back and ask ourselves, particularly in the context of the conditions that we are in now and the conditions which we might reasonably look forward to in the medium term future, what are the objectives and purposes of the welfare programs. In the past, much too frequently, major welfare programs have been put into place without really clear conceptions as to what the objectives and goals were. We also did not ask ourselves enough about whether this particular program or this particular kind of objective.

We have done virtually nothing in evaluating and appraising whether what we were doing on these programs in fact was continuing to be effective to achieve the objectives that we had in mind. We have done very little hard appraisal and evaluation of that kind. One of the things we need is a basic clarification, as we called for in the Fifth Review, of objectives—what is it we are trying to do with these programs—a much clearer assessment of the alternatives that are available, and much more attention paid to evaluations of various kinds.

I sometimes use the analogy that it took eight million man-hours of professional time to put a DC-8 into the air, but in the economic and social fields we frequently have launched off very major programs costing very large sums of money with very little, or virtually no, professional assessment beforehand as to whether we have got something that is going to work. I am always very pleased when I travel in a DC-8 that there were eight million man-hours put into launching that plane. But I suppose we have very few major programs in the economic and social fields in Canada in which we have put even one hundred thousand man-hours. We are just underdeveloped.

We need a great deal more research in these things we need to move increasingly in the direction of undertaking pilot projects and test projects of one kind or another to find what really works in the field and not what one thinks is going to work when one is sitting behind a desk and thinking about the problem theoretically and analytically.

The world is a very complicated place. We are finding that it is much more complicated in the economic and social realms than we had imagined it to be. So this is what I would say about the welfare system. We need a thorough reappraisal and a much better informed approach to many of these problems.

The problem of minimum wages is very difficult. One of the things that is quite clear is that simply to raise minimum wages is not likely to be one of the main lines of solution to poverty problems. That may create, in many situations, the conditions in which certain operations simply stop, and there may then be significant adjustment problems that emerge.

On the other hand, in terms of a social legislation base, I think minimum wages are important components of that. In many fields some of the problems we have in terms of inadequate incomes and inadequate earnings and wage levels reflect a whole range of conditions and problems and policies. The basic reason why low wages get paid in many areas is simply the fact that the productivity is very low—we are using resources very inefficiently, and there may be all kinds of reasons why that happens. One of the reasons may be that our tariffs are too high and that we have provided protection for the activities of some firms which struggle along and survive in this country in a relatively inefficient way, generating relatively low incomes.

Among the countries that have tended to operate with relatively low tariffs, there has been a great deal more pressure put on the system to avoid having relatively inefficient activities that frequently do pay low wages.

When I was in Sweden a couple of years ago I was very impressed that the textile unions were agitating for low tariffs. They said that they did not want to work for low wages in the textile industry and that tariffs should come down, so that either the firms become more efficient and pay higher wages, or else they go out of business and the workers would work some place else. In effect, that is what they were saying. This is, of course, only one possible factor that might be cited. There are many factors which may lead to low productivity.

Perhaps Mrs. Ostry may want to add something on this point of minimum wages.

Dr. Ostry: I think it is important to try to sort out the reasons for low wages and the

sort of people who are paid wages below minimum in order to be able to at least hypothesize on what the effect of a minimum wage would be on this area of poverty with which you are concerned.

There have been a number of studies which have suggested that minimum wage laws can, under certain circumstances, exacerbate the problem by creating barriers to employment of particular groups who would otherwise be absorbed into employment, and, if there is no alternative provision for dealing with these adverse employment effects of a minimum wage law, then you have not really contributed to the solution of the problem. You have only exacerbated it.

The Government of Ontario, so far as I know, is the only provincial government which has undertaken several rather intensive studies trying to estimate the employment effect of their revisions to minimum wages, and, although I have not seen those studies, I think it would be worth your while to look into them.

The federal minimum is a very recent phenomenon, as you know, and in the surveys that preceded the institution of that minimum, which, after all, only covers 10 per cent of the labour force, you can see which industries were going to be affected, and they were by and large banking, because the other industries under federal jurisdiction are high wage industries. Then one would want to examine the kind of labour force that that would hit. It is largely the single female. This is the kind of thing you would want to look into in trying to relate minimum wage as an instrument in an anti-poverty program, because it may turn out in certain circumstances not to assist but rather to exacerbate the problem.

The Chairman: Dr. Smith, you were speaking about research. Our experience has been, and our liaison people across the country keep reporting this to us, that the poor people themselves make the constant assertion that they have been searched and researched and re-researched and what is there that we want to know about them that we do not already know. That is the poor talking. Is there not a great deal of truth in that?

Dr. Smith: In fact, we really have not done very much research. When we came to do our work in this field, starting with the Fifth Annual Review, we found that there was very little we could build on. There were very few

studies that had been done that were relevant. We were trying to search for many kinds of information that were not available. There has been more done in the United States, but even in the United States there is a general feeling that many things are still at a very early stage of development in terms of research and knowledge and understanding of problems.

In this context, I draw to your attention although I know that you are already aware of it—to the fact that in the United States there exists the Institute on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin, which is a sizable operation. It has a staff of professional people larger than the entire staff of the Economic Council of Canada, working in the poverty field. We have no counterpart to that sort of institute in Canada at all. We have had no Institute for Research on Human Resources in Canada, our most important resources. In field after field in Canada we are still very underdeveloped in research and, particularly, in the social sciences and the humanities.

Even when one goes back to very basic things such as defining "poverty," with appropriate information to try to get an appropriate poverty line, we had to use an approximation in our work because adequate information did not exist on a poverty line.

Incidentally, in that context, Senator McGrand implied a few moments ago in his comment that there might have been some increase in poverty in recent years. I wonder if it might be useful to have Miss Podoluk say a few words. She has recently completed a new set of data on poverty in this publication called, "Income Distribution and Poverty in Canada, 1967." I believe, Mr. Chairman, that you used that source in your remarks in the Senate the other day.

The Chairman: We have provided copies to the members of our committee.

Dr. Smith: Miss Podoluk has been invaluable to us in this field in terms of her knowledge of the data. Would you like to indicate the main results of your work?

Miss J. R. Podoluk, Dominion Bureau of Statistics: It has been distributed to your committee, so I assume the senators have looked at the information in it.

What it showed was that the absolute numbers have gone down, but the internal characteristics remain largely unchanged as to regional distribution of families, as to those headed by women against families headed by

men, and as to families with the head in the labour force and not. These patterns show very little change, but the main change showed up in numbers. Anything said on the characteristics in the Review pretty well holds now.

The Chairman: The numbers are set forth in the document, of course.

Miss Podoluk: Yes, we express them in percentages. We gave the numbers as 840,000 families and nearly 600,000 individuals. As I mentioned before the hearings started, this translates into 3.8 million persons in terms of the overall population.

Dr. Smith: In terms of families, this means a decline in the estimates of poverty we had of around 25 per cent or a little over for 1961, to 20 per cent in 1965, and down to 18 or 18½ per cent now.

Miss Podoluk: That is right. This 18.6 per cent is now all families, including farm families. If the 1967 figures had been in terms of non-farm it would have been lower than 18.6—possibly 1 or 2 percentage points lower than that; but bringing in the rural farm families has had some effect.

Dr. Ostry: In terms of the other measure, it has gone down.

Dr. Smith: It was close to 30 per cent in 1961 including farm families—but the data on farm families was not good—we had an estimate of 28 per cent...

Miss Podoluk: I think it was around 26 per cent for families, and it probably would have been 28 or 29 per cent down to 19 per cent.

The Chairman: That is a pretty good record, Dr. Smith. Can you help us by attributing it to something or other that we have done right?

Dr. Smith: I think the major factor has been that during the sixties we have gone through a very great economic expansion in this country which has helped to lift up Canadian Standard of living, on the whole, in an extraordinary way. We have been through the longest period of recessionless expansion since 1961 that we have ever had in our history, and the overall dimensions of this growth are very striking. From 1960 to this year we have also had an increase in employment of 1¼ million people in this country.

Senator McGrand: In what industries did that expansion occur?

Dr. Smith: Mostly in the service industries; this is where the large increase has been taking place. Indeed, if I recall correctly, in 1967 and 1968 all of the increase in employment in Canada occurred in the service industries and there was no increase in the goods-producing industries at all.

Senator McGrand: We hear about industrial expansion, and we hear of a \$50 million or a \$100 million investment in some manufacturing development or work, but the actual people employed only number about 100 or 200. That development in itself does not employ more than a couple of hundred people, but perhaps it stimulates or activates other sources of employment. Is that it?

Dr. Smith: That is right. As we move to stages of higher income—and this is a general phenomenon at work all around the world in what we call the industrially advanced countries—the demands for increased services appear to grow very strongly. This is where much of the employment is created. We are very conscious of this in some of the areas where a huge expansion has taken place in employment—in the educational system in the sixties, in the health care system, in retail and wholesale trade with the development of more stores, and in government. These have all been areas of very rapidly growing employment.

Senator Cook: Also during the last ten years there have been large pieces of social legislation, such as Medicare, the Canada Assistance Act, and vocational training, all of which also help to make the picture a little brighter than it was ten years ago.

Dr. Smith: Yes, that is right.

The Chairman: Correct me if I am wrong, but by their very nature the service industries are lower paid and less organized. Is it fair to say that?

Dr. Smith: Some of them are: they are generally less organized; some are lower paid. On the other hand, in some you find that there are high payments, such as you find with the professional components in medical care services, university professors and so on. There are some areas where incomes tend to be quite high.

The Chairman: Doctor, we have been hearing a great deal in our evidence about the guaranteed income for the disadvantaged, and you have expressed your views on it. I picked

up a report yesterday which bothers me. It is reported here that the provincial treasurer of Ontario has been talking of a negative income tax for those in the Province of Ontario who are below the poverty line of \$3,500.

Dr. Smith: I have not heard about this.

The Chairman: If this report is correct, he has said that a couple of times now. Is it possible in our system as it is at the present time for any province to go off on its own on such a matter?

Dr. Smith: I do not think I can really answer that question. I have not thought about what might be the possibilities here, or the problems that might emerge. I would want to think about that some more. It is possible for provinces, of course, to have very different patterns and levels of taxes and expenditures, so I would not want to say off-hand that a province such as Ontario could not institute a negative income tax, but it would raise some problems.

The Chairman: You spoke of pilot projects a little earlier. Who best can do that work, and how best can it be done? I ask this question because we shall have to give some consideration to that in our studies.

Dr. Smith: I do not know. Some of these projects can perhaps be done by private organizations. As you know, there is a significant involvement by the Institute of Poverty at the University of Wisconsin in some of the pilot projects in the United States on the negative income tax. Their staff members are helping to monitor those, and provide professional manpower to assist, but I would think that for a great many of these projects there would need to be government involvement and government support for them.

In the United States, under the new arrangement that has evolved, the Office of Economic Opportunity has, in fact, become the office to analyze, examine, and experiment in an endeavour to develop new approaches to anti-poverty policies up to the stage where some of these approaches can be judged to be useful and workable. Then other Government departments at that time take over the actual implementation or general implementation on a large scale of the new approaches and policies. That is one way of approaching things.

I myself would think that in Canada we have a somewhat more complicated situation.

in that perhaps federal-provincial co-operation, on a basis of co-ordination and certainly of joint interest, ought to play some part in the background of approaches. Put exactly how this could best be done I am not sure. We have implied in our own work that the problems and questions in this field might usefully be taken up in a joint federal-provincial context at an appropriate federal-provincial conference.

Senator Cook: Is there any country now which pays, or which uses the concept of, a guaranteed annual income?

Dr. Smith: I do not think so.

The Chairman: No. The only income maintenance program in existence today is the one we have under the old age security legislation. That is the only one of its kind in the world.

At the present time, doctor, we make an adjustment for the cost of living. Do we make an adjustment for the standard of living?

Dr. Smith: We make some adjustment for changes in the consumer price index in connection with old age pension payments. There are two or three questions about this. One is as to whether the consumer price index, as we have it, is the best factor by which to adjust. In Canada we do not have a consumer price index developed around the particular basket of goods that might be more germane to the spending patterns of the elderly. This may be an area to which we should give some attention in the development of the prices data of D.B.S. but that again would be somewhat different from a cost of living index.

A cost of living index, as this term is usually used, would also reflect some changes in spending patterns, in part reflecting opportunities, changes, and alterations in buying patterns, partly in response to price changes. We do not have any genuine cost of living index in Canada.

As to changes in the standard of living, that term is usually related to changes in real per capita consumption—changes that occur over time. That would be something which in the long run would reflect the productivity improvement and the real growth of our system. We have no adjustment at this stage in any of our escalators that take account of that.

Senator Cook: Would you make an observation on the cost of credit to the poor?

Dr. Smith: Yes, we touched on this in our last review, saying that it is another area in which there may very well be, in practice, a discrimination that applies to poor people. In many cases the poor people do not have as easy access to some of the cheaper sources of credit, and the system operates very largely in terms of assessing the credit-worthiness of borrowers in terms of their present incomes, assets, and so on. That in itself also makes it difficult for people with low incomes to obtain access to credit, because people with low incomes also generally have small assets. Perhaps here there is scope for more consideration in the credit-granting process to what the credit is to be used for, and to the potential earning power that might be generated by the use of credit.

Senator Cook: Do you mean we should consider as to whether it is credit for a productive purpose?

Dr. Smith: Yes, as to whether it produces a pay-off which will enable the individual to be in a position to repay the loan in due course.

The Chairman: Would you like to be the judge of that situation?

Dr. Ostry: This is an interesting point, I think, because the American pilot projects in part are being designed in order to be able to provide information which would be quite relevant to what you are suggesting. If you have a sample of people which is a randomized sample—in other words, you have not biased it in any way—then what it should give you is some ability to be able to predict the kind of thing you are concerned with, within fairly narrow margins of certainty. This is in fact what we are suggesting with government programs. If somebody wants a mobility grant to move from the Maritimes to Toronto and he does not have the assets which would allow him to borrow from a commercial bank, the Government on the basis of its assumptions about the return on this kind of movement, says this man has credit-worthiness because he will be more than able to pay back that amount of money. You cannot expect the private banks to do this. This is the kind of interest one wants in assessing the "credit-worthiness" of an individual.

The Chairman: Actually, Dr. Ostry, the Department of Manpower and Immigration does that at the present time. The problem is so large and involved that we have tried to break it down into understandable proportions for ourselves. We tried to identify the

people in this manner: the disadvantage, the blind, the disabled, the pensioned, those receiving old age security payments. These are the people who are no longer in the main stream of labour, but could be put into the main stream of life. I think your report agrees that they have a special place.

Secondly, we have looked at the single woman who is head of a family and widowed, divorced, deserted on some sort of an agreement where she has the responsibility for a very large number of young children. That we think is a special problem. We have got the hard core. That is a very special problem about which we are not too sure at all of what we can do.

Then we find ourselves in the middle, as you in effect say in your report, with the real problem being the working poor, the under-employed, seasonally employed. There we find far more than 50 per cent of our problem. Without discussing solutions, what do you say about our assessment of the incidence of the problem? Where do we go wrong there?

Dr. Smith: Is this in terms of your approach in this committee or in terms of our policies?

The Chairman: In terms of the approach of the committee in looking at it. Are we looking in the right places and are we looking at the right people?

Dr. Smith: In the past we have developed a wide variety of welfare programs, as you know, to deal with certain categories of people. They are frequently categories in which the incidence of poverty tends to be high, but they are not programs aimed specifically at poor people as such. As you were pointing out, we have programs that are intended to be focused on the aged. We have other programs that are intended to be focused on those who are disabled or blind, the young, the unemployed (in the case of unemployment insurance), but we do not have programs focused explicitly on the poor. In our review last year one of the central principles at the end was that if we are really going to start to develop effective anti-poverty programs, we are going to have to focus on the poor.

The Chairman: Please continue with what you said and recommended in your report.

Dr. Smith: One of the first things that you must do if you are going to have programs oriented that way more effectively is to be

able to have a better definition and measurement of the poor. One of the crucial initial steps is to evolve a better definition. The Prime Minister announced in September of last year that efforts would be made to move in this direction. This is a difficult thing to do because this must focus not just on income. It has to go further than that and be concerned with such basic questions as what is involved in nutrition. It has to be concerned with what constitutes, let us say, decent housing. You have to have a lot of expert input into defining what are the basic minimum needs that must be met. I think this is the crucial point with which an exercise needs to start.

Then we need to have, as I was indicating earlier, a system which does provide for basic income maintenance for those who are unable to have access to the resources to meet these basic minimum needs. As I was also suggesting, we need something more than that. That will not really solve poverty. Something like a negative income tax or a guaranteed income system of some kind is entirely consistent with our approach in the last review, but it will not solve the problems that we are talking about.

What is required further is much more effective ways to bring the poor people who have income earning capacities, or who can be given income earning capacities, in to participate in an active way in the economic life of our nation. These basic minimum programs will not do that by themselves. They will assist in many cases because income maintenance assistance in many instances provides resources, more effectively than in the past, for people to invest in themselves and their children. This is vitally important. In this area there is a very complex question of how to bring people who are able to participate in the system into much more effective participation. Some of the problems lie on the side of preparing them adequately to play that kind of part. Some of the problems lie on the side of our economic system and how the opportunities may be expanded for drawing them in more effectively.

The Chairman: Doctor, we have been saying publicly and between ourselves that guaranteed income alone will not solve the problem. There are essential services and the delivery of those services is as important as the income. You cannot even start delivering these services until such time as you give them the basic income. Do you agree with that generally?

Dr. Smith: Yes, there is an interconnection between the two, obviously, a close association.

The Chairman: We have a few minutes left. The ladies who came in from the Adult Education Division have heard Dr. Smith and they do not often get a chance to hear him. Perhaps they have some questions they would like to ask the doctor? Do not be shy.

Dr. Smith: you have referred to research and what we require to do in the future. I could never understand why the attempt we made to deal with poverty in the way we did, with the organization we set up, did not bear fruit. Would it be embarrassing to you to suggest that you might know why? I could never figure that out. We set up a group to attempt to do something about it almost on its own, attached to the Prime Minister's office, if you recall.

Dr. Smith: You are referring to the Special Planning Secretariat?

The Chairman: Yes. Somehow or other, I cannot put my finger on anything at all that had any realism to it.

Dr. Smith: That initiative lasted only a short time and was then abandoned. Last year in our review we called for the re-establishment of something akin to that, some kind of group within government that would have a concern about, first of all, maintaining a central system of information about various programs having some bearing on poverty of one sort or another. We suggested that kind of office might also be one to which people from outside could come for information. It might evolve into an office in which there would be an increasing exchange of information an office through which some kinds of research would be undertaken, and which perhaps would play some kind of role as an agency to facilitate an increasing amount of co-ordination among many different programs and policies concerned with poverty. I think that kind of office would be useful. In the last review we again refer in a sense to this same issue.

The Chairman: On the last page, in the last paragraph, you refer to a kind of social engineering.

Dr. Smith: In the Sixth Review we included not only a special chapter on poverty, but also on page 166 of the final chapter of the review—the policy chapter—we suggested that certain steps be taken now. The first of these was that the federal Government should establish an office to provide information and to co-ordinate research on poverty. I believe that an office of this kind could play a very useful role in this field.

Senator Cook: Dr. Smith might be interested to know that a great deal of thought has been given to this by the public in Canada. We have had some excellent briefs, and undoubtedly the thinking public are thinking and applying themselves to the problem. The solution, of course, is another matter.

Dr. Smith: We have been following your committee's work with great interest, and I must say we are very much impressed by the interest and attention your constructive endeavours are receiving.

Senator Cook: We have heard a lot of nonsense too. At the same time, we have also had many very good briefs.

The Chairman: Perhaps you have been impressed by the attention we have received of a sort that we sometimes get too much of. However, that is neither here nor there. One of the best briefs I have seen has been from the Dalhousie Institute of Public Affairs. You should have a copy of that if you have not already seen it. That brief just stood out.

Are there any other questions?

Doctor, on behalf of the committee I must express to you and your staff our sincere appreciation. Whenever we have called on you you have been helpful and co-operative, and that has been true of your office. We are in great need of help and will be calling on you again from time to time. I am delighted that the ladies were here to see the type of civil servants we have at our disposal, and I am sure they will go away feeling that the country is in good hands.

The committee adjourned.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 6

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17th, 1969

WITNESSES:

Mount Carmel Clinic: Mrs. Anne G. Ross, Executive Director; Mrs. Marlyne Melnyk; Mrs. Simone Marand.

The Neighbourhood Service Centre of Greater Winnipeg: Mr. D. H. Lawrence, Executive Director; Mrs. Reva Waldman; Mr. J. G. Lyons.

Class of Design, School of Architecture, University of Manitoba: Professor Brian Woods, Faculty Adviser; Miss Nancy Thompson; Miss Lyn Gemmell; Mr. Israel Lyon; Mr. E. Hugh.

Winnipeg Tenants Association: Mrs. Harvelyn McInnis; Mr. Celestin Guiboche; Mr. Victor Couchène.

APPENDICES:

A.—Brief submitted by Mount Carmel Clinic.

B.—Brief submitted by Stony Mountain Native Brotherhood, Manitoba Penitentiary.

C.—Brief submitted by Department of Environmental Studies, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Croll	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Eudes	McGrand
Everett	Pearson
Fergusson	Quart
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> ,	Roebuck
<i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)
(Quorum 6)

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract of the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969.

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract of the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Monday, November 17th, 1969.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Belisle, Connolly (*Halifax North*), Croll (*Chairman*), Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Hastings, Inman, McGrand and Sparrow.

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

MOUNT CARMEL CLINIC:

Mrs. Anne G. Ross, Executive Director.

Mrs. Marlyne Melnyk

Mrs. Simone Marand

At the conclusion of the presentation by Mount Carmel Clinic, the Chairman thanked the Executive Director and her colleagues for a very interesting brief and presentation. At 11.15 a.m. the Committee adjourned until 1.30 p.m. while it left for a visiting tour of the Clinic to see its facilities and meet the staff and patients.

At 1.30 p.m. the Committee resumed its hearings.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD SERVICE CENTRE OF GREATER WINNIPEG:

Mr. D. H. Lawrence, Executive Director

Mrs. Reva Waldman

Mr. J. G. Lyons

In attendance:

Mr. R. H. Houston

At the conclusion of the questioning, the Chairman thanked the representatives of the Neighbourhood Service Centre for their interesting presentation.

CLASS OF DESIGN, SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA:

Professor Brian Woods, Faculty Adviser

Miss Nancy Thompson

Miss Lyn Gemmell

Mr. Isreal Lyon

Mr. E. Hugh

In attendance:

Mr. Steven Barber
Miss Martha Banias

A brief statement was made by Professor Woods, followed by a presentation of slides dealing with design of children's playgrounds. The Chairman thanked Professor Woods and the students of Class Design for their fine presentation.

The Committee adjourned until 7.30 p.m.

The Committee resumed its hearings at 7.30 p.m., whereupon Senator Connolly made a verbal report of the visit by a sub-committee consisting of Senator Belisle and himself to the Stony Mountain Native Brotherhood, Manitoba Penitentiary.

On motion of Senator Connolly the brief by S.M.N.B. was ordered to be printed as an appendix to these proceedings.

The following witnesses were then introduced and heard:

WINNIPEG TENANTS ASSOCIATION:

Mrs. Harvelyn McInnis
Mr. Celestin Guiboche
Mr. Victor Couchène

In attendance:

Miss Gail Moss
Mr. Harry Boone

The briefs submitted by the Mount Carmel Clinic and Stony Mountain Native Brotherhood, Manitoba Penitentiary, and by the students and staff of the Department of Environmental Studies, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba, are printed as appendices "A", "B" and "C", respectively, to these proceedings.

A paper entitled "Some Personal Views on Poverty", submitted by a women's group from Mount Carmel Clinic in Winnipeg, has been retained in the Committee's records.

At 9.35 p.m. the Committee adjourned until 9.30 a.m., Tuesday, November 18th, 1969.

ATTEST:

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Winnipeg, Manitoba,
November 17, 1969.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen, I will call the meeting of the special Senate Committee on Poverty to order.

We have quite a heavy and interesting programme. Many people have helped to make it possible particularly those who have responded to our invitation to come here today and tomorrow.

One particular word of thanks to Mr. Lloydenton who is a planning associate of the Community Welfare Planning Council in Winnipeg. He has been most helpful. The briefs are interesting and good and the papers have taken much time to prepare them and there are some very interesting observations from individuals as well as from organizations.

I think I should make clear at the outset some matters that would be useful for the persons appearing and those who will be following the proceedings. The reference made by the Senate to this Committee is to examine, report, and make recommendations on the totality of poverty. We accept, for the time being, the definition of the poverty line as outlined by the economic Council of Canada and these statistics—the very latest ones—from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics which indicate that there are 840,000 families below the poverty line consisting of three and one half million people in Canada. One of the early decisions that we made in this Committee was to identify the poor and to contact the poor. These were new approaches.

Now, we have had that in mind from the beginning and the Chairman speaking on behalf of the Committee had this to say when the Committee was reconvened—and I am quoting from Senate *Hansard* of October the 14th.

In order to contact the poor in every province, two members of our community liaison staff have been across the country twice to meet and visit with them. We think that their involvement is essential because the poor have a role to play and must have a voice in their own destiny. A place must be carved out for them around the decision table and once and for all if we are going to succeed they must enter the in group.

Now, I think I said that we have been able to identify them and I saw a report last week made by a special committee to the President of the United States in which they identified their poor and poverty stricken and they appear to be about the same as ours.

Now, our problem was "How do you contact the poor, the poverty stricken, when there are a million people involved?" Normally, you do it through public and private agencies, social workers and the organized poor but the poor aren't organized. Very few of them are. They don't write briefs. Poverty is a full-time occupation without such fringe benefits as writing briefs.

In addition to that we have to face up to the fact that the poor have privacy as we have privacy and we have no right to invade it without their consent. As a preliminary to our formula to see the poor and speak to them, we started out on a visit across the country; to provinces in the East and to provinces in the West here and in Vancouver this week to make, as I suggested, a preliminary visit to open lines of communication and to begin a meaningful dialogue with them.

They are seeking us out as I will indicate to you a little later on. Now, I think we should make it very clear at the beginning that we have no patent medicine for a cure of poverty and we have no magic formula. We come in goodwill and with high hopes and we are satisfied that this will not be an exercise in futility.

Before we can solve the problems, we must face up to it. One of our purposes is to ask

the Canadian people to face up to it and to examine and to change things, how they should be changed. We are trying to start a dialogue, a debate, and we are even ready for an argument as to how things can be improved.

We are certain of one thing and that is as a result of our efforts every Canadian will be richer in the knowledge of his fellow Canadian and we hope this will activate him. Some things have come across to us in our hearing at the moment, and I think I should bring it to your attention. The poor are not poor because they are lazy or they lack initiative or they prefer Welfare. We have been told that time and time again and we have been told that by people who ought to know that that is not true. They are poor because our social structure guarantees poverty to many. Low minimum wages, unfair taxation, inadequate delivery of essential services. Just a few of the things I am mentioning now.

As for the welfare system as we know it now, the general consensus is that it has failed and this is no time to be thinking in terms of band-aids or Scotch tape. It was built to meet a different condition, for different times, different people, in different circumstances, and different concepts. We have to make up our minds what to do about it—how do we replace it and with what.

We have had a great deal of information about the guaranteed income. The rank and file appearing before us give it massive support. The experts are cautious. We are told time and again that the poor will not become unpoor without maintenance income. Quite immodestly I tell you that the idea of a guaranteed income originated in the Senate of Canada and was first suggested in the report that was made for the Old Age Security Programme. That was our report on the aging.

Now, I merely touched these two matters to indicate and to give you some idea of the many things we have already heard. What we come here for is to hear further evidence, to meet with the people who are deeply concerned personally and otherwise. We are looking for ideas. It's everybody's problem and something of an imaginary realism will come in very handy; new concepts, new approaches and we are listening hoping that what we hear will be beneficial for the people who are so much in need.

Now, the groundrules are very simple. The person who presents a brief will make a statement and subject himself or herself to

questioning and we will try to leave some time for questioning from the floor. Please try to make your questions direct as we don't have too much time for speeches. If there is anyone else who has any brief or any presentations, get in touch with Mr. Fred Joyce who is our director and some arrangements will be made.

We have a very tight schedule, sitting as late as 9.30 tonight and we have to have an opportunity to give some consideration to these matters, and already since we arrived here yesterday we have two new requests for hearings and I have appointed a special committee who will be listening to some people this afternoon, Senator Connolly and Senator Belisle. They will not be here this afternoon as they will be attending some other hearings and will report to us later tonight.

Tomorrow morning, we have another request which we intend to meet and Senator Fergusson and Senator McGrand will give that attention.

Now, our first brief is from the Mount Carmel Clinic and Mrs. Anne Ross, who is the Executive Director of the Clinic, will be speaking on their behalf. This is a unique programme and in many ways a pioneer one. It's been looked at by many interested welfare people in Canada and the United States. She has with her two young ladies who will introduce themselves and make their statements, whatever they have to say. I wish to make it very clear to both of those young ladies that they are here of their own volition and we are in no way invading their privacy and they needn't come here—but they can if they like and they said they wanted to. We will leave the questioning until after their statements are finished.

Mrs. Anne G. Ross, Executive Director of the Mount Carmel Clinic: Mr. Chairman ladies and gentlemen, I would like to take this opportunity if I may, and welcome you to Winnipeg. This is the first one on the agenda and I believe this is your first trip to the West and to our fair city.

Our area of concern as Senator Croll has indicated, is a clinic and that brings to mind health. Not just health in general but health in the broadest term. Health as it affects the poor. We are most concerned, of course, with the ones who have no access to the kinds of care that you and I would like to have.

I would like to initially enunciate the clinic's policies. Our avowed policies being

family oriented medical centre is to give total care to families. It attempts to promote comprehensive, unified, personalized and co-ordinated health care to the poor of the community.

Now, that sounds like a great big mouthful but a great deal has been said lately about co-ordination, comprehensive medical care, etcetera. I don't want to sound too smug but the Mount Carmel Clinic has been saying it for the past 15 years. There is no dichotomy between health and other needs. Both are inextricably connected to each other.

We wish to state that we believe that the economically deprived persons should receive the same care as you and I. We believe also that he should have a choice as to the type of health resources he uses. Now, that may sound odd. "What do you mean by choice." Surely you don't have a choice. Believe you me when you are poor you haven't too much choice.

In every part of Canada and in every part of the United States if you are poor there is only one place where you can get free medical care and that is in the large O.P.D.—the Out Patient Departments. I am not going to go into the kind of places those are but perhaps the girls would like to say because they have had a great deal of experience in regards to the kind of care they have received, but I don't wish to go into this discussion at present. I only know that there should be choice and the Mount Carmel Clinic offers that choice.

Patients who are struggling without proper housing, food or clothing, have a special problem, that we as medical people, in a medical centre, should assist them with. Once again, health is indivisible as there is no dichotomy. They should be given a chance for a rehabilitation to regain their dignity. They should be given a chance to regain their dignity and self respect. We say this within the context of a medical clinic. We should prevent them from running around from one agency to another and to cut some of the red tape. We say again that some of the neglected children should have special care and consideration.

Yes, we have neglected children, many. The reasons are too numerous to mention but neglect—"What does this mean?" When you are living in a rat-ridden house and when a child gets bitten and when that bite gets infected, and the mother doesn't know what to do and there are so many children that are equally,

or similarly, or somewhat ill—they are neglected.

We, at the medical clinic, should be concerned not only about the infected areas due to the bite but why has that child received a bite in a rat-ridden house. The neglected child comes in covered with epigenous lesions—covered from head to toe. They were bitten by bed bugs and as they were scratching the infection set in. We, as a medical clinic, should be concerned and we show our concern by taking those children into our clinic and keeping them for the day, giving them medical and nursing care. We are a concerned clinic for the total needs of the family.

We say that the family must be helped to stay together in peace and harmony. When you see a child of twelve coming to you and saying, "Mrs. Ross, get me a foster home." Your heart just contracts. "I can't stand it anymore, my parents are fighting and drinking. I really haven't any clothes to wear to school but maybe if I went to a foster home maybe I will be treated better." We are concerned.

So we say that every need of the family including medical, emotional, financial, and legal should be met in one place. This would avoid duplication, confusion, and red tape.

I would like to take the Senators for just a very short and brief visit to the clinic. I know they are coming afterwards and we hope that you will enjoy that visit but I would like you to meet some of these cases. Just throw your imagination and try to see it. The grandfather is an Indian coming in with three small children. These children are covered with these epigenous lesions. We gave them medicine and three days later they came back and were worse. Do you wonder why? You go down and see the house where they live. You go in and there is a small garage-like affair—that, I believe it was a converted garage, behind the house, and you see these three children with these sores all over them playing in mud. Not sand, it looks like this sort of thin sand, but it is mud. You walk into the house and what do you find? You find a grandmother who has a heart condition and can hardly move around. You find no furniture, just apple boxes. You find one bed with no sheets on the bed. You find one tap in the sink which means "no hot water."

What were the instructions that we gave to this grandfather to look after these children? These children should have baths, here is

some special soap, these children should have clothing—how can they possibly carry through these instructions when there is no hot water? They live in such circumstances.

We take the children in and we keep them there and that is how we treat them. Grandfather doesn't look so well. The grandfather was brought into the clinic and grandfather had infectious hepatitis. This is a highly contagious disease of the liver. He was so ill that we had to take him to the hospital, which left the grandmother to look after these children.

By the way, where was mother? Mother was in jail. Where was father? Father was fishing out in Selkirk trying to make a living for the whole family. They were living in these circumstances.

This is the fate of poverty. This is what we must reckon with. One more visit: a phone call. I can't come to the clinic I have no money. My husband has been fired from his job. I am very, very, very unhappy and I don't know what to do. The little one is ill. We have a clinic car and we pick up people who can't get in. We go down to the home—rickety old staircase and we walk up. There is darkness—it's winter—in fact it was Christmas and I remember it so well. We go in and we find three small rooms. There are six children, five pre-schoolers. Father was a taxi driver and he had a bad accident and he was suspended. There is some question as to whether or not he is eligible for welfare and it took us three days to fight it out with the welfare whether he should get it or not.

Meanwhile, once again, there are no sheets on the two beds. There are two burners and that's all. We want to get a turkey for them and it was very funny. We got some volunteers to bring them a turkey and suddenly we looked at each other "How are they going to cook that turkey—on what?" There were no globes in the lights. We wondered why. Well, they just didn't have any money to buy them. They just sat in total darkness. I walked up to the crib and there was this child lying there wrapped in an old overcoat right on the mattress. No bedding, no sheets. The temperature of a 104 and one ear was running and there was incrustation right down which was beginning to irritate the skin. We had a blanket with us and we wrapped up the child and we took three other children who were coughing to the clinic.

Mother was pale and apathetic. We examined the child who had an infected ear—it had a hole in the ear already, and we kept

the child down in our day hospital. The two other children were coughing and had a bronchial condition. We kept them in the day hospital as well. The mother had high blood pressure, was anemic, and needed medication. After she felt a little better we had a talk about whether she planned to have more children—it was her decision whether she should or shouldn't.

These are the people that we look after day in and day out and this is the fate of poverty.

Let me introduce you to Stella. Stella is a beautiful Indian girl. Stella came for two years to the clinic and she was depressed and she didn't say very much. She was always very very tidy, very neat and very clean. She was concerned about her two boys who were growing up. Any attempt at finding what the problem was would be met with tears. We would sit in my office looking at each other and she was crying with tears rolling down her face. Not a word. "All right, Stella, when you are ready to talk come and talk." Pills were not enough. I was at her home once. It was bare but clean as a whistle. One day, Stella came running into the clinic hysterical and she poured it all out. She was married to a white man who beat her mercilessly. This time, he had tried to force his attentions on her and she couldn't take it. He threw her out into the night naked. She ran from neighbour to neighbour. Finally, she was able to get in and was given some blankets and something to wear and then when it became light she came to the clinic.

She needed counselling, she needed psychiatric care but fortunately this one has a happy ending. The husband suddenly realized what he had been doing to this girl and had a nervous breakdown. He was taken to the hospital. He slowly, slowly, under psychiatric care and counselling, and marriage counselling, became all right. As a matter of fact, I saw them both on Friday quite by accident and they are doing beautifully.

Now, there are many more so when we talk about a comprehensive programme, when we talk about an integrated programme, we talk about looking after the total human being. Not just the disease, not just what ails that person, but the total human being—what is it they need. They need better housing, they need care of all sorts.

The clinic has tried, to the best of its ability, but that best in our opinion is not good enough. It is not good enough because we have struggled for years—we were organized

in 1926. We have struggled for years with very few funds. Every year it is a struggle to get a little more and our staff is limited. We do all we can with our limited staff to give a total care programme. We aren't able to do it because of lack of staff due to lack of funds.

We would like to make certain recommendations—if I may—in addition to all these things we are doing now, and which is known to the members of the Senate—I would like to just express that we would like to carry on a group therapy programme for deserted wives, pre-delinquent and delinquent youngsters and persons with other problems who can be helped through supervised group interaction and collective support. That can only be done if we have a psychologist and psychiatrist and social worker. We do have a psychiatrist but we do not have a psychologist and we do not have a social worker.

We would like to meet another need. Emergency financial assistance service. So often people come to us and say "We have nothing to eat—we have not been able to get any food in the welfare agency."

Now, I witnessed a very moving scene the other day. We have a group therapy programme of which these two girls are members and they will tell you a little bit about themselves and perhaps the group. When a woman who has spent a whole day in a welfare office and because her husband is self-employed, and because her husband has an old car, and because she had \$30 which she had saved to meet these expenses until Tuesday—this is on a Wednesday when I saw her—she moved into a new house and she had to pay a deposit on gas of \$30. She was without food for her children and herself. Because of all this she wasn't able to get any help. Now, it is possible if she had known that there were other places where she could go maybe she would have gotten help. She only knew where she went to one place, the logical place, one of the welfare places and they refused her. She knew that if she went to the Mount Carmel Clinic she would get help. We gave her some food but the moving thing was that when she got to the group therapy in the evening all the girls—and most of them are on welfare—when she told them her story each one took out a dollar and some of them two dollars, which they could ill afford and they said "Here take it until you have money from your husband." This was the most moving thing I have seen. The girls helping each other.

I think there should be financial—emergency financial help within the clinic when people need it.

I would like to see a Legal Aid programme with legal services available either on the clinic's premises or in the lawyers' office, as required. I would even stress that people living in poverty are constantly at loggerheads with the law. Be it delinquency by the young, alcoholism, or just a deserted wife requiring advice, a legal department should be there ready to assist in that area.

We are requesting—we should like to see a housing registry right on the premises of the clinic. How often have the girls come to me and said "Mrs. Ross, we are being thrown out. We haven't got a place—they don't want us (a) because we are Indians; (b) because we are black; (c) because we have too many children; (d) because we can't afford to pay what they are asking for that crummy place. Can you help me." How can I? We should have that available in the clinic.

I would like to see clinic specially trained people from the community—what I would like to call health advocates—something very new, to go out to the families and assist them in their health needs and other needs.

I would like to see, for instance, temporary babysitting services available on short notice. How often does a mother phone in and say "I am sorry, I can't come to the clinic today because I cannot get a babysitter. I cannot afford one."

We would like to see homemaker services to work in conjunction with the clinic.

We would like to see liaison facilities with police personnel who are specially trained for domestic situations that require police action. Just the other day in our group therapy we had quite a problem. One of the women living common law with a man who was good to her one the whole—but when he gets drunk he beats her mercilessly. This time he almost killed her. The marks on her throat indicated this and the doctor told her that she must get out of that house. By the way, he wouldn't let her go. She called the police three times and each time they said this is not our business. We cannot enter this house because he pays the rent. She says "Well, do I have to wait until I am killed?" Help me get away. I just want to get away and get out of the house.

This is not part of our problem. I would like to see a special police set up by the clinic, trained in handling such situations

with an enlightened staff educated in psychology, sociology and governed by special laws.

Going back to the clinic we would like to see a play area put aside for the children who come and wait for their mothers. I would even like to see an area where the mothers could take one day off and leave the children with us. I think Simone would appreciate this—having 13 children—every now and again if we could just give her one day off—I really don't think she has 13 children because some of them are married but her seven children.

I am now running short on time so I would like to say this. It is obvious that if we had more funds which we would like to see given to us by the senior Governments to implement all these changes. We would like to implement all these new ideas and I would like to further recommend to the Senate that clinics such as these, or similar to them be set up throughout the length and breadth of Canada.

Once again, I think the poor have special problems and I think we should be concerned and acting in a concerned way we will be effective in promoting the rehabilitation of people who need it so much.

Mrs. Marlyne Melnyk: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. I am Marlyne Melnyk a patient from the Mount Carmel Clinic group therapy club. I was widowed twice. The first time was when I was 17 years old and married at 19 and I was widowed again at 29. I lived on provincial welfare each time. I did try working but my health would not take it. I just wasn't strong enough.

At first I went on welfare for that reason but then I tried to work just to see if I could earn enough but I couldn't. It was impossible. My health couldn't take it and I got very sick. I tried waitress work, tried working in a service station as a service station attendant and tried cleaning houses and things of that sort.

The first time I was widowed I was living very much in the poor places since at that time the provincial welfare didn't allow very much money. I had cockroaches and mice to put up with. I had to move quite often because the housing was usually too crummy, unsafe, unheated or just plain inadequate.

When my health broke down it wasn't a matter of nerves at first it was rheumatic fever. I had it as a child and then I was working just before I got married the second

time and right after I got married my health did give out. I had arthritis and rheumatic fever and a succession of illnesses. When I did get back on my feet again my husband got ill. I then got sick mentally, not real sick but I was disturbed because my second husband was dying of cancer. He died after nine years of suffering and when he died I was definitely incapable of taking responsibility of bringing in wages to support my two children.

I went to the provincial welfare scheme thinking that this was a very poor life. For instance, I never had enough money for food, I never had enough money to buy decent clothes, I don't mean expensive clothes, I mean just nice clothes for myself and my children. The majority of my clothing I have had given to me—even underclothing. I cannot afford dry cleaning for clothes, let alone buying them.

First of all my children need the clothes before I do because they have to go to school everyday, they have to have food and warm clothing and all I can afford is the bare necessities.

I cannot help but compare the way the Mount Carmel Clinic treats their patients and the way the big hospitals treat theirs. The Mount Carmel treats theirs with a personal concern. There is an understanding that you don't find in the big agencies and if you are seriously ill you know they are going to phone you and if you don't come for appointments they find out why you don't come.

If you have problems you can see a nurse or get in touch with Mrs. Ross. I know from experience because I did have some problems with my teenage son. I could talk to one of the nurses that I needed some advice and so on. I also found that if I don't have enough medication when I come to group therapy I could just go to the nurse and my prescription is filled for me.

There are many little things that people don't realize, the personal touches that the Clinic does give to each and every individual. It doesn't matter who or what you are. This is the kind of clinic that other cities should have and I think they definitely need more of them. The clinic is concerned with everything, your personal and private problems, anything and everything. There is no lines drawn. They are interested in our homes, our life in general, your friends and anything that you wish to discuss.

One thing I will say is that through the Mount Carmel group therapy I have gained

self confidence in myself. If welfare would permit me to earn \$100 or more I could earn whatever is allowed and my children and I would live much more adequately than we do now. I really believe that given the opportunity to earn—not just \$20 a month because there is no achievement, but 100 or \$150 then we would be able to save and it would be an achievement and we would have something instead of just being another number.

I cannot take a full-time job because I can't do it physically. Without the education and training I couldn't earn enough. If I was allowed to work part-time I probably would find some type of job and then I could perhaps take some training and better myself. For one thing, I really don't care to go to school without proper clothing to wear in the winter. I can't afford overshoes and I couldn't afford them last year. To help myself and my children I am quite prepared to go to work to supplement my income. I don't understand why I am not allowed to help myself.

Thank you.

Senator Everett: Mr. Chairman, may I have the witness' name again?

The Chairman: Marlyne Melnyk.

Mrs. Simone Marand: Mr. Chairman and Senators. I am Simone Marand and I am Chairman of the Mount Carmel Group Therapy Clinic. I am 40 years old and I have lived on and off public welfare since I was 17. I was married at age 15 and I have had 13 children and well, my first marriage didn't work out. This was partly due to lack of income, poor housing and many other pressures. We were separated many times and each time we were more helpless. In the end I left him for good.

Welfare has treated me as best they could but my allowance was never adequate. The basic necessities were met but they were just barely enough to live on. I never ever had enough income no matter how much I stretched the budget—my children have never had a doll carriage or a bicycle. I have never had a winter coat or a pair of winter boots. Perhaps, its no wonder that my children steal small items from grocery stores.

Many of the mothers on welfare have their problems because their children soon learn that at the end of each month they will be short of food.

In the past when my problems were too much for me and I had no one to help me I many times contemplated suicide. I was fortun-

nate, I never went through with it. The welfare departments fed us but they never took the time to listen to my other problems. Usually the worker dropped in to investigate whether I was using my money in the right way. Lucky for me I heard about the Mount Carmel Clinic and became a client of theirs. When I need help I always know that they will take the time to listen to me.

The clinic is more than a medical and dental services although this is an important service. It is an important service for people who are on welfare. Also, the staff who work there care about us. They care about us as individuals and human beings. The clinic showed me that they really care.

My whole family uses these services of the clinic, sisters, fathers, mothers and everybody. I attend group therapy sessions each Wednesday night. We don't always solve everybody's problems but we do try to help each other. The problems that we discuss are unlimited. They include housing, marital relations, legal aid and child care and many others. As a group, we are able to support each other and have meaningful relations. This is the kind of help and support you don't get from the public agencies.

Now, when I need help I don't go anywhere but to the clinic. I still have seven children at home—the youngest is three but although they still need me at home I would like to have a chance to be someone. I feel that I understand people who have similar problems and would like to work with them. I am hoping that perhaps I could get some training and work as a welfare worker or social work on a part-time basis.

This would help me to support my family but also give me a chance to help others.

In closing, I would like to say that no one likes to be a welfare recipient. We would all try and work if we could get the help, support and opportunities to do so. The common concern and problems of being welfare. Being a welfare recipient is a degrading and dehumanizing experience. No welfare recipient desires or wants to be a public charge. All, if capable and able to do so would like to be gainfully employed and self sufficient. The stigma of being on welfare leaves a person open to exploitation by a landlord, by finance companies and furniture and grocery stores. Clients are propositioned for sexual favours if they want the articles at the regular price.

The general public is critical and ignorant of the welfare recipient's position. Teachers

criticize a poorly kept and unkempt child, neighbours snoop and inform on the welfare recipient if she is seen drinking liquor or having company overnight. Social workers become investigators and not helping persons. The present system of welfare payments perpetuates the poverty problem because (a) payments are too low and they meet only the basic needs; (b) present means tests separate and break up families rather than reinforcing and holding them together; (c) the present system forces honest people to become dishonest in order to survive. The client begins to lie about his needs. If the client reports any additional income he stands to suffer immediate rejection of the social assistance. Consequently, the exploited learn to exploit the system.

The poverty culture breeds delinquency and crime. The common theft of food and clothing and toys are a common problem of poverty families.

The recommendations. 1. The Federal Government makes special provisions to increase their efforts in the area of facilitating the construction of low cost housing. 2. The Federal Government bring pressure on the provinces to enforce a health sanitation regulations. 3. Building codes and prosecution of neglectful or slum landlords. (a) The Federal Government enact legislation to see that the federal, provincial and municipal peace officers who deal with domestic affairs be required to take training in the following areas: (a) domestic relations; (b) social sciences and/or social work in order that they may have a better understanding of the problems of poverty, delinquency and crime. 4. The Federal Government support the establishment of nurseries, day care centres and kindergartens. This would facilitate the employment of many women who wish to be self sufficient. 5. That the Federal Government challenge the Canadian Bar Association who really assist needy people with legal aid. The present situation, with few exceptions, is ludicrous. Number 6. The Federal Government give serious consideration to new social welfare policies such as a guaranteed annual income or a negative income tax. Also that these programmes be constructed to provide incentives for those who want them.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

The Chairman: I think I should make clear to the members of the Senate that the only assistance the girls received in drawing their briefs was the one of correct English. I know

they felt a little hesitant about coming in and they had their English corrected—otherwise—its a very good brief.

There is just one thing before we start—and those in the audience know who they are—I was just wondering, on behalf of the Senate Committee, how many in the audience are students?

...Show of Hands.

I don't know what the classes are doing without you but I know that we are delighted to have you here. How many of you are in the social welfare field?

...Show of Hands.

Senator Belisle: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. May I say that I have been very much impressed with this brief and the wealth of information that the brief gives us. I say this sincerely regarding the human contact that is brought to our attention. May I say that having had the opportunity of serving two years on the special Senate Divorce Committee that I am in very deep sympathy with all of these problems that you have brought to our attention.

I have read your brief and in your recommendations, as you mentioned a while ago, I would like to ask you a question regarding paragraph 7, page II, and then in paragraph 8 and paragraph 13 where you say:

There is no protection for women, especially the poor, who have been brutally beaten and mistreated by their husbands. The police can only admonish, since legally the husband is in his own home. Often the husband, drunk and vicious, continues to pummel the wife after the police leave until tragedy ensues. We suggest that a Domestic Police Force, trained in handling such situations, with an enlightened staff educated in psychology, sociology and governed by special laws be instituted to save such women from permanent harm.

My question is this: how can we overcome the inability of the poor to take advantage of the legal services and other assistance that is now available and what can we do to assist them more directly. How can we integrate them more closely with the local community without infringing on the local citizen's right and the provincial right?

Senator Connolly: You are asking more than one question there.

Senator Belisle: Yes, I did ask those two questions but I realize I won't have another opportunity.

Mrs. Ross: Well, I wasn't prepared to come and solve your problems. However, what I am saying in essence is perhaps through your good offices and you are travelling throughout Canada—through your good offices and perhaps there could be some federal action say through the Attorney General's Department, where some special police or some special group or something to protect the woman alone. This is a very very severe situation that the woman has to face.

I am just throwing this as one of the things that might be done. I don't know whether this is the answer but all I know is that the stories that we get day in and day out, and the medical evidence has led us to believe that the woman is not protected. There is a complete non-concern on the part of the police. I am not saying that legally they can't do anything about it but I think there should be a change somewhere along the lines. Either through the Federal Government or perhaps talks should be started between the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments. They do have a severe situation that exists.

Senator Belisle: Did you appear before the Committee that was working towards the equality of women's rights which was headed by Mrs. Bird?

Mrs. Ross: Yes I did and that was my idea too. I recommended that at that time.

Senator Belisle: Thank you.

The Chairman: Senator Inman?

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, I was interested in Mrs. Ross speaking about the police. She said that the police didn't go or couldn't go into the home. I think that wife beating is illegal in the provinces and the police do go and I am just wondering why they don't go here?

Mrs. Ross: Well, they come and say that the man is in his own home. If you want to lay action lay action in the Family Court.

Senator Inman: Well, I just assumed that the law must be different in this province.

The Chairman: I don't think the law is different but I think the application of it is a bit different. They are hesitant you know to go in when two people are quarrelling. There is a reluctance towards it and you have to have some judgment when you are doing it.

Senator Everett: I was very impressed, Mr. Chairman, with all these briefs, especially

those of Mrs. Ross and Mrs. Melnyk. I would like to ask Mrs. Marand—she makes a recommendation in the final part of her brief to the effect that the Federal Government should challenge the Federal Bar Association to really assist needy people with free legal aid. The present situation, with few exceptions, is ludicrous. I gather that you have had some experience?

Mrs. Marand: Yes sir.

The Chairman: Wait until Senator Everett has finished his question.

Senator Everett: Well, Mr. Chairman, I really have finished my question.

Mrs. Marand: Well, over the past ten years I have been trying to get a divorce from my legal husband. I have been told that this is not a matter they can help me with because I live on welfare. I should meet somebody that I want to really marry, how do I go about getting a divorce when I still have seven children and raising them on welfare?

Senator Everett: You tell me why they tell you they can't help you? Did they give you any reasons?

Mrs. Marand: Well, the Welfare Department refers you to Legal Aid if you want a separation or a divorce. They will help you for a separation but not for a divorce.

Senator Everett: Do they give you any reasons for this attitude?

Mrs. Marand: Well, you just don't have any money to pay.

Senator Everett: Well, I am saying that this Legal Aid will help you for a separation but they won't help you for a divorce?

Mrs. Marand: Well, usually, divorces are much more costly.

Senator Everett: Well, I am wondering if Mrs. Ross can tell me what the Legal Aid arrangements are in this province?

Mrs. Ross: Well, the Legal Aid will help you in a separation case and so on but I know from what the two girls have told me that everyone of them who has applied for a legal divorce in particular, has been turned down, except one and she made such a fuss and she threatened and she would just go there everytime and raise all sort of—and they helped her. She is the only one of the group that did get help but there are quite a

few of the girls who would like to have a divorce and separations from their husbands. ing, you just aren't eligible.

Another thing that perhaps isn't as well known is the young woman who is separated and who needs Legal Aid and who works and supports a child would just barely make it. Free Legal Aid is not available to her at all. She is perhaps making just as little as the one who is on welfare yet because you are working, you just aren't eligible.

This is what our girls tell me. I went once with one of our patients to obtain Legal Aid for separation purposes and this was obtained but the feedback I get is that not divorces and not if you are working.

Senator Everett: This appears to be the feedback we are getting all over the country.

The Chairman: No, no. You mustn't mistake that. There are provinces that do provide for Legal Aid for divorces and Legal Aid for people who can prove that they are unable to obtain Legal Aid under certain circumstances. It's a matter of provincial regulations.

Senator Everett: May I ask Mrs. Melnyk if she has had any Legal Aid experience in this province?

Mrs. Melnyk: No I haven't. I am a widow.

Senator Everett: Thank you very much.

Senator McGrand: In looking at this material which has been given to us, this background of poverty, it mentions that Winnipeg's population has increased some 42,000 from 1961 to 1966. Now, has available employment increased in proportion to the increase in population? That's one question. The second one is, are the poor that you have referred to—and you have referred to a great many cases—are they native born Winnipeg people or were they born outside of Winnipeg and moved in in recent years?

Mrs. Ross: I will answer the second question first with the first so I will pass it up if you don't mind. I can only speak on behalf of my experience working with people at Mount Carmel. When you are talking of native people may I say that between 50 and 55 per cent of our patients are Indian Metis. Now, how native can you get?

Secondly, we do have quite a sort of mosaic in our clinic. As a matter of fact—I speak several languages and the other day a Portuguese came in and said "Mrs. Ross, we need

you." We do get some fair number of new immigrants like Italians, Yugoslavs, and so on but the majority are people who are born and raised in Canada.

Senator McGrand: Well, I say Winnipeg?

Mrs. Ross: Well, Canadians I mean.

Senator McGrand: I know they are Canadians and they are probably born in Manitoba, but did they grow up in Winnipeg or were they people that moved in from the north or the east and so on?

Mrs. Ross: Well, Senator, that's a very good question except that I can't answer it because we haven't done any studies in that area.

The Chairman: Senator McGrand, were you speaking of the background material?

Senator McGrand: Yes.

The Chairman: Well, as you know, that was not received...

Senator McGrand: Yes, but we were speaking of poverty and employment, and employment is very closely associated with poverty. That is why I asked the question whether in your opinion the increase of employment balances the increase of the population? I know you are not in a position to say but that is my question.

Mrs. Ross: I really would like to pass that up.

Senator McGrand: Well, there is another question. Now, in these bed bug infected homes, what can be done and what has been done about this sort of thing. It is the landlord I suppose who is responsible for the cleanliness of his house or property. What attempts have been made to force the landlord to do something about that sort of thing?

Mrs. Ross: Well, when we get children—on Friday, for example, we had a family of eight who were bitten by bed bugs and they were covered. I don't mean infected, but covered and I said to the mother "Have you called the Health Department?" She said "No, I won't do that they will probably give me a notice." However, I convinced her that the Health Department should be called in to investigate this situation and she agreed.

Now, this is the problem. You call the Health Department and they might go into—I say they might go in—actually they do go in quite a few places but somehow these little

bugs get into the furniture and into the wood-work and get into Lord knows where and they just seem to thrive and the landlord cannot be compelled to do anything because if you don't like it you can move out. Out you go. You give your month's notice and you are out and that's it. We have had cases where the people who live in such places, where the landlord wasn't responsive to her pleas to vacate the place and she reported him to the Health Department and she got notice in a great big hurry.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I would like to congratulate Mrs. Ross and Mrs. Melnyk and Mrs. Marand for a wonderful presentation. I think they made a very clear and a very vivid presentation to this Committee on the situation of many people who are really actually suffering from poverty. Their presentation was extremely good but the thing I would like to ask is this. Mrs. Ross suggested that if we had a housing registry, that this might do a lot to find proper housing for people. And what I would like to know is, even if we do have a registry is there enough suitable housing to assign to people?

Mrs. Ross: No. Perhaps that formulation wasn't very good and perhaps we should have said more than a housing registry. We should have said to work with other groups which are interested in the promotion of better housing where we could get better housing for people.

For instance, the clinic is situated in the most depressed—economically depressed part of the city of Winnipeg. I just have to look at it through the windows—I will show you when you get there, how you can see just how people live. We have tried and other people have tried to get the powers that be to take some of these houses and renovate them and rent them to people in the low income groups. When I talk about housing registry and I just sort of put it in there, but if you wish me to digress I can. This is the kind of thing we would like. We would like housing made available and that we should sort of merge these single governmental—the Provincial Government and the Federal Government—to make possible housing facilities so that we can get our people in to good housing.

Senator Fergusson: I was interested in your saying that there are houses that might be renovated. You do think that there are many

of these existing houses that could be renovated?

Mrs. Ross: I would think so. When you walk into our clinic you will see—well, I won't tell you what you will see but I will tell you what you would have seen two or three years ago. It was a dilapidated place just falling apart and it was just ready to collapse. I want you to see what we did with it just two years ago—just how it can be done.

Senator Fergusson: Well, this is what I meant. You don't feel that all these old buildings have to be torn down, that many could be made use of if they are not quite so dilapidated?

Mrs. Ross: Well, when we rented the places we got the advice of engineers and architects and if we were told these certainly weren't worthwhile saving we certainly wouldn't have done anything. When we were told that this building basically was in good shape, structurally, we went ahead. This is what can be done everywhere.

Senator Fergusson: I agree with you because I live in a house that's over 100 years old and I certainly don't think it has to be torn down and a new one built.

The Chairman: The New Brunswickers built houses better than they do now. Mrs. Ross what is your present budget?

Mrs. Ross: Our present budget is approximately \$74,000.

The Chairman: How do you raise it?

Mrs. Ross: That is a very good question. Thank you. The United Way has been our mainstay for the past four years. Before then we really—before United Way came on the scene we were ready to close our doors and I don't mean maybe. Right now, United Way—we get a small grant from the Province of Manitoba and we get a grant from the City of Winnipeg which is renewable every year. In other words, we have to prove that we still need the money and we get private donations. Basically, these are our main sources of income.

The Chairman: Well, just roughly could you estimate the percentage of private donations to the total on a percentage basis?

Mrs. Ross: No, Senator Croll, one of my Achilles' Heel's is mathematics.

The Chairman: Well, approximately in dollars and cents?

Mrs. Ross: The United Way gave us up to now a little more than half of our budget. The Province of Manitoba gave us—I would say less than a quarter, a fifth maybe, and the City of Winnipeg gave us \$10,000. We received a very small amount from the Municipality of Wildwood, and we also had some private grants.

The Chairman: You indicated that you had in mind that your budget would be larger in the immediate future?

Mrs. Ross: Yes. As a matter of fact talking about the budget we haven't a clue as to where we are going to get the \$60,000 for next year. Our budget has risen definitely and from all indications we will have to really knock on doors to get this \$60,000 to meet our 1970 budget.

Senator Everett: In Appendix "A", Mrs. Ross you said that the clinic handled 239,265—I gather services?

Mrs. Ross: Yes.

Senator Everett: That is the total of all the services listed on the accompanying...

Mrs. Ross: Those are services which means a service could be an x-ray, it could be a dressing, it could be a pass for a child, it could be sitting down with Simone here for half an hour and listening to their troubles, and well, it's anything at all. It could be the pulling of teeth and so on.

If you noticed we have in 1950 the services were 2,000. We estimate our services for 1969 to be 239,265. Now, it's been a clinic that has just kept going upward and we like to believe that one of the reasons that there is this increase is because of our comprehensive approach and our attitudes to the people. We like to think that we do treat our patients with concern, with dignity, with a compassion, and with sympathy. We think, that is one of the reasons perhaps I don't know all of the answers why our services have kept going up—our clientele has kept going up.

Senator Everett: You provide that service for \$74,000 a year did you say?

Mrs. Ross: In 1969. As a matter of fact when we went to the United Way just recently for more funds. One of the members of the Committee in awe said my goodness, it only costs about 30 cents a service, and I thought,

boy maybe we will get more money, but I don't know whether we will or not.

Senator Everett: How many patients do you handle or do you propose to handle this year after nine months experience?

Mrs. Ross: Well, we have over here the patients' visits per month.

Senator Everett: No, not patients' visits.

Mrs. Ross: Well, we can't divide patients from patients' visits. Every hospital, every clinic, counts patients' visits rather than patients because a patient can come in and you will never see him again. That's one visit. A patient can come and he will come back again to see the doctor for some other reason, the next week and the week after. He might be coming for x-rays and so on, and so these are visits.

Senator Everett: That's true for accounting reasons but I am wondering if it's the same way the Children's Aid Society talks I think of Day Care patients. I am still interested in the number of patients you would handle each year.

Mrs. Ross: Well, as a matter of fact we have an analyst and we have asked the Winnipeg Family Council to assist us in assessing which of these are patients—I mean how many patients actually because we have not got the staff to do this kind of thing. We do the best we can.

Senator McGrand: In all this work you do how much free medical and dental care do you get from the medical and dental professions?

Mrs. Ross: Up until—well, over the years the medical profession has given us all free services. There was absolutely no question of paying anybody. The dental facilities we have set up were set up in 1964 but it has given us a lot of heartache and frustration because the number of people who wish to have dental care has grown but the number of dentists who are able and willing to give their time voluntarily has decreased, so we have this difficulty. We are now in the process of—as a matter of fact this afternoon we are having meetings with the Dental School and all sorts of things are happening. We just have to have more dentists.

Senator McGrand: Well, do the dentists come to your clinic?

Mrs. Ross: Yes. You will see our dental setup later on today.

Senator Fergusson: I think that I must have misunderstood Mrs. Ross but I thought she said that you have no social worker?

Mrs. Ross: No. We have no social worker. What we do have is a school unit of social students. We have just been trying it for the last two or three years and the third year is up. This is it. Up until now the students have been there to serve them and the service is secondary.

Senator Fergusson: Well, I was wondering where you get professional advice?

Mrs. Ross: Well, I have some background somewhere along the line, however, I am not the only one. Plus the school unit there comes a professor who assists us in the group therapy. We also have a psychiatrist and we also have—we are very close to the doctors.

The Chairman: Would you enlarge on what Senator Everett asked you regarding the services rendered at the clinic. Is it a fact that the services rendered at the clinic by a doctor cannot be paid for under Medicare?

Mrs. Ross: Well, I was wondering how long it would take the Senator to ask that question. Yes, but you will have to remember that until April, Medicare was not in existence in the Province of Manitoba. Right now, yes, the doctors will be paid but not the clinic. The clinic cannot charge for preparation, however, the doctors are very generous and we have had a meeting with them recently and we have reason to believe that they will give us a portion of their earnings at the clinic but that will not cover too much.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, I would like to join other members of the Committee in congratulating these ladies for coming before us this morning, particularly Mrs. Melnyk and Mrs. Marand. This is the first time we have, or second, to actually just address questions to people most directly affected by poverty. Mrs. Melnyk, I was impressed with your presentation and I would like to give you a couple of questions. You said you were going to be unable to purchase shoes this winter. Now, I don't wish to invade your privacy but I am wondering if you would like to tell me, as I recall you have two daughters?

Mrs. Melnyk: A daughter and a son.

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Senator Hastings: What are their ages?

Mrs. Melnyk: My son is 17 and my daughter is 10.

Senator Hastings: Is your son still at school?

Mrs. Melnyk: Yes he is. He is in Grade 11.

Senator Hastings: Is he looking forward to staying in school?

Mrs. Melnyk: Yes he is. He is looking forward to going to University if he gets his grades etcetera.

Senator Hastings: Would you care to tell me—you said there was no incentive to earn an extra \$25 so I would like to know first of all what is your total allowance, living allowance for you and your two children per month?

Mrs. Melnyk: Well, I can't give you an exact figure due to the fact that it will be changed because I have just moved on the 1st of November. I will give you the facts say in September. My rent was \$90 a month and I had to pay my own Hydro. I also had to pay for my telephone which I was not supposed to have because it is a luxury item. The rest was for food and clothing and I received \$212.

Senator Hastings: Well, you had \$212 and you take off \$90 for your rent and you would have \$122 for food and clothing?

Mrs. Melnyk: No. I had \$90 for the rent, \$5 approximately for my electricity, \$4 or something more for my telephone, so this is how it went. I also did not have a washing machine and I had to use the laundromat which cost me \$15 to \$20 a month. You, of course, know the price of milk...

Senator Hastings: I know the price of milk.

Mrs. Melnyk: How far is a \$100 or so going to go with a 17 year old boy and a 10 year old girl and the boy doesn't eat a quarter of a pound of meat anymore...

Senator Hastings: I would say \$40 per week per person.

Mrs. Melnyk: Very very easily.

Senator Hastings: Are you paid your welfare by voucher?

Mrs. Melnyk: No, I receive a cheque every month and I am responsible to pay everything that I have to pay for.

The Chairman: Well, there is a law in this country that has been passed by Parliament, by the Senate, and its on the Statute Books that says that every person in this country is entitled to have his or her needs met. In the Province of Manitoba there is an Appeal Board—a very good one that will allow a person who isn't getting it to go before the Appeal Board. Why isn't that being done?

Mrs. Melnyk: Mr. Chairman, I have never known about this.

The Chairman: Well, we passed the Canada Assistance Act sometime ago and the Province of Manitoba joined in with an agreement and we provide half these funds for what is needed by the person.

Mrs. Ross: I don't think it is that simple. I have had occasions when the girls have come to me and the answer is that we have to make special—we have to make special arrangements with the Minister and we have to get his permission first.

The Chairman: For what?

Mrs. Ross: For anything extra that they want.

The Chairman: For the appeal?

Mrs. Ross: Well, very few of the girls are prepared to go before an Appel Board but many of them frankly don't know about it. Maybe if we had a social worker we would know more about it.

The Chairman: Well, I read the report here of some of these students and I don't think you could really improve upon it if he was a social worker with many years of experience. As a matter of fact, I thought it was an excellent brief.

Mrs. Ross: Well, they only spend two days a week at Mount Carmel.

Senator Hastings: Well, you mentioned incentives. If you receive a welfare payment and you earn—is there no incentive to earn a little bit to supplement that?

Mrs. Melnyk: Well, if you are earning \$22, you are docked \$2.

Senators Hastings: You mean, it is taken off your check?

Mrs. Melnyk: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: Anything over \$20?

Senator Hastings: \$20 is the minimum?

Mrs. Melnyk: Yes. How can you do anything with \$20 today?

The Chairman: This is \$20 in one month? Under the Old Age Security you are entitled to half of what you earn above what you get and yet for the young people you cut them down to 20. Well, we are getting close to the time when we promised to go out and see this clinic, but in view of the fact that there are so many students here in the audience I think it would be worthwhile if we gave them an opportunity to do some questioning. This would be as a reward for the classes that they might have missed this morning, or something like that.

Is there anybody in the audience with a question? Is there any student who would like to have some questions answered?

Mr. Michael Owen: Mrs. Ross, I would like to know to what extent Mount Carmel Clinic is involved with other agencies both governmental and private agencies?

Mrs. Ross: I can assure you that we are involved with every agency in the City of Winnipeg. We are involved in one way or the other.

Mr. Owen: How do you feel that the Government agencies view the Mount Carmel Clinic?

Mrs. Ross: Well, I can't tell you about their views about Mount Carmel Clinic but I can only tell you that we have many referrals from the Provincial Welfare offices, the City Welfare Department and the Children's Aid. I have many students coming to me from Winnipeg and the University of Manitoba etcetera, asking for information regarding the clinic but as far as I know there is a good liaison between all of the agencies.

Mr. Owen: You seem to have difficulty in getting financial support?

Mrs. Ross: Well, naturally we sometimes are at loggerheads in that we would like to get certain things for our patients and perhaps certain members of agencies just don't see it the way we do but on the whole when we get going we can see eye to eye about certain things but they have their rules and we have ours.

The Chairman: Any more questions?

Mr. Julius Koteles: I am not a student but I would like to direct three questions to Mrs.

Ross. I am not one of those who are prepared to accept that the philosophy of the poor will always be with us. From your own lengthy experience a question that the Committee itself is here to investigate, what in your opinion, based on your experience, is the cause of poverty with the people that you have dealt with. Is it a lack of education, too many children too soon, or what? The second question is this. You have referred rather extensively to the beatings that women suffer but let me assure you as a lawyer I can cite many examples of battered husbands. However, I would like to ask you what the role of liquor and alcohol is in the problem of these people, and in fact, in the problem of the poor and the third question based upon what Mrs. Melnyk had to say on the shortcomings of welfare, that there is no incentive to go out and work and help yourself. It appears that the welfare system in the Province of Manitoba condemns you to remain on welfare but are there any other shortcomings you would care to comment on?

Now, those are the questions and I realize it's quite a big mouthful, but if you could precisely answer all three questions. These are the problems that trouble me.

Mrs. Ross: Mr. Chairman, as a member of the Board of the Mount Carmel Clinic, Mr. Koteles, I thought you were well schooled and perhaps you could answer these questions much better than I can.

Mr. Koteles: You are the Executive Director and I would like it to go on the record please.

Mrs. Ross: As far as the causes of poverty are concerned, I haven't made any profound studies on the causes of poverty, but I would say a great deal has to do with the lack of employment. I also find that 40 years old people who have reached the age of 40, or thereabouts, and who have no skills, haven't got a chance to get employment. There is also the fact that the youngsters who are born to the poor are not motivated to go to school, therefore they too are on the labour market and therefore, it is repeated.

It is a mouthful and I am getting the high sign here that the Senators here are supposed to be at Mount Carmel at 11 o'clock. As far as the beating of the women is concerned, I have yet to see a battered husband and this means 20 years of association with Mount Carmel Clinic, and may I also say that I have witnessed twice in the last three weeks an

attempt by two husbands, within the clinic grounds, to batter their wives. We had quite a time just a little while ago and another one trying to choke her.

Certainly, alcoholism has a role to play and it's unfortunate, and I think this is an area which I think the Alcoholics Anonymous is doing a very good job—a very good job I would say, but a great deal more has to be done because it's a social problem.

Senator Hastings: Mrs. Ross, you say it has a role. How big a role?

Mrs. Ross: The Alcoholics Anonymous?

Senator Hastings: Yes.

Mrs. Ross: I think it plays a very good role but I think their attitude and their approach to the methods by which they are trying to rehabilitate people is a good one.

Senator Hastings: Well, you say that alcoholism has a role to play in poverty. How big a role?

Mrs. Ross: Well, I think it's that people that are poor get very frustrated. People who are poor and who have many children and have no jobs just give up and one of the ways that they feel they can sort of get away from it all is by drinking. The only thing I can say is that many people that drink but I think when the poor drink it is more in evidence.

Senator McGrand: Mr. Chairman, just a very short question. We have talked about battered men and battered women. Do you experience much of the battered child syndrome in Winnipeg?

Mrs. Ross: Well, I can't speak for Winnipeg but I understand that there are battered children which are brought in to the Children's Hospital but you see we are in a clinic, not a hospital. We don't get that kind of child.

The Chairman: Any other questions?

Miss Jean Altsmire: My name is Jean Altsmire, and I am also not a student. This session that the two women are in—are all of you on welfare?

Mrs. Ross: Yes.

Miss Altsmire: Has there ever been a meeting between you and representatives of the welfare office to try and deal with some of the problems that welfare causes you, and if an attempt has been made has it been productive?

Mrs. Marand: Well, as I said before, welfare has helped me. I think they have done their best for me and my children. My budget is very limited and I am allowed \$319 a month for myself and seven children, which includes rent, hydro, telephone, food, clothing and what have you.

Miss Altsmire: I mean in terms of dehumanizing aspect—that welfare workers are investigators and are investigating these kinds of problems, not financial problems?

Mrs. Marand: Well, when you come on welfare they sometimes make you feel like it's coming right out of their pockets. This is what I call dehumanizing.

Miss Altsmire: So you have not had a meeting with people from welfare?

Mrs. Marand: I have met some nice people at the welfare and I have met some not so nice people.

The Chairman: Any other questions?

Miss Nora Winnick: You were mentioning about the renovating of these houses and one of your recommendations had this in mind. Have you anything to do with this new low rental housing? We heard there has been some difficulties?

Mrs. Ross: Well, we have been in touch with the various groups which have been active in Point Douglas—this is where we are situated—and we certainly are working with any and every group that is interested in promoting good housing and we are aware of what they are doing and we are ready to help.

Miss Winnick: Could you give me any idea of what the requirements are—what a person needs to get into one of these low rental developments?

Mrs. Ross: Well, you are talking about urban renewal and I think you put your name down and wait. You have to have a certain income and you have to have a certain number of children, and so on and so forth. If you want to speak to the urban renewal people they will tell you much more than I can tell you.

The Chairman: Are there any other questions?

Mr. George DeLong: Does the clinic itself have ways that they assess the charges?

Mrs. Ross: Basically we have no means test if that is what he means. Anyone who comes to the clinic, especially now with Medicare, if they can afford to pay for the Medicines we are certainly pleased to receive. We certainly welcome payment but if they can't we don't insist on it. If they can afford to pay for any part of the service we are most receptive but on the whole we do give a generally free service.

From The Floor: Do you have any way of knowing whether a person can pay or not?

Mrs. Ross: Well, when they come in they are registered and they are asked whether they are working and if they would like to tell us what their earnings are. Very often, they go into great detail and very often they will tell us about their debts without being asked too many questions.

Very often we get the complete story as to what their situation is without asking too many questions.

Senator Everett: If you don't get the answers you want what happens?

Mrs. Ross: I am not sure what you mean.

Senator Everett: You say that you have everybody register and you ask sometimes about their income.

Mrs. Ross: Well, when we are talking about registering, we are talking about making up a chart for the doctors. This is what I mean by registering. There is no such thing as turning anybody away. As an instance, there are many young people who are travelling throughout the country, as everybody knows, and we call them transients who are here and gone tomorrow and who come in sick. We certainly don't ask them any questions as to their ability to pay—none of them have car or anything. They are given whatever assistance they need.

The Chairman: Well, for the information of those of you who are interested and you must be interested to be here, at 1.30 we are going to hear from the "Neighbourhood Service Centre" and the "University of Manitoba School of Architecture." Tonight we will be hearing from the "Winnipeg Tenants Association." All this will take place in this room and then we have meetings for tomorrow starting at 9.30 till about 2.30. Those of you who are students particularly will be interested in that. At the present time, the Committee is going over to see the clinic.

May I say on behalf of the Committee to Mrs. Ross, Mrs. Melnyk, and Mrs. Marand—it's all right to sit in the audience and its all right to sit where I am sitting and where the Senators are sitting, but it takes a lot of courage to stand up and say what they have said this morning. They have given us their personal histories and for that we thank them very very much. It helps our knowledge of the situation because it becomes more personalized as they so much want it to be. So, on behalf of the Committee, we thank both of you, and thank Mrs. Ross for a very interesting brief and presentation. Thank you very much.

The meeting will now adjourn until 1.30 this afternoon.

Upon resuming at 1.30 p.m.)

The Chairman: Order, please. Some members of the committee have been appointed to a special subcommittee to hear other briefs, so they are not present now.

We are to hear now representations from the Neighbourhood Service Centre, whose spokesman is Mrs. Reva Waldman.

Mrs. Reva Waldman, Neighbourhood Service Centre: Our group today is made up of Mr. D. H. Lawrence, Executive Director, and Mr. J. G. Lyons, Mr. R. H. Houston, and myself, as staff workers.

The activities of the agency are to deal with community social concerns through family-strengthening services and development of local leadership. We operate group programs serving the general area of North and Central Winnipeg. It is a private agency, funded by the United Way.

Rather than summarize the brief I am going to read it to you now because it is very short.

Because we have been satisfied that these Senate hearings are giving a fair proportion of their time to groups of people living in the conditions of poverty, and because we know that local groups of these people are responding to the Senate's invitation to submit briefs, we are assuming that they will be speaking out the specific issues that touch on their lives, how the problems of poverty affect them and their families, and what solutions they may see or demand.

Since we are confident that the people with whom this study is concerned are very capable of speaking for themselves, we can turn our attention to some of the other aspects of

our society that concern us. We cannot supply you with much of the information you requested in your outline, but suggest that much research and documentation already exists on the causes and incidences of poverty. We might also argue that a consensus that poverty and its effects must be eliminated is far more relevant and necessary today than a consensus on the causes of poverty.

We know that no single program or solution which deals with only one aspect of the causes or effects of poverty can hope to solve a problem which is baffling in its complexity, and which, as you suggest, can be viewed from an economic, cultural, social, psychological or political perspective, or any combinations or permutations of these perspectives.

The Canadian people must be made aware of the necessity of recognizing the complexity of the problem and must be helped to accept the fact that there cannot be simple answers to complex problems.

The causes of poverty are many, as are the effects, and these factors are all inter-related. All programs that are devised to deal with the problems of poverty must be based on the recognition of the interrelationship of all of these factors.

It will never be enough just to raise income level without raising the level of education in low income areas, for example, or to deal exclusively with the social and political alienation of the poor without considering adequate income maintenance. The only answer to the problem can come from a concerted attack on all fronts.

What we can focus on, however, is one particular aspect of the problem that we are concerned with—that aspect being one that we feel the Senate is particularly able to deal with. We speak here of the public attitude toward poverty, the enormous change that must take place in the minds and hearts of the people of this nation, and the effect that the Senate can have in influencing this change.

We feel that suitable, workable, effective programs must be found at the same time as the Canadian public is being educated toward the acceptance of a new, concerned and enlightened approach to the solution of poverty. Without general public understanding and support, we will continue with the piecemeal kinds of aid that cannot keep up with the growing problems, let alone solve the old ones.

We feel that the definition of poverty set forth by the Economic Council of Canada is an excellent starting point. No definition, however, and no statistical data can describe how it feels to be poor.

To experience from day to day the hopelessness and degradation of poverty and all that it implies is to understand the demoralizing effect it can have on the human spirit. Self-respect and dignity are difficult commodities to maintain and to instill in one's children when faced with poverty and the social attitudes which accompany it.

As the Economic Council stated: "To feel poverty is, among other things, to feel oneself an unwilling outsider—a virtual non-participant in the society in which one lives. ... Even the best statistics can only hint at this. They cannot capture the sour atmosphere of poor health and bad housing. The accumulated defeat, alienation and despair which often so tragically are inherited by the next and succeeding generations."

We believe that there is a growing number of Canadians committed to the ideal that the poor must have sufficient access to the benefit of society to allow for their growth and development as equal members. In spite of this movement, however, progress is much too slow to keep abreast of changing conditions.

We are saddled with an archaic welfare system which, in its present form, has no hope of solving the problems of poverty. This system is based on the philosophy espoused by the Old English Poor Laws, and is, to say the least, inappropriate for today's needs.

It is our contention that, at the root of much of the problem of poverty are social values and attitudes which work against an enlightened approach. To enumerate all of these in our brief would be impossible but we will attempt to outline some of the most obvious ones.

The old Protestant work ethic is still very much evident in our society. This value equates work and productivity with virtue and infers that the absence of prosperity denotes a basic flaw in the individual's make-up. From this value flows many of the negative attitudes we are concerned about.

The attitude that the poor are inferior in character or intelligence is partly a result of this value. Also the attitude that the poor are for the most part undeserving is a direct reflection of this value. One does not have to look too far to see these attitudes reflected in

the welfare policies of many municipal and even some provincial governments.

Another value, which is certainly beyond reproach in its purest form, but which has many unfortunate side-effects is that of charity. To view social services and welfare measures purely as charity reinforces the attitude toward the so-called "undeserving poor." It encourages the condescending attitude which middle-class society has towards the poor and reinforces the attitude that welfare is a privilege that should only be accorded to those who pay tribute to the donor.

The disadvantage of the charity approach, then, is that it clouds many of the real issues of poverty and denies the individual many of his basic rights. It is an unfortunate reflection on our society that we must still depend upon private donations to provide many of our essential social services.

The public value is still one which views one part of society or a community doing something for another part. Expenditure directed at helping those who cannot pay their own way are seen to be in direct competition with expenditures of clearer direct benefit to the one who pays.

The danger inherent in this situation is the growing ability of the poor to become organized and to articulate their needs will be met by a backlash of resistance and diminishing sympathy by those who must legislate and pay for poverty programs. The legislators on the "comfortable Canadians" must be prepared for this situation—prepared to listen and respond in a responsible, sensitive manner.

The crucial issue here is the attitude toward poverty, because the particular strategies that are developed to deal with it can only be based on these attitudes. It is our responsibility, as it is ours, to work consciously toward changing these attitudes according to the values that must be the basis of a new approach.

While we recognize that attitudes cannot immediately be changed through legislation, we do believe that the long-term effect of good social legislation will be one of producing an acceptance of the concept that the country's government accepts responsibility for the well-being of all of its citizens.

Thank you.

Senator McGrand: On page 2 you say: "will never be enough just to raise income

level without raising the level of education in low income areas," and then in the next line you say: "the social and political alienation of the poor," and then you reinforce your statement again in the next paragraph, and you say: "Without general public understanding and support, we will continue with the piecemeal kinds of aid that cannot keep up with the growing problems, let alone solve the old ones."

Now, I agree with you completely, but what I would like you to do is to tell us how do you propose to deal with this problem, especially the attitudes, to which you have referred several times.

Now, how are you going to approach this thing so that you can overcome the problem, especially the problem of attitude?

Mr. Lawrence, Executive Director, Neighbourhood Service Centre: If I may first, sir, I do not think we can give you an answer to this, but perhaps a start can be made.

I think, for example, the leaders of our country today are making some pretty enlightening speeches about the importance of people being involved in participation of the affairs of their country, growing concern or verbal concern about the poor, and I have no reason to doubt their sincerity, but this, coming from the leaders of our country, has very little effect on the actual operation of existing or continuing government programs.

I do feel that the elected representatives do have the power, the ability and the authority to begin to develop within these government departments programs that will help employees, senior members as well as all the way down the line to the junior members, to develop programs of training whereby the people who actually implement these programs can begin to study their own attitude, take a look at themselves, and to sort out some of their negative attitudes towards the poor; then I feel certain that as a result of this their approach to people in the sorting-out of programs will be a great deal better and I think a great example can be set here.

Now, you cannot legislate the general public to be accepting the poor but certainly the government can bring about some change in the attitudes of some of its employees, from the highest to the fellow who works across the desk. I believe this is one way they can set an example. It is possible to do it within existing government structures, I believe.

Senator Everett: Mrs. Waldman, on page 5 of your brief, item 10, you state: "It is an unfortunate reflection on our society that we must still depend upon private donations to provide many of our essential social services."

I wonder if you and your group can enlarge on that statement.

Mr. J. G. Lyons, Staff Worker, Neighbourhood Service Centre: I think the thing that we were referring to in that statement, if you will go back to the previous page you will see the discussion about the side effects of the charity approach. I think that is really what we are referring to here.

By taking the view that charity or that providing provision of adequate living for people who are less fortunate than ourselves is a right or at least is a privilege rather than a right, I think, is negating some of their basic rights. This is more or less what this sentence refers to.

Senator Everett: I think I understand but I would like you to enlarge on the ramifications of that statement because you say first of all this is a matter of right rather than privilege. Then you go on to say that it is reflected in the fact that we have to depend upon private donations for people to attain this right.

I am not arguing your premise. I am asking: what is the effect of that sort of thinking? What do you substantially suggest should be done?

Mr. Lyons: Well, what I am suggesting is that there should be a mechanism set up by the government for the provision of adequate resources for every individual. I do not know if I can take it further than this. Maybe somebody else can.

The Chairman: When you start talking about "adequate resources for every individual", what are you talking about? Let us have it in understandable language.

I understand what you are saying but I do not think you are getting it across here.

Mr. Lawrence: I think what we mean by that, sir, is the basic needs of a person's life in order to at least exist rather than a bare existence level.

I think what we are trying to say is this: that charity is a very meaningful thing and has been pretty well throughout the life of civilized society. We hope it will continue but in our opinion in this day and age, while

charity should not be discouraged and while charitable donations to very well meaning and intended charitable organizations should not be discouraged, we feel that the charity organization should basically be an enhancing service, not providing the basic service of our society.

To take an example. I think it is pretty well accepted that today the good community includes a training programme of reaction, informal education and adult education and yet today we still see many communities where the municipal bodies have not taken care of this and churches and other charitable groups move in and do this.

I have made the statement publicly before that I do not think that churches and organizations, volunteer organizations generally, are trained or equipped to offer good recreational services. They are a stop gap and a piecemeal type of thing and I can speak from personal experience with our own agency, which, for many years, provided the only recreational informal educational services in the Logan area.

We were the poor man's YMCA. In effect by providing these services for many many years we were a blister on the heel of progress, if you will, inasmuch as the citizens of that area of the city never really came together to face the city to implement good recreation programmes and instead were prepared to accept our second-rate one.

We think very often these very well meaning and charitable services block the way to social progress.

For many many years municipal bodies, provincial governments, did not accept their responsibility as long as it is being handled through a charity group. We think they should be an enhancement of services but not the basic services.

Senator McGrand: Where do you start with this?

The Chairman: Can you justify discouraging in any way these volunteer agencies across the country that have been there for many years and doing it out of the generosity and motivation of their hearts?

Mr. Lawrence: I do not think you necessarily discourage them. Perhaps you should channel them into other areas.

The Chairman: Who would do the channelling?

Mr. Lawrence: That opens the whole question of who should. At this point it usually seems to fall into the laps of social agencies who perhaps are not really equipped to do this sort of work. They have not got the body of knowledge for it, or the people from the CYC and organizations like this or the Young Radical Group seems to be other ones who are doing more than anybody else today.

However, who it is, I don't know, but I think that more and more somebody has got to direct them towards placing their money and their efforts into other areas. I think this can be done. Certainly it was done by the United Way as far as our agency was concerned.

I think some of the central funding bodies could do this.

Senator Everett: Can you tell us about the United Way in your particular case?

Mr. Lawrence: Yes, sir. They made it fairly clear to us because of diminishing returns from the United Way Campaign and so forth, they felt our efforts should be put into helping people, take a look at the recreational problem in our area and to organize together and go before the municipal government to get them to accept the responsibility, which we did.

We helped them to organize themselves and submitted briefs and went before the municipal body and in turn they did then get the city government to take over the recreational role in that area.

Senator Sparrow: Mr. Lawrence seems in one sense to defend to a degree charitable organizations and in the next sentence says they are really not providing the proper function; that it is a fact if they were not there, governments would act faster.

I think our history of government action has been that government action is prompted in many instances by charitable organizations as such and you could refer to retardation or multiple sclerosis or this type of thing where individuals involved in the community started the movement and then the government reacted to it.

I am asking the question again, I suppose, but do you think in today's society that we now should be looking in the area of doing away with private charitable organizations, that the governments are at such a level now that they are prepared to accept the roles that our charitable organizations have been doing?

Mr. Lawrence: No sir. I do not think the government is that sensitive yet. I am not saying that private organizations still do not have a very important role to play and there are many areas, I do not think, will ever be direct government responsibility, but if we use your example of the retarded children. How many years did it take for the retarded people to get the government to take an interest; many many years.

I think that many organizations have come about to meet a social need and then perpetuate themselves on and on and on.

In addition to that what happens initially is a forge or movement to implement a programme for a particular group in the society and then it gets bigger, bigger and bigger and the private agency holds on to it longer, longer and longer, and forgets its main thrust which was to get public responsibility for this.

I think this is the danger I am talking about, not just to say private organizations should do their work better. I think they are a safety valve in our society. We have to have them, but there are still private agencies that are carrying out basic social services, providing welfare, if you will, maybe because the welfare departments in some cases do not work properly.

All the energy is going to meet everyday needs instead of organizing and bringing the agencies to task, if you will, and helping them to review how they may do their job properly.

The Chairman: I asked Mrs. Waldman when she sat down whether all three of you were qualified social workers and she said you were. Well, that leads me to a question then. I am assuming that all of you are knowledgeable about the Canada Assistance Act. I hope I gather that.

Do you know it is the law of the land today that every person has to have his needs met through the provincial government or the government of this country? Are you aware of that?

Mr. Lawrence: Yes, we are aware of that statement.

The Chairman: In the light of that statement why is not some cash being raised if that need is not being met by these social agencies who know these things better than the people who are unaware of them?

Mr. Lyons: Do you want me to take a stab at that?

The Chairman: Go ahead. You can all take a stab at it, if you like.

Mr. Lyons: Right. Maybe I will open up with something from right off the top of my head. I think possibly what the problem is, is in the definition of what are basic needs. I think if you are talking strictly about physical needs, the needs for clothing, food and shelter, etc., I think to some extent these are being met by provincial governments, but when we get into other needs, the more subtle ones, such as emotional needs, needs for security and these other things that do not come into the physical aspect, I think this is where the fringe areas are. This is where the needs are really not being met.

You can say a lot about the inadequacy of the physical needs, the way they are being met, but I think really there is a lot of fringe areas and when you start defining needs, you have to be pretty careful which criteria you are using. This is where the conflict is coming in.

The Chairman: If we are meeting the physical needs that you say...

Mr. Lyons: I'm sorry, sir, I do not say we are meeting it. I said we are making a stab at meeting it.

The Chairman: All right but you agree that the Act provides they be met. It may not be done but if we do that, are we not in some way softening the other matters of which you spoke, for example, environment?

If we meet that and you are not prepared to agree to that—I think you agree that the law provides for it, but you are not prepared to agree that that is being done. You can correct me if I am wrong.

Mr. Lyons: I am not sure if I understand you but just going back to the brief again. Now, take a look at the Act. You find we are providing welfare assistance to people. We give them a certain amount of money. We are providing a certain marginal level of living but at the same time we have attitudes in our society which are extremely negative towards the people who receive this welfare.

So, on the one hand we are giving them the physical amenities of life and yet on the other we are taking away any emotional support they might be getting from society. I do not know if this is clear but my point I am trying

to make is that if we are going to really provide all the needs, we are going to have to start changing our basic attitudes towards the poor people and towards the recipients of welfare.

Senator Sparrow: This has come up in many of the briefs and particularly in discussions directly with poor people as such that the attitudes of the social worker and the government departments seems to be that of not what we can offer you, what we can give, but what we can chisel away from you, so to speak.

There is a basic standard to which they are entitled under law but the recipient never seems to know what they are in fact entitled to under the law.

We have asked this question and they say "We don't know what we are entitled to". The attitude is such—are you saying that the governments—I am not talking about the local governments, I am just saying 'government governments'—are unsympathetic themselves or the general public or both?

Are the governments generally, speaking to their social welfare, unsympathetic? Are you suggesting that their attitudes must be changed as well as the broad base of the Canadian people with regard to attitudes?

I have another question to ask you later.

Mrs. Waldman: I think one of the major points that we have missed here is not really how adequate the government programmes are. Some of them are more or less adequate than others but how these are translated into action at the field work level.

What happens to the individual person or family when they need help? Theoretically many of these programmes, many of the governments'—and this is government at three levels—programmes are good, reflecting basically good values and attitudes on the part of the legislators and the public. They are not, however, translated into action this way across the desk. There are all kinds of exceptions to this and, you know, of all people I think we social workers become rather sensitive with a lot of the current slams that are being thrown around about how inhuman social workers are and we are rather careful to point out it is the others and not us each time this happens.

But it is true in the programmes in their larger sense are these tremendous gaps. Our agency in particular is very aware of this

because people come to us when they are not able to get service either in the way they would like to have it given, which is in a human, dignified way, or whether they fall through this network of somehow they just do not qualify or do not qualify today or they might next week or next month. When we see these people we are very well aware of these problems.

One in particular is of concern to me because I have known the particular people who have been caught in this particular trap which is, for example, the upgrading programmes that are planned and run through the Federal Department of Manpower.

Theoretically the programmes are great. They serve a purpose but we suspect that one of the major purposes being served, which has never been publicized, is to cut down the statistics of unemployment. It gets that many more people off the rolls as being unemployed because they are going to school, so we know very rarely or in very many cases the training for jobs do not relate to the jobs that are available.

The fact that people are counselled into taking courses and with a fair amount of frequency these people fail these courses, you know; whose fault is that—the failure of the counsellor who told them they ought to go into these courses and spend six months or a year on this course and then they are not able to complete it or if they do, there is no job.

These people finished their course, many of them, or failed their course and end up back on welfare exactly where they started, probably a few steps further back because they have at least had their hopes raised and they have been dashed again.

Now, I think those are the kind of things we are talking about as translation of programmes into reality at the grass roots level and the kind of things that Mr. Lawrence suggested that might be done to try and translate lip service into real service are the kinds of things that we would have to look at.

The Chairman: You are speaking of the Manpower service. We have heard across the country that these services are being widely used. In some instances they are a subject of criticism but in many parts of the country they are very helpful not so much perhaps for taking them off the relief rolls rather than unemployment but they do train people and people are placed.

Why would it be less of a success here? Why would you think they were less of a success in Winnipeg?

Mrs. Waldman: I speak only from my own experience with people that I know who have been through this mill and there are a number of case histories of which I am aware.

As I said before I think, some of the failures are due to the fact that the training is not realistically co-ordinated with the availability of jobs in the area. This is a basic thing.

The counselling in some cases does not seem to be related to the needs of people who are coming in for training or with the job situation in the area.

There seems to be no provisions made for the person who is counselled into taking a particular course and who is unable to make it. This becomes a failure on the part of the student rather than on the system or the course, that he is pushed into a particular field that he is not able to deal with. These are some of the particulars.

Senator Hastings: Mrs. Waldman, you said here were frequent failures. Are you speaking from knowledge?

Mrs. Waldman: Yes.

Senator Hastings: You say there are frequent failures?

Mrs. Waldman: I know of many.

Senator McGrand: I was going to address his question to Mr. Lawrence. As I listen to your remarks I tried to grasp what your basic thinking was on this problem. It is not so long ago I saw a young man carrying a placard which read "Smash Welfarism" and I asked him what he meant by "Smash Welfarism" and he explained that it was a great evil because it was a form of colonialism by which our organized society pays out a certain amount of money to an unfortunate individual and says "Now, here, take this. Put it in your pocket and run away and don't bother us for a while."

Now I do not know what your basic thought is as you were talking but I would like to get your opinion on welfarism and I do not think we should say it is a form of colonialism, but what is your thought on that, as you try to find your way out of the problem that we are now in?

Mr. Lawrence: Well, I'm afraid I haven't any real original ideas. I did read and listen with interest to the discussions that have gone on about guaranteed annual income and I must admit that despite the possibility of some negative aspects I am naive enough to believe that within the next few years this possibility has to come in this country.

What are my feelings about welfarism? I don't know. Having seen many of the tragedies that have occurred through this type of support and myself not being an economist, I have no immediate answers or alternatives to welfarism but I am prepared to accept the fact that welfarism is going to be with us for a number of years, so that it seems to me if welfarism is going to be with us for many years we must try to administer it in such a way that it is not going to strip away the dignity or the humanity of both the giver and the respondent because I am just as concerned about this fellow that is giving it too because it is doing some harm; but certainly I think we can improve the welfarism situation that we are in today and hopefully our economists and those who are far better equipped in social works rather than coming up with some sort of bleeding heart centres, that these people will address more of their talent to a more equitable system of looking after our less fortunate people; because let us face it, sir, within 'X' number of years there are going to be a great many more people who are not employed in the sense that we know it today and we are certainly not going to be able to handle them with the system we have now.

If automation comes or even if there is higher industrialization you are going to have to find a much better way to assist people who can no longer find employment in those situations.

The problem now is we start looking at the poor and what we are going to do about them in the future and we keep relating back to existing structures and older structures, and a tremendous amount of energy is going to be put into seeing how can we fit this idea into the existing programme or how can we modify the existing programme?

There seems to be a lack of creativity and imagination as to what new structures shall we develop to handle this.

The Chairman: Would you stop right there. If you had been here earlier in the day you would have heard me say we came here for creativity and imagination and new ideas.

Mr. Lawrence: Right.

The Chairman: Let us have them. What would you do? You tell us. You are a social worker. You have been around for some time. You have got some ideas. Try them out on the Senators here. We are very anxious to hear what you have to say. That is what we came here for.

Mr. Lawrence: Well, I would like to address myself to the point you said earlier, sir, where you said why aren't people out raising Cain. I may have some answers as to why people are not out raising Cain.

The Chairman: No. I wanted to know why you people were not out raising Cain. Other people are starting to raise Cain or the activists are.

Mr. Lawrence: Well, that is the particular point I would like to speak on.

The Chairman: All right.

Mr. Lawrence: I think there is a growing role in our society for the activator. It is not a respectable type at this stage of the game. There are many of us in social agencies who are beginning to be very concerned about taking a look at the traditional role of the social worker, the one who was there to put a bandaid on the wounds that have already been caused.

We feel there needs to be funds to provide for the employment of people that are detached from traditional institutions to go out and act as animators or resource workers in the lower social economic areas of our country.

Now, I think ideally these workers should be hired by and responsible to the residents but unfortunately the poor do not have the funds to engage such people and they have to depend on workers provided by private or government agencies. While this itself is not totally negative such workers are often in a state of conflict about where their first responsibility lies; to the citizens, to the poor people or to the employment agency.

Now, in working with the poor to improve communications, develop environment or to take social action, it is inevitable that the community worker is going to be involved in some action that could be potentially threatening to a department of government or to the bodies who provide funds for the operation of its agency.

Now, those of us who are involved in neighbourhood work and in community development are all too well aware of what has happened to some progressive and constructive citizen involvement when it has proved to be a threat to certain vested interests.

Senator Hastings: The funds—would you explain that statement?

Mr. Lawrence: Well, the funds have been cut back and workers fired.

The Chairman: Here?

Mr. Lawrence: And citizen leaders intimidated or co-opted.

The Chairman: Intimidation?

Mr. Lawrence: Intimidation, yes, verbal intimidation. As far as our agency is concerned no cutback as yet but we are not just speaking parochially here. Look across the country and see what is happening today and what has happened in a number of the parts of our country where activators and animators—I'm not talking about rabble-rousing—I am talking about responsible involvement of citizens because any idiot can go out and stir up a revolt. No problem at all!

I am talking about serious constructive development of people who have examined and looked at their problems and have taken some constructive steps to work with the establishment, whatever that is. It may be a number of things—but the work of these people is that they are trying to develop some programmes that are meaningful.

The Chairman: Who is doing that in Canada today?

Mr. Lawrence: Well, I don't know. I am not very much on legal things. I would suspect—you may not want to accept this because of current difficulties, but let us look at Montreal.

The Chairman: I asked you: who is doing this?

Mr. Lawrence: Who is doing this?

The Chairman: Yes, who is doing this action to which you are referring?

Mr. Lawrence: Well, we are attempting to do something in our area and the community development departments of some provincial governments are doing it in this province.

The Chairman: Here?

Mr. Lawrence: In this province, yes. Notwithstanding the fact I cannot speak for my colleagues in the Provincial Government, I would suspect they have far too few people doing that.

I know in talking to some of the workers directly face to face less than ten days ago, they are concerned about what would happen to them and their jobs if they got into situations that may be politically embarrassing.

Senator Hastings: Is this criticism of the Government of Canada in the withdrawal of funds from the CYC?

Mr. Lawrence: No, no. I think this is just one bit of it and I think this has happened over and over because there are cases to be cited of workers who were involved with agencies that got involved in community development and they are told to pull back, cut it out.

Senator Everett: Did you not earlier state that your agency had been involved in working with the disadvantaged in the municipality?

Mr. Lawrence: Yes.

Senator Everett: You have had some success.

Mr. Lawrence: Yes, but it is a very minimal success. It has been on very minor issues but the time has come when some major issues may develop and this is something very definitely we have to be concerned with.

I will give you an example, sir.

Senator Everett: Before you give the example, did you run into any of the problems you have just enunciated?

Mr. Lawrence: Yes.

Senator Everett: What was that?

Mr. Lawrence: The director of the agency has warned that what we were doing is communist and we better cut it out or we would be in trouble. This was from a responsible elected representative in this province.

The Chairman: There was one thing you said of which I was not aware. I think there was some inference that the Government had cut back the funds of the Company of Young Canadians—not to my knowledge.

Senator Hastings: They are closing them.

The Chairman: Well, yes.

Senator Hastings: I think there is an inference if they don't behave, then they will close them.

Senator Sparrow: Their budget was cut a year ago down to \$1,900,000.

The Chairman: Everybody got cut a year ago.

Senator Sparrow: No, no.

The Chairman: That was a special case, as I understand it. For instance, in your own city, Senator Hastings, the CYC have done an outstanding job, I have heard it said.

Senator Hastings: That is fine. I was not criticizing the CYC. I was asking him if he regards the action of the Government of Canada in withdrawing funds from the CYC as one of those instances.

Mr. Lyons: Yes, I do.

Senator Hastings: That is what I thought.

The Chairman: Did they withdraw?

Senator Hastings: Yes, they are withdrawing.

Mr. Lawrence: They withdrew a certain amount of funds and they are telling themselves "Now, you behave yourselves".

Senator Hastings: Who is telling who?

Mr. Lawrence: The Government of Canada withdrew some of their funds and they are basically telling them to behave themselves. If one reads the papers, I think it was Friday night's where they are saying that one fellow has to go. Somebody is dictating one fellow has to go. I think this is not an isolated incident. I am not prepared to speak for other provinces but in two western provinces I have seen potentially two excellent organizations that were set up to deal with people at what we fondly call the 'grass roots' who, when things began to get a little awkward and politically uncomfortable, funds were cut back and people were let go. There is no question about this.

You will probably hear specifically from those people and that is who you should hear from, sir.

The Chairman: Mr. Lawrence, this is the first time I have heard it. And I must say I do get around a bit. I know a few things are happening but this is the first time I have

ever heard it as applicable to the Government or to any government.

I have heard criticism of some of the activists and no organization is above criticism, but I have never heard of the withdrawal of funds, and as Senator Hastings says, funds were frozen until the investigation in connection with the CYC.

Senator Hastings: I think they were withdrawn.

Senator Sparrow: The budget was \$2,700,000 and a year ago it was down to \$1,900,000.

The Chairman: Yes, but I think they did that in the normal course of events, for no other reason than they were reducing all budgets; or was it specific?

Senator Sparrow: Well, I thought it was specific. I do not know.

The Chairman: You are now talking of specific instances and I have not heard of it.

Mr. Lawrence: Well, what has to be developed, in my opinion, is some imaginative and adventurous investment must be considered to provide money for the extension of this type of organizational work for the poor, the supply of which is not subject to the whims or fancies of a changing government or the degree of discomfort suffered by public and private agencies, bureaucrats as the engagement of the poor with the broader society causes winds of change to ground the vessel. That is a quote.

The import of the changings presents a great challenge to existing structures since people with the necessary attitudes, maturity and commitment will have to be identified and trained, and then trusted to go out into the socially and economically deprived areas and do a job.

Now, one of the problems is that their work cannot be measured in traditional terms because new methods of evaluation have to be evolved.

Currently, we know statistically how many poor people are getting houses today; how many people you help. You come out in the end it is a war of statistics in the social welfare field today. We are chasing around, grabbing other's statistics. You know, there is a guilt that goes around today. You know, if a person goes into the washroom you mark him down as another statistic. Now, these sort of games can be played. People who go out and

work in the community cannot be expected to report in a statistical way in a given time period.

We have to develop new measuring techniques for this.

These people go out and serve as a catalyst in the areas and they will, by merely going out and being human beings, with background of experience and knowledge and so forth, cause things to happen, but it would be very difficult to identify what they did because what you will see happen are people beginning to get together and working to solve their own problems. The work of that community development man or what-have-you, would be almost unidentifiable to the uninitiated.

Now, what we have to do is to try and to get our provincial federal government, city governments and the public at large to accept the fact that this is a positive and constructive part of our society; that we put people out there to live and to work with the underprivileged in his country, helping them to find some solution to their problems, helping them to communicate with people such as yourselves.

I do not for one minute believe that these good people that appear before you at the Senate Hearing for the most part just come out of the woodwork. It is the result of a lot of work that is being done by people who are committed to working with the poor in their environment.

The poor do not know how to make briefs or how to write briefs. They are terrified of facing even a city alderman. They do not know anything about these structures. There has been no communication. Their alienation is not distance, it is communication and that is why it is so important that this government, this country, invest money in people who are going out and relate and live with the poor to help them to reach out and get some involvement in the everyday life of this country.

Now, whether that answers the question—

The Chairman: That is very good, Mr. Lawrence, except I want to remind you that the American Government spent millions and billions of dollars on the community effort that you described and if you read the statistics and history of that, it is the least successful part of the endeavours up to date and, as a matter of fact, they are phasing out on it.

because from their point of view they thought it was not the kind of thing that they were getting results from. That is their reaction.

Mr. Lawrence: The only question I could ask, sir, is by what are they measuring?

The Chairman: I do not know. I am merely telling you because we are keeping aware of what is going on there and they are spending thousands where we spend a dollar on almost similar problems. We are trying to find out what they are doing and this was their experience on the community aspect situation.

I am not going to describe it any further. Now, mind you, there are different problems here than there are here. And I need not go into that, but perhaps that is the reason for it, out to a great extent that was not successful at all.

Senator Hastings: I have a question, Mr. Chairman. With regard to the brief at page 12 you say: "While we recognize that attitudes cannot immediately be changed by legislation, we do believe that the long term effect of good social legislation will be one producing an acceptance" etc.

Do I take from that a rejection of present social legislation?

Mrs. Waldman: No. This wasn't meant as a negative statement, I don't believe, in any sense. We are talking about future legislation here in qualifying it as good. It is not to make a blanket statement that all social legislation now in existence is not good.

Senator Hastings: Of course, I disagree with you. We have failed. Have we not failed in our social legislation up to now?

Mrs. Waldman: Well, I think generalized statements are dangerous and in the long run do not mean too much. I think we can all point to enough failures and few enough gains to be able to make that kind of statement.

Senator Hastings: Well, when we have five as many people on welfare today as we had fifteen years ago we have failed, truly.

Mrs. Waldman: Yes.

Senator McGrand: May I ask: What has failed?

The Chairman: Senator Hastings says the social system has failed.

Senator Hastings: I say our social legislation has failed to do the job it was to do.

Senator McGrand: Our social system rather than our social legislation.

Senator Hastings: No, no. I say the legislation has failed to accomplish what it was set up to accomplish when our welfare rolls are doubled in ten years, we have failed somewhere.

Can you tell me where we have failed?

Mrs. Waldman: Well, I think there are probably other indices that mean more than one statistic which probably does not take in the fact the change in population or anything else.

I think it is evident without going into statistics—we all know this—that the system itself is not alleviating the problems, that the problems are being compounded yearly and, you know, we mentioned this before.

We are not beginning to deal with old problems, never mind starting to face the new ones. We are facing now the effects of the old things and I think, yes, you are right that the social legislation is a reflection of our social system and the attitudes of our society and they are inadequate. If you want to call this, you know, a failure; it certainly is not a success.

Senator Hastings: Let us face the future then. You say good social legislation will be one producing an acceptance. We have discussed the guaranteed annual income. Would you care to tell me what good social legislation you would like to see?

Mr. Lyons: Maybe I can comment on this, sir? One of the traditional approaches of welfare agencies and governments in providing welfare legislation has been one of meeting immediate needs such as providing the basic resources we were talking about before.

I think one area that we really have to start moving into is one of prevention rather than just alleviating the immediate problem.

Let us look at what is causing the problem and try to get legislation here correcting this.

I think this may be a very localized type of concern, but one area that concerns me is that of nurseries for children. There are a lot of working parents in the City of Winnipeg and in many cases they have no place to leave their children so they either have to hire a babysitter or stay at home. I think this is one area that offers opportunity, not only for mothers to get out once in a while and relieve some of the pressure they have at

home, but it is a good opportunity to begin an educational programme at an earlier age for children in the deprived circumstances.

That is just one recommendation. I think there are many areas I would like to look at in terms of prevention. For every social problem there has to be a solution and if we start looking, rather than looking at alleviating the immediate concern by giving them a bit of money or by apprehending a child, why don't we start looking at what is causing the problem and legislate against this?

I think this goes back very closely to attitudes. I think the traditional attitude has been one of pampering the poor, saying "Oh well, there will always be poor".

I think we have to start looking beyond this now and to decide are we really wanting to correct these problems or are we going to keep perpetuating them.

I agree with you, Senator, that in this way we have failed.

The Chairman: Mr. Lyons, do you mind telling me why we have not done anything to deal with the prevention of poverty rather than alleviation?

Mr. Lyons: I am not sure.

The Chairman: You spoke of prevention.

Mr. Lyons: There has been quite a bit of material written on it, sir.

The Chairman: Well, you are talking about material. There is material in the States, all sorts of material, but where are the people who are interested in it here? That is a real problem. Why have we not got some persons coming forth and saying "We are interested in prevention legislation"?

Mr. Lyons: Well, too much of the degree I am referring to, of course, comes within my own profession. Probably this has not been shared enough with the general public but there has been considerable material written on this subject of prevention. I cannot quote you any journals on that but probably I could locate some.

Mr. Lawrence: I think the answer to that, sir, you know why I am appearing here today, the briefs are by invitation, but perhaps the parties that were most interested in prevention were not invited to submit briefs.

I think perhaps our own social welfare planning council which is one agency, is the

most concerned with prevention and plans along this line.

I think it is fair enough to say prevention has the shortest dollar of the whole lot. The priorities have not been to prevention.

Senator Sparrow: In page 2 you refer to "adequate income maintenance". Has your group any figures that you would be prepared to tell us that you would consider as adequate income maintenance, so far as the City of Winnipeg is concerned?

Mr. Lyons: I do not know if we can come up with a more adequate figure than the Economic Council of Canada came up with in their report. I rather doubt it, but I would generally concur with their findings. I feel that they were quite intelligent when writing it and certainly I would not disagree with them.

Senator Everett: No.

Senator McGrand: I interrupted Senator Hastings a short while ago but I meant to say our system of social legislation has not failed because it was only enacted to offset the early effects of our social system at any particular period.

It is not responsible for the effects of automation and it is not responsible for the high cost of living so our social system has not failed.

Mrs. Waldman: May I suggest an answer to that...

Senator McGrand: I say it has not failed.

Mrs. Waldman: May I suggest in answer to that I think the Government has failed in its role as a social legislator in taking no part at all in looking at the projected view of the future and accepting its role as a social climate in leading rather than following the public in this sense.

Traditionally social welfare legislation has come about because of a problem that was too big to be ignored and something has been slapped on it in some way to try and alleviate the most obvious parts of that problem. The time, I think, is long past to look at social problems in this aspect. We are all concerned about the cause of poverty. I think we have been more concerned about the effects and alleviating the effects and somebody—had better be the social legislators—has got to start doing some real planning and looking to the future, looking to the projected

figures of population, just as we are beginning to look now at the problems of pollution, for example; and projecting these things. Looking at causation and trying to come up with some real planning.

Other than that we are going to continue with the "same piece-meal kinds of things" and we feel that the Senate can have some effect in affecting the public's attitudes in this way and showing the necessity for some enlightening social planning and some leadership rather than the traditional kind of "follow the public opinion".

Senator Hastings: Which is exactly why we are here.

Mrs. Waldman: It is starting to happen already.

The Chairman: Of course, it is all very nice for you to say what you said and I am positive everyone around the table agrees with it except we have a few problems that we have to attend to. I am sure—and I think Mr. Lawrence said—the guaranteed annual income by all means and we share the view and we feel everyone who has come before us shares that view that this is the thing you need and we have got our minds on it.

Do you think the public is ready for it? When I am talking about the public I mean the middle class group that usually gets the business in any tax group at the moment. Do you think they are ready for it? Do you think they will vote for it?

Mrs. Waldman: I think the public can be influenced.

The Chairman: How long do you think it will take to influence the public? We have been working with it for a while. We have had the guaranteed income in Canada for three years as of now under a very fine arrangement.

How long do you think it will take us to get it across to the public? No matter what you say we will do it fast, but how long is it going to take?

Mr. Lawrence: The usual projected figure is 10 years.

The Chairman: I think we are wasting our time sitting around the table here, but on top of that we have got the cost. Do you realize the cost involved? Do you realize what you have got to sell to the Canadian public? You

know you just can't say "The guaranteed annual income", there it is.

What do you eliminate from the welfare system? What do you keep in such a maintenance system? There are quite a number of real problems that are facing our Government and facing us. We just cannot say "give leadership". As Senator Hastings says, "That is what we are here for, to give some impetus to it." But you can only go as fast as the public will let you.

Mr. Lyons: Something like the guaranteed annual income can only come in a report of the people involved in the welfare system because the experiences will have to be readjusted.

The Chairman: What I am saying is that you cannot piggyback the guaranteed income on the welfare system. You have got to eliminate some aspects of it. You will probably keep categorical portions of it and eliminate the rest.

Mr. Lyons: Yes.

The Chairman: Well, I'm glad to know all you people agree with me. Now all we have got to do is to get Ottawa to agree and then we are all set but it is not that easy.

Senator Everett: Tell me, Mrs. Waldman. The sound legislation that you talk of in item 12 was passed by the Government and then, if as you suggest, Government take over forward planning, what area in your mind would be left to the private agencies who in the past—whether for better or for worse—have done the forward planning in this field?

What area would be left to them now?

Mrs. Waldman: Well, to begin with, I am not convinced they have done any particular kind of forward planning. I mean, that is something that has been lacking, you know, almost totally and the services that we have, both private and public, I think reflect this.

The fact that we are scrambling to keep up, and we are not keeping up, and we are certainly not getting ahead of the game. The problems are multiplying constantly.

I think if we are talking about private funds in the charity sense that a good deal of this—and this is just my own private feeling about this—exists more for the good kind of feeling it gives to the donor.

Senator Everett: I am not talking about private funds. I am talking about private agencies.

Mrs. Waldman: The work of private agencies?

Senator Everett: The work of private agencies.

Mrs. Waldman: Yes. I think one of the major things that we see from our own particular agency in the focus of our work is in the community organization field because it provides us with a certain freedom in working outside government structures that are hard to come by for an agency or staff worker who are funded by a government body.

This presumes those who are paying the shot for it are willing to put their heads on the block as a government agency would be, but so far we are still in business.

That is one particular field where I think there is a certain amount of freedom given to a private agency that a government agency does not have in some senses.

Senator Everett: You call that community—

Mrs. Waldman: Community organization.

Senator Everett: Is that the same thing that Mr. Lawrence was talking about, that is a special group?

Mr. Lawrence: I think we are all mixed up in the various tasks. We do the job and decide what category it comes under.

I think the community organization has perhaps some overtones of planning in the traditional way.

In answer to your question, sir, if I might, I think you may be talking about such organizations as City federations, community planning bodies, the Canadian Welfare Planning Council and so forth.

What happens to these agencies when the Government takes over the planning is that I think if the Government is truly concerned about citizen involvement, I think we have a unique opportunity here blending private and government together. I think on paper it has been there before and it has never worked too well, but as we are moving into this new era of citizen involvement, I would like to think there could be a blending of government and private in this way.

I see no reason why not. Again this is a new structure. I have no guidelines for it right off the top of my head. If you give me a

week or two I might come up with some sort of pattern.

I am quite sure if you take a look at your own social law there are some recommendations along this line that show a blending of the public and government particularly in the planning field. I think it is quite possible we could come up with it.

I think we have to have a look at government agencies, and an entirely new look. I think we are still seeing them as a stereotype type of thing, that government departments have no imagination. I refuse to believe this. I think they can do and I think government departments are becoming far more adventurous and so forth, so I see no reason why the two parties cannot get together and negotiate some arrangement where they can share joint responsibilities here.

Senator Everett: I think the only area in which I disagree with you is that I would like to see social legislation which is available to the citizens as a matter of right.

Mr. Lawrence: I agree with you.

Senator Everett: And I think if that were more the case, you would get away from the tendency to look down upon those who are of welfare. That would be a right; but I really disagree with you when you say that forward planning and any future planning should be done by Government.

I would hope that future planning would be done by citizens and that the agencies who are in communication with the citizens would be the people sharing the forward ideas. It seems to me time and again we run across with people who are on welfare, the one thing they cannot stand is paternalism, and for you to come forward and suggest that the Government do the future planning—I am not finding fault with your whole concept. I think your concept is a good one, but I am just wondering whether you are seriously suggesting what in effect is a great deal more paternalism that the Government will end up doing what has to be done in future planning?

Mr. Lawrence: Well, I would certainly like to clear that up, sir. This is the farthest thing from our minds. Our whole philosophy of work is certainly concerned around involving people in the structures that affect our daily lives so it would certainly be beyond our comprehension to suggest for one minute that the Government should legislate.

We feel that the Government has to play a greater role in making it possible for forward planning, let's put it this way, not the Government necessarily doing it.

I think one of the ways it can be done is as I suggested, making it possible in this country for more community development to go on where people will be involved; first of all in their neighbourhoods and then in their broader community and then hopefully in the other parts of the country.

What I said was: I think there is a great deal of room for social legislation to be worked out co-operatively whereas it may not be done by private agencies or by government at this stage of the game, with no people involved. What I think is that new structures can be brought up where all parties can get together, at least for the views of these parties to be viewed and the view of the poor—any legislation which has to do with the poor should at least have some involvement with the poor people. This is the type of thing I think we are saying.

Senator Everett: Thank you.

Senator McGrand: I just have one question on the guaranteed annual income which has been recommended by certain people as the cure for our ills. You put these people on the guaranteed annual income and then all will be well.

Now, there are a great many people from other parts of the country who are not so sure that the guaranteed annual income is the answer.

Let us look back at the old age pension, family allowances, mothers' allowances, all these different things, which were at the time they were implemented regarded as something to close the gap at that time and now we are looking at them as patches.

Isn't it possible that the guaranteed annual income, if you are going to consider it maybe ten or fifteen years later, will be regarded as another patch and that people are looking down now at people who are taking welfare; they will be looking down at the people who are on a guaranteed annual income?

I do not think that any of these things are going to be the end of our problems. Do you agree with that?

Mr. Lyons: I think I certainly would not see the guaranteed annual income as the end but would see it as the beginning. It is a place to

begin if we are going to start dealing with our social problems. As long as people are tied up with the day-to-day problems such as they do not have enough food to eat, how can you begin to look at the other social problems that we are having.

Senator McGrand: You see, the sociologists and economists look at these things differently.

The Chairman: We have got a few minutes now. Our next brief is at three o'clock. Is there anybody in the audience who would like to ask questions? If you do, would you please stand up and give us your name. Speak up loudly and ask a question and these four experts, among others, will help you.

Are there any social workers in the audience?

Mrs. Greenlace: I would like to ask Mr. Lawrence because I know he has particularly worked with children: what the effect of living on welfare is going to be on these thousands of Canadian children? What kind of children are they going to be in the next generation? Are they going to repeat the welfare pattern?

Mr. Lawrence: Well, my very sad experience, of course, is, Mrs. Greenlace, that many of them do repeat the pattern. The boys I worked with fifteen years ago are now repeating the welfare pattern that they were brought up in and even removing the children from the family for a couple of years and slap them into an institution—and presumably brainwash them or something or other—does not have lasting effects.

No, far too many of the children I have known and worked with very hard over the past few years are merely again repeating the pattern that their parents went through at some time, with some very delicious additions too.

Mrs. Greenlace: Do you think perhaps this is what we should concentrate on, eradicating poverty and the effect it has on our children, not with the adults or with agencies or the Government but what price we have to pay for our children.

Mr. Lawrence: Well, I think a lot of the emphasis has to go into the children. I am not prepared to say that the adults are just a lost generation, no.

You see, I am still naive enough to believe that most adults love their children very

dearly and the social conditions sometimes bring them to the point of frustration and desperation. Where to the other segments of the community it may look as if they neglected their children and hate their children, I do not believe this.

I think we still have to put a tremendous amount of resources into the parents of these children.

Mrs. Greenlace: Perhaps if we tried to change the image of the people on welfare so it would be changed in the eyes of the rest of Canada? If they knew the fact that their children are going to be living alongside the children of welfare recipients in the next generation, they might have different views towards welfare children.

Mr. Lawrence: I think, Mrs. Greenlace, as we said earlier, it is a terrific job, attitude-changing and education.

The Chairman: Are there any more questions?

Mr. Seeharam: The Senators have told us this afternoon they have been receiving suggestions from the poor as well as the professionals at least on one problem of poverty and that is the income aspect of poverty.

You have also told us that one of the suggestions is that the guaranteed annual income may be a solution. I would like to know what is your feeling about this suggestion and if it is a favourable feeling on your part, then what amounts are you thinking of for a family of four, for instance, because if the amount is going to be as it is in the United States, I wonder if a family would be getting out of the circle of poverty or whether they will be getting a guaranteed ticket to poverty?

The Chairman: You were not listening to me this morning or you were not here.

Mr. Seeharam: No, I wasn't here this morning.

The Chairman: Well, you missed a good morning, then, I must tell you. In any event it is not the purpose of the Chairman or Members of the Committee to declare themselves one way or the other or to indicate some bias if they can possibly avoid it.

All I can tell you is that eight members of the present Committee of Sixteen were members of the Committee on Aging which brought in the recommendation for the guaranteed annual income.

You will have to do your own thinking beyond that.

Senator Fergusson: The guaranteed income supplement.

The Chairman: Guaranteeing the income supplement which the old age security are receiving. For all purposes I also indicated we were accepting the figures of the Economic Council for the time being. I think it has been generally accepted as a good figure. Thank you for a very thoughtful and interesting brief as well as a most enlightened presentation. Your contribution to help alleviate poverty will be appreciated by those who benefit from your services as well as guidance.

If there are no further questions we will adjourn for ten minutes. The University of Manitoba, School of Architecture will make the next presentation.

(Upon resuming)

The Chairman: Order, please. We have a group of students from the University of Manitoba, along with Professor Brian Woods, Faculty Adviser.

The students are of the University of Manitoba, School of Architecture, and the professor will introduce them to you. With the assistance of Professor Woods they have undertaken a study-action project concerning recreation space in the inner city. Through consultation with residents in a disadvantaged area of the city imaginative designs have emerged for the building of inexpensive play areas for inner city children. The proposals are under consideration by civil officials.

Professor Woods will speak to it and then we will have some slides at the end of the hearing.

Professor Brian Woods, Faculty Adviser School of Architecture, University of Manitoba: Honourable senators, our group include Miss Nancy Thompson, Miss Lyn Gemmell, Mr. Isreal Lyon, Mr. Steven Barber, Mr. Erro Hugh, and Miss Martha Banias.

We are all part of the Class of Design at the School of Architecture. Our main task at the school is to provide physical objects and structures with information gained through research.

Miss Nancy Thompson, School of Architecture, University of Manitoba: The subject of poverty requires a rigorous, multi-disciplinary study to adequately cover the topic. Our pro-

ect touched upon it only in a limited way. Our research and subsequent design and follow through were centred on play and children that became more and more concerned with poverty as work progressed. We found from resource personnel that adult behaviour is the development of early formative life between birth and four years of age. There the effects of physical environment on children may help to explain certain aspects of the poverty cycle.

If a child receives a limited experience within a narrow environment, he may never realize what possibilities exist beyond that environment; let alone ask for the addition of specific elements. As explained in our brief, play is of the utmost importance in both the physiological and psychological development of the child into a well-rounded adult.

Poverty is both physical and behavioural. More than a physical or material it extends to attitudes. A man may not fix a cracked window, not for lack of money, but because of lack of concern or because he is resigned to the fact that it will likely be broken again. Through our research we found some of the contributing factors of poverty to be:

- a lack of family money.
- a lack of real parental concern.
- a lack of time for family occasions.
- a lack of communication with outside community groups.
- a lack of concern for long term planning.
- a lack of public understanding of poverty.
- a lack of research and trained people.
- a lack of permanent majority population, and
- a lack of communication between residents and public or private agencies due to bureaucratic red tape.

The simplistic notions of total rebuilding of poverty areas shows a total lack of understanding of these contributing factors. Bulldozing an area physically also bulldozes it socially. What we feel is needed is a gradual rehabilitation or renewal of the area with community participation. We feel the building of the Interfaith lot with the help of the kids in the area was a small start in this direction.

This project had its beginnings last fall when a concerned group of students from the Faculty of Architecture tried to involve themselves with the outside community. After considering the problem we decided to design

and help build recreational facilities with the co-operation of Neighbourhood Service Centre in the Logan Avenue area. After consulting members of faculty staff, the problem was incorporated in the design curriculum. A period of research followed in which 2 areas of the city were studied.

Miss Lyn Gemmell, School of Architecture, University of Manitoba: The students decided to research two contrasting areas—the Logan area and Wildwood Park to determine the nature of any need for play facilities.

In the Logan area there are several existing playgrounds—Dufferin Park, Lizzie Playground and two corner lots. Dufferin and Lizzie Playgrounds have standard equipment, such as slides, swings, sand boxes and wading pools. However both these parks are closed and locked during the winter. The corner lots are barren with little equipment though some of this equipment such as tree trunks and conduits is more imaginative than the usual swing and slide arrangement.

Children in the Logan area were also observed playing in such potentially dangerous but fascinating places as the railroad tracks, junk yards and abandoned cars. Therefore the intention of our survey was to determine precisely what the play activities of children are in the Logan area and the parents' opinions of existing facilities.

The results of this survey were rather distorted since the people interviewed were selected by the social workers at the N.S.C. The social workers were concerned that our very amateurish interviewing techniques would disrupt the good relationships being established between their staff and the residents. However, despite this bias we did come to a few useful conclusions.

1) There is a general lack of play equipment and recreational facilities for all children but particularly for younger children between four and six years of age.

2) The lack of facilities for children of this age group point out a need for corner lot playgrounds which could help solve the problem of crossing the streets with heavy traffic to reach existing playgrounds.

4) Also hopefully the corner lots could be a partial solution to the problem of all age groups being forced to play together regardless of the roughness of play of older children.

5) Several of the problems were indicated by the survey such as the lack of interior

play space in winter which is a cause of child-parent conflicts.

6) There is also a lack of imaginative design in existing playgrounds which have only standard equipment such as swings and slides which are not only expensive but can only be used safely in limited ways.

7) There are also many dangerous exterior areas such as lots full of scrap metal and other trash which are used for play. The local government so far has reacted slowly to demands by concerned parents to clean up these dangerous areas.

From this survey of the Logan area came a general idea of the needs for play facilities and the direction in which we could proceed.

Mr. Lyon: After surveying these areas we came up with a few basic criteria for children's playgrounds. They have to have simplicity of construction so that inexperienced residents can build the playground themselves and they can be easily transported.

Use of inexpensive materials and or found objects.

Use of rugged, weather and vandal-proof materials.

Creation of different play zones for the different age groups so as not to have the younger children bullied by the older ones.

Safety from traffic.

Visually open from sidewalk to prevent muggings.

Safety of materials—no sharp projections.

Low maintenance.

Adaptability for summer and winter play.

Flexibility and imagination in layout, open spaces and paths for movement and action play.

High children-to-area ratio. Play equipment must accommodate more children than they do presently.

Must be visually attractive, not junky to children and residents.

Neighbouring houses must be shielded from noise and thrown objects from playground.

More detailed recommendations such as specific materials, structure groupings and specific structures for different age groups are being gotten from re-evaluations of the built play areas.

Miss Thompson: The designs derived from and successfully achieving these criteria were put on display at various meetings with those who had concerned themselves with our problem, residential groups and municipal recreation people. Constructive criticism was received from these groups although the prevailing attitude was polite but non-committal. Moving our display to Neighbourhood Services Centre we received our most important feedback from the children themselves. As a result of interest shown by the kids two designs were not without merit.

Interested groups, hearing about our work from others who had seen our display, accepted our choice of prototypes and offered us a chance to actually build them. It was arranged with representatives of the Y.M.C.A. day camp, Camp Manitou, and the Interfaith group that adaptations of the prototypes be built on their property. A later meeting with the Winnipeg Housing Authority only validated our belief for the need to build and test playground prototypes which could replace the barren strips of asphalt which now exist in some housing developments.

The actual construction of the playgrounds not only gave us a chance to test these prototypes but also an opportunity to prove that our intentions and design were of quality and that we were capable of following a project through to completion.

The first construction work took place at Camp Manitou where we built a sandbox-fort for the younger children. Built out of railway ties, spiked together, it developed on four levels into a tower-tunnel connection. The people from Interfaith saw the completed structure and asked that something similar be built on their lot but with provision for a stage and story-telling areas. Construction of Interfaith was perhaps our most rewarding and frustrating experience. With many of the little kids in the area helping and suggesting ideas work went at a slow and cautious rate, but when finished satisfied everyone. Swinging ropes and a tether ball were put up but the ropes had to be taken down as they were found to be too dangerous. The children were eager and able workers and we feel that because they helped build the playground they enjoy using it more than if it were built for them without their consultation. We also feel that this type of involvement should extend to older children and adults as well. Our final construction was a climbing structure for Camp Manitou consisting of tele

phone poles and a hand-made polypropylene net. This structure was very successful and with the rest of our work resulted in further offers of land and money for materials; although these offers came only after we had proven our design and it was too late for us to construct anything.

Now that we have given you some idea of the extent of our work we would like to make some brief recommendations which concern our particular subject and the total topic of poverty as well. We recommend that more funds be made available for research in play equipment, for supervisors, programmes, and construction of equipment; that vacant lots be used for temporary playgrounds be granted some form of tax relief; that there be provisions of more sheltered or interior winter play areas; that funds be available for groups willing to implement projects of value to the community; that there be closer working ties between social agencies; that there be closer communication between agencies and residents on a long term scale; and that there be a consideration of the concept of total rebuilding and housing projects.

During our study we covered only a very limited aspect of poverty, although we spent a fair amount of time in the field. To have a valid study of poverty we feel that briefs alone are inadequate and that members of this Committee should visit the communities and talk to the residents themselves to gain certain information which we feel cannot come through in a written presentation.

—Slides shown.

The Chairman: Senator McGrand?

Senator McGrand: I have one question. I was watching that film and I saw a great many hands and a great many heads at work. I was wondering how much actual work these underprivileged children themselves did in preparation of those playgrounds? Did they lend their hands to help?

Miss Thompson: We were asked to come and do these playgrounds and we had a vague idea of what the people in Interfaith wanted and we had arranged for the railway ties and for equipment and we arrive one Saturday morning and we started clearing up the brush and started putting down the railway ties and out of nowhere about eight kids appeared and wanted to know what we were doing and we told them. They wanted to know—they started helping with the railway ties. A seven-year-old boy and myself could carry a rail-

way tie and they helped and they pitched in, every single one of them.

Two little ten-year-olds carried a railway tie and built up a platform and for a seven-year-old, all you have to do is start the nail and they can drive a nine-inch spike in in no time flat. They had a lot of energy to work out.

Senator McGrand: I know I notice in some of the remarks you said when you got there first they were throwing stones and they were little toughs. And you won their confidence.

Miss Thompson: Well, it is just natural for them to throw things around. Even when you asked them later could you have stock please, they would take it and throw it at you but it wasn't done in a way to hurt you. It was just the way they did things.

The Chairman: The question I wanted to ask is: Why did you do it?

Miss Gemmell: It was fun.

Mr. Lyon: Over a year ago last October a group of students got together and thought that as future architects or designers in the design environment, we had some responsibility to the community. We were benefitting from a university education which the public is paying for and we have some obligation to the public. We tried to find some way we could help the public and we canvassed certain agencies and came up with the Neighbourhood Services and Recreational Facilities for Children.

The Chairman: That re-establishes my faith in universities.

Senator Inman: I want to congratulate the group for this excellent presentation. I would like to ask you: did you get much co-operation from the parents of these children and did you get any assistance from them in any way?

Professor Woods: We arrived in the area without too much notice. The girl that was looking after children's programmes wished that we had given more prior notice because she had some mothers lined up who were willing to help. We know this is quite feasible.

Senator Inman: You feel the parents appreciated your interest?

Professor Woods: I think so except for the parents of one child who had an accident.

Senator Fergusson: You referred to the girl who was looking after the children's programme. What sort of programme was she carrying on?

Miss Thompson: Interfaith is mostly concerned with the teenage group but they found the small children in the area had no place to go and were hanging about, so they asked Mrs. John Williams if she could initiate some type of programme just to keep them occupied.

She got a programme where she would perhaps tell them stories or have them play organized games, just to keep them occupied during some time of the day.

Professor Woods: If I may add something. They found that vandalism in the area is caused by the small kids and not the teenagers and this is not really a babysitting service but at least it is an occupation.

The Chairman: Vandalism in the area is caused by the small kids and not the teenagers. Tell me the age group about which you are speaking.

Miss Thompson: Anywhere from five to ten.

The Chairman: From five to ten are the vandals. Are the boys vandals? Does that go for the girls too?

Miss Thompson: Yes.

The Chairman: All right. They are the ones who break the windows in the school and do vandalism and these things about which you talk. You call it vandalism, is that right, and they are five to ten years old, up to ten years, and beyond that, you say, they don't.

Professor Woods: No. I am not saying that situation is confined to the younger kids because they like to get into things and to throw stones and so on.

The Chairman: They get into it and did this channel them away from throwing stones at the school and from throwing stones at you?

Miss Thompson: May I just say; some of the kids went back later and instead of throwing stones they were taking reinforcing rods and using them as spears in the railway ties and that is much better than throwing something at another kid.

The Chairman: You talk about a new kind of Interfaith construction was observed to

build a detailed village—or is that a mistake? I didn't quite get that.

I had been looking at the previous page, throwing stones, knifed his brother but missed and gashed his own leg and ankle.

Professor Woods: I think that is a misplaced page. One child that was involved in an Interfaith construction was observed—

The Chairman: Yes. Tell me, when you speak about that, did anybody provide money for that or did anybody give you any help?

Professor Woods: Yes. The Y.M.C.A. was at the time re-developing Camp Manitou. They had some funds, some very small funds I think under \$100, but it turned out to be about \$160. Interfaith also had a limited budget they operated with.

The Chairman: When you speak of Interfaith, in Winnipeg?

Professor Woods: Yes.

The Chairman: You made no other approaches?

Professor Woods: We have a small amount of money that was given to us by the Winnipeg Foundation that was brought by the Interfaith group. The reason we have not used that is because we haven't been able to. When we proved ourselves on design we were not able to get the land in the city itself. Now we have that land but we do not have the time.

The Chairman: You mean you have land? Where is the land?

Professor Woods: The land is exactly opposite—I think it is the west side of Lord Selkirk Park.

The Chairman: Who owned the land previously?

Professor Woods: The land was first of all owned privately. The City took it over. The house was bulldozed and then we approached the Parks and Recreation Department. They transferred the land from the City of Winnipeg to the Urban Renewal Agency so that they could supervise it and maintain it and take over the liability insurance.

This was not done till quite recently.

The Chairman: Those are the city officials of whom you are speaking.

Professor Woods: Yes.

The Chairman: They are giving consideration to granting you further assistance.

Professor Woods: Yes.

The Chairman: I gather they are impressed by what you are doing?

Professor Woods: After they saw the stuff built, they were impressed.

Senator Everett: I would like to congratulate you on a very well presented brief. Could you tell me how long the interest of the children is maintained in the playground? Is it a short matter or is it a continuing interest?

Professor Woods: That kind of attitude—just because of a programme, a two-week programme, a revolving programme, new kids are coming in in the two weeks. The thing was always continuing. At Interfaith we started to find that with more dynamic equipment, i.e. swinging ropes and so on, that they are being used. The tether ball is used constantly. However, this type of equipment in the city is very prone to vandalism and so on. The tether ball is only put up when the work was done.

When there are no human parts the kids tend to go away.

Senator Everett: What you are talking about I gather, is temporary use of property by tax incentive or by tax rebates and demolition incentives. Assuming that such a recreational facility was developed and a year later construction took place so it had to be moved somewhere else—in your judgment would this lessen the worth of your project?

Professor Woods: No, this is one of the main criteria. We were told anything we did in the city would have to be of a temporary nature. Also, because it is such a low cost thing, if you don't want to use it, you can throw it out and start over again.

Camp Manitou, for instance, both the little fort and the sandbox had a total cost of \$160. The one at Interfaith was around \$45.

The existing playground equipment was a big set of swings that the City provides and costs \$450.

Senator Everett: Yes.

Professor Woods: And that is for six children.

Senator Everett: Can you tell me this swinging rope—you said you had to discon-

tinue it. I would like to know, first of all, why and secondly whether you found that the children were really more interested in the more dangerous facility, more interested in the danger than they were in using it?

Miss Thompson: It so happens we divided the play area by an existing path that cuts through the lot. Now, before that the children used the tree branch to swing down to the lot, which does not have quite the velocity that a rope has.

When the tower went up they were that much closer to the top of the branches and they would suddenly crack. We thought we could substitute ropes for it and what happened is that they would wait for someone to come along the path and take the rope and just swing down on them and so children were getting hurt and so that had to be taken down.

Danger is one of the most important parts of play. It creates a challenge for the children and if these ropes could have been located in another place in the area, which did not have that potential of knocking somebody else down, I am sure they would have loved to swing on them even though they didn't get to knock somebody else down.

Senator Everett: Is this desire for danger the same for boys and girls?

Miss Thompson: I think so.

Professor Woods: There were more boys on the structure than girls.

Senator Fergusson: Tell me: how many students took part in the preparing of the project; just the ones who are here?

Professor Woods: The actual construction, yes.

Senator Fergusson: I was rather surprised that you could accommodate so many children in one of these. There seem to be quite a lot of children in a small space.

Professor Woods: The area we worked with Interfaith was about the size of the space in here but we could accommodate about thirteen.

Miss Thompson: At Camp Manitou the structure could hold fifteen people at one time. One of the criteria for the models was that they should be high density.

Senator Inman: Did I understand you to say it was a nylon rope?

Miss Thompson: It is polypropylene.

Senator Everett: You mentioned a point at page 9, item 3. "Sitting areas for adults suggest supervision surveillance." Is it your experience that there should be no area for adults, that it should be characterized as the "children's area" and that adults are excluded from it?

Professor Woods: Children of this age do not want to be supervised. This is the age when they are always being told "no, don't do this" or "yes, you can do this". They want to get away from it. There has to be some area of supervision but children cannot be made to feel they are under surveillance at all times.

Miss Thompson: This was one of the reasons why we suggested a number of corner lots because mothers in the area said they would like to be able to send their children to the corner lot but that they could look out across the street and not be there and yet see what their children are doing, so you need a number of corner lots rather than a centralized lot that these children cannot reach because of traffic and because their parents are afraid they are going to get hurt, either in traffic or by other children.

The Chairman: What was your incidence of loss of equipment?

Professor Woods: Did you lose any equipment?

Miss Thompson: No.

The Chairman: No damage at all?

Miss Thompson: No.

The Chairman: Who supervised it when no one was there? Did anybody supervise it at night?

Miss Thompson: No.

The Chairman: Any trouble at all?

Miss Thompson: No. How much can you hurt a railway track tie that has been laying on the ground for forty years and has been re-used. It only costs five cents and we got the creosole out of it. I mean, they can hit it, they can knock it and it just sits there. It is pegged down.

Mr. Lyon: The thing is when people in the neighbourhood are involved in the construction they feel more responsibility towards it and consider it their own street. There is no

desire to damage the property or anything. They want to maintain it.

The Chairman: I think that you told my colleagues that the parents showed some involvement or at least approval and some encouragement to you people. Am I right; or did that not arise?

Miss Thompson: I think that was when we had this meeting at the service centre. The mothers were having a tea that day and several of the mothers came to us and saw the display and were interested in it and wanted to know if they could build something like that in their area.

Senator McGrand: These were all under-privileged children, the parents of under-privileged children?

Miss Thompson: Well, yes, I guess that is so.

The Chairman: How far would it be from the park where there are similar or some facilities which are provided by the city or province?

Professor Woods: About two blocks. I am talking of the Lord Selkirk area now. In the housing project itself there are four playgrounds. Three of them are never used. The one directly opposite the corner from ours is used quite a bit. It is very well designed.

The Chairman: Why were the other three not used?

Miss Thompson: I think they are too abstract, not designed for the children and they are more or less asphalt surfaces, quite bare and I do not think even it was intended for children. I do not think it is the type of area children will play. They would not find it exciting. I do not think it would stimulate them.

Senator McGrand: What was there? You say "it is not stimulating". What would it be?

Miss Thompson: One playground is a group of jumping timbers. You cut them off and put them in the ground and the kids can strap them one to one or they can jump off them. This is fine if it is integrated in the play area where they have other things beside it but you would have one area that is just a bunch of stumps there. They can get tired of that pretty fast.

The Chairman: Did you, for instance, approach people in these areas who were in

control of the playgrounds and indicate to them that they are not being used, "Let us do something about making them more attractive. We can do it for peanuts compared to what it will cost you. We would like to do this". Did you do this?

Professor Woods: We did this with Neighbourhood Services first. Afterwards we were approached of the manager of both housing projects in Winnipeg. This is a lack of such working facilities.

However, we were told we would have to go and see other people and so on and the red tape started so we went back to the people we could work with.

Mr. Lyon: I think one thing that has not come out as of now is the fact that we had to approach many groups. Groups seemed interested but they were not prepared to commit themselves in any way. We had to prove ourselves. We had to prove our designs and a lot of these groups lacked the imagination or desire to experiment. A lot of these groups lacked the finances to experiment in new designs and this was hampering many developments.

The Chairman: But the amount of the experiment, as I understand you people, you have told me these tremendous sums amounted to \$200 or \$300, \$500.

Mr. Lyon: That is exactly the point. We had a playground that could be built for \$50. They said "We don't have the money. Nothing like this has ever been built. I do not think we can give you any money at all for it." This is the whole point.

Miss Thompson: And it looks funny.

Professor Woods: You take all these man hours involved in research that our class did initially and if you transferred it into dollars and then if you ask a government agency to put out funds for this in the name of research, it is impossible.

The Chairman: But you did not ask them to do that? You did not ask them to pay you for research.

Miss Thompson: No.

The Chairman: Well then there was nothing there. For instance, it seems unreasonable to me that the C.H.M.C., looking at this, would not blow \$100 just to see what would happen. I mean, it looks like they blow that

much before they get started working in the morning. It does not seem reasonable.

Professor Woods: Well, these people we were working with, either Interfaith or Neighbourhood Services or even the Winnipeg City Department of Lands and Recreation didn't have the money either.

The Chairman: But you are really not talking about money in the sense of the amount of money that they usually deal with. You are talking about tiny sums that they do not have really to account for, except to get a receipt.

Professor Woods: The land director of Parks and Recreation for Winnipeg has to go to City Council for every sum of money he wants to spend. He felt he could not get this through City Council.

The Chairman: He told you that story. He does not tell me that story. You should have asked your father or your relatives. They would have told you you were being given the runaround.

Once you did the design and proved yourself, as you did, and they could see for themselves what you had done and the research costs being nothing, did you then have trouble getting money?

Professor Woods: No. However, we had the money and Winnipeg has also agreed to give us a little bit extra amount of money just to make this piece of land decent or we can't do it. We have not the time.

The Chairman: Yes, I realize that. What you are doing at school comes first, but at least you got some projects on the board and it is real and the possibilities are there. You have students coming along regularly, do you not, who might also be as interested as you are in this thing?

Professor Woods: I hope so.

The Chairman: Is there anything in your submission that should have been covered and we did not cover that occurs to you; or is there anything else you would like to tell us. You are an architect so you will know what you are talking about.

Senator Inman: I would like to ask you: how long are the children interested at that age? Twelve or thirteen?

Miss Thompson: The City puts a limit on the playground at age fourteen and then after that the kids are not allowed in the play-

ground, which we felt was another mistake on the City's part, but that was only because the smaller children get pushed out of the area and the older children take over the football and things like that and the thing is the older children need a different kind of place.

The small children are in a small concentrated area where the other children can travel. They can get to the Central Y, but there wasn't anything there for the young children at the bottom of the street.

Mr. Erick Hugh, School of Architecture, University of Manitoba: At the same time if you can develop a total play area, you can perhaps interrelate other types of playing for various age groups.

Senator Everett: Later on having the project where you took the whole street between two lots, did you discuss this with the municipal authorities and can you tell us what the reaction was?

Mr. Hugh: We didn't really do much—

Professor Woods: We had this project shown at the school where the municipal authorities were present. The scheme was applauded by these people but when we asked—perhaps it was our presentation technique—but when we asked if these things could somehow be implemented, if the people thought they were good ideas, there was just a golden silence.

Mr. Lyon: Similar projects have been done in Outremont, a suburb of Montreal. The City blocks are blocked off for rest time and lunch hours so the kids can play on the streets because they do not have a school yard.

Senator Everett: You are talking about something more ambitious here. There are actual facilities in this area. Did you estimate any cost?

Mr. Hugh: No, not really, but this really was simply a matter of combining various spaces on the road. If you want to have a badminton court, you can just paint it on the street.

Senator Everett: I notice in your critique of the present park system you say the concrete and asphalt is a bad thing and that lack of shade is a bad thing. Did you take that into consideration in your project?

Mr. Hugh: Yes, to sort of change and manipulate the environment. The City could

provide the bare shrubs and pots and plants which could be moved away quite quickly and there are various other ways that could be thought about to give change to the environment rather than just looking like a regular road. You could paint lots of stuff on the road. You could bring in rocks to form the seat. You could make a roller-skating area, put up flags and various other things. There are countless other things that could be done, probably at low cost.

Senator Everett: Thank you.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I would like to say I think it is really terrific that students of the University of Manitoba have been interested enough to take such a proposition as this as a contribution to the community, and I have to say—to my shame—that when I was a student I do not think I ever had any thoughts of doing things like this; so I think that the present students are going to contribute very much more to the life of the whole country. I do not think we need to feel so discouraged as we sometimes do, when we hear some of the briefs that have come before us, about what the future is going to be.

I would also like to say I am very much impressed with the imagination that made it possible for you to undertake such simple things as the old railway ties and empty spools and make them into something. That is very interesting and I would certainly congratulate you not only on the project but on the imagination that you have shown in doing this. You are a very fine group of students.

The Chairman: When I was at university all I ever did was walk around protesting in parades.

Professor Woods: The other point I think is that play in a designed environment for these children can be very important and affect various sections of the world but also we want to stimulate the kids or the adults to get involved in doing something like this; maybe not so much as what it is for as to get them working together and to care about what is happening.

Like the man with the cracked window, he may not have the money to fix it but it may not be that. Maybe he just doesn't care and that is what you want to try to change.

The Chairman: Is there anybody in the audience that would like to ask a question of these knowledgeable youngsters?

Mr. Forest: I would like to make a comment. I think in our society our governments are so structured and over-structured that when it comes to a simple demand for a dollar-fifty, it seems impossible to get help. Our municipal governments and our provincial governments, if you need thousands of dollars, fine, it is all right. They can plan it. You can get it. When you need a dollar-fifty for a simple research project it seems it is not possible to do it and I think it is a shame.

I would like this for the record.

The Chairman: Is there anything else from the audience? Do any of the senators have anything to say further?

Let me just say, on behalf of the Committee, that you are a delight. You gave us a lift here today because we are so happy to meet students who have an understanding and dedication and not only do they believe in things but they do something about it.

That is what is going to make our Canada great. That is what is going to help solve poverty, involvement in the community, involvement in many things that are so important. A great number of people come to us with problems. You are solving these problems and this has been a little different than what we normally have before us and for that reason, on behalf of the Committee, you, sir, as their professor, you young ladies and young men should know that this Committee is most grateful, most appreciative of your efforts.

Thank you very much.

There is just one announcement. We meet here tonight at seven-thirty. The Winnipeg Tenants Association will be appearing before us at that time.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Upon resuming at 7:30 p.m.)

The Chairman: I will call the meeting to order.

This morning the Senate appointed a subcommittee consisting of Senator Connolly and Senator Belisle to hear a brief presented from the Stony Mountain Native Brotherhood Manitoba Penitentiary. Senators Connolly and Belisle went out there this afternoon and they heard the brief. I will ask Senator Connolly to report to the committee now.

Senator Connolly: Mr. Chairman, as you will recall you devised a method of setting up

subcommittees of this main Committee so that your Committee might give every possible attention to every representation from every source that anybody cared to make to the Committee. Accordingly, as you have suggested, my associate Senator Belisle and myself proceeded this afternoon to the penitentiary at Stony Mountain.

I should say to you at the very outset that it was a numbing experience. I knew not what to expect because the last quarter and I hoped to get assistance for this Committee was behind the grim walls of a penitentiary. I had thought on reading the brief that well informed and cultured minds had obviously prepared it and I should say in justice to the four men who presented themselves this afternoon that your feeling and mine and that of the other members of the Committee who read this brief previously were more than justified.

We were shown every courtesy by the warden and his deputy. We were taken to the board room of the institution and four prepossessing comely young men, the authors of this brief, were introduced to us without any unnecessary delays. One of the young men had advanced form of education. The other three had stunted educational backgrounds but quite obviously as it was revealed by our hour or more conversation with them, all of the quartet had the ability to think and that in my judgment, Mr. Chairman, is oftentimes more valuable than academic background.

Moreover I was impressed with the desire of these citizens paying a debt which society felt it owed to society. Impressed I say with their desire to help more fortunate citizens outside the walls of the penitentiary achieve the better things in life which are now being denied them.

One of them indeed for the rest of his days. There were no selfish motives involved. There was only one thought in their minds and that was to make a contribution to human welfare and when I say I was humbled I do not exaggerate the situation. I had not expected to find knowledgeability or compassion of the kind that I found this afternoon. I think tribute should be paid to these four men and to the men who head the institution and to enable them to prepare this brief for us.

As you said at the outset, this is dated November the 10th and it is addressed to you, Senator Croll from the Stony Mountain

Native Brotherhood Manitoba Penitentiary. It's the result of a series of meetings held by those men. The brief pools all their ideas and the brief itself is the work of the one man whom I mentioned and I mentioned no names for obvious reasons.

They do not seek credit nor should their names be mentioned publicly or privately. It is good enough I think for all of us to realize that here were a quartet of good samaritans setting an example that thousands of other young Canadians and fellow Canadians of theirs ought to have set.

They defined poverty as many others in their briefs have defined poverty though they made a distinction and I shall deal with this at not too great length because, sir, you have already—as all members have—copies of this brief, and they will be available. They made a distinction not made by others in briefs already submitted to us. The difference between being poor and living in poverty. Now, I think we should keep in mind that while we have had and will have technical experts appearing before us giving qualified technical information, these views come from people who know poverty from having been part of it, having lived in it and having suffered from it. I, for one, and I hope you too will be impressed by their representations.

Here is how they define the difference between being poor and living in poverty. They said that being poor denotes that the persons in question earn just enough to provide them with the necessities of life but living in poverty they say hardly gives people enough to provide the bare necessities to keep body and soul together.

I doubt, Mr. Chairman, if there is an academic mind in the country who could more clearly illustrate the difference between being poor and being poverty-stricken than to these people in their brief of this afternoon because that is the essence of the fundamentals of being poor and being poverty-stricken.

Now, they don't pretend to have the answers. They agree that there are many ingredients mixed up with poverty, abject and otherwise and unlike others they don't pontificate. They submit proposals which they think will help alleviate poverty. They do not think that poverty can be cured for all time to come because they are reasonable men who have lived long enough to realize certain fundamental facts of life. They make some points that penetrate very deeply. Let me turn to

their recommendations. You will find them on page 8 of their brief.

Senator Hastings: Do you have a copy of the brief, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: No, we only have three or four copies; copies are being made now.

Senator Connolly: They make this point amongst others. That while there is no wonder cure that men should be made to work. They should be coerced or compelled to work if they are going to receive the benefits of society. They make the point, of course, that if there are those people and there are some who are unable to work, then society has a moral obligation to look after these people. No reasonable man or woman, I think, can disagree with that. They make a further point that more social workers are required at ground level or grass roots level, let us say. Without being critical at all and acknowledging that academic background in becoming a social worker is helpful. They make the further point that the more advanced academic training given to most social workers the less likelihood of those social workers being able to understand the real poor and poverty-stricken people because they become more and more remote from those people and they suggest that if we could find, among the ranks of the people so afflicted, young people who could be educated sufficiently to take on work in the social agencies and become themselves skilled social workers that we could go a long way towards helping out this situation.

They, of course, believe that there should be a guaranteed annual minimum income for every Canadian. They are conscious that this means increased taxation of one kind or another. They qualify that by saying as has been said before, that God alone will not cure the impoverishment of so many Canadians. They recognize that there are other deprivations other than economic among the poor and they recognize that environment as they call it rather than culture—and I think it's a much more opportune word if I may say so—is a must that must be handled by those we send in to the field to cure these ills.

They suggest above all other that instead of handling these problems at the managerial level that we, the people of Canada, be concerned with the problems of the poor and should involve the poor in those problems to a much greater extent than is now the case. They feel that we should consult with them that we should ask them—if I may use the

common phrase—how they got that way. How they can get out from under that condition; how can they help themselves to avoid that dreadful state and how they can be helped by their fellow Canadians.

Mr. Chairman, I am a little wound up on this and I would talk endlessly and perhaps spoil the evening if I were to go on, but I merely repeat these things to you because I was so vividly impressed this afternoon because my heart was touched with the compassion of these people and I earnestly commend their views to the attention of this Committee.

Thank you very much.

The Chairman: Thank you, Senator Connolly and I presume what you intend is that the brief be made part of the record?

Senator Connolly: I do so move, Mr. Chairman, that it be made part of the public record.

The Chairman: I second that. I am sorry about the brief, senators, but they didn't know just how to handle it and we tried to get copies made at the hotel but the facilities were not available tonight.

Next we are to hear from the Winnipeg Tenants Association. I want to assure you that you will have all the time that you require. I am sure you are all impressed, as we were, with Senator Connolly's report, and that this was a special treat for you. The spokesman for the Winnipeg Tenants Association is Mrs. Harvelyn McInnes, and she will introduce the other members of the delegation.

Mrs. Harvelyn McInnes, Winnipeg Tenants Association: Thank you, Senator Croll. I would like to introduce the President of the Winnipeg Tenants Association, Mr. Celestine Guiboche on my left here and Miss Gail Moss on my right. Behind me is Mr. Harry Boone and Mr. Victor Couchene. They are both on the sub-committee on unemployment and employment.

Now, I would like to turn this over to Mr. Guiboche who will read the prepared text.

Mr. Celestin Guiboche, President, Winnipeg Tenants Association: The purpose of this brief is to talk about poverty, its causes, and to offer some solutions to this problem. The Winnipeg Tenants Association feels that poverty in Canada is too wide to be ignored any further.

The Winnipeg Tenants Association considers the following conditions as major causes of poverty.

(a) Lack of decent housing.

(b) Lack of jobs.

(c) Lack of adequate educational and training opportunities for the untrained and unskilled citizens of this country.

(d) Lack of enforcement of laws and legislation that are supposed to correct wrongs in our society.

(e) Lack of legal services, especially for the poor to fight for their rights when their rights are violated.

(f) Lack of co-operation, communication and trust between Government and its citizens.

The Winnipeg Tenants Association, after studying and dealing with the housing problem in the Winnipeg area discovered a very definite lack of adequate living accommodation. Unlike the municipal, provincial and federal governments, we find there is a housing crisis in the City of Winnipeg and in Canada.

On looking at this broad problem more closely, we found it could be broken down into the following areas:

(a) We found a lack of adequate housing.

(b) Lack of emergency housing for people who are evicted and/or burnt out. For example, the City feels that their emergency housing is the local hotels, yet the people themselves who need emergency housing want homes and houses. They feel that hotels are not proper places to care for children because of no recreational facilities, far away from schools, drunks, eating in restaurants, etc.

A high cost of housing across the board, and an obvious lack of low rental housing for people on welfare and the low income. For example we have two public housing developments with a waiting list in the thousands. Landlords seem able to charge whatever rent they want, even for substandard housing.

The Welfare Department is prepared to pay these rents and low income people have no choice, as adequate accommodation is far beyond their budget. For example, Mr. G., married, three kids, struggling through school, could locate only substandard living accommodation. This man earned \$280 a month to maintain his family. The only socially adequate accommodation he could find would cost him at least \$120 plus per

month. If he were to spend almost fifty per cent of his income on rent, his family could not eat and be properly clothed. He was therefore forced to accept inadequate accommodation (two and a half rooms in an attic with no toilet facilities—poorly heated and ventilated). This accommodation cost him \$75 per month.

The Winnipeg Tenants Association has talked to countless numbers of people and their findings would support the Urban Renewal Studies in Winnipeg which state that there is a large surplus of inadequate housing. That is, there is a large surplus of housing with: poor wiring, overcrowding, poor plumbing, poor heat and ventilation, bugs, lousy landlords, and with poor toilet facilities. Although public housing has certain drawbacks and may be a second-best solution for some people, it is certainly better than living in a rat-infested hole. We have not found one person living in these conditions who would not take public housing over their previous living accommodation.

The Winnipeg Tenants Association has discovered a complete lack of recreational facilities for people in the core areas where people on welfare and low income live. Because there is limited recreational facilities at this point for the children, we experience a great deal of delinquency, glue-sniffing, drinking, etc.

Discrimination in terms of race, creed, financial status, marital status and size of family is a common everyday experience for people on welfare and marginal earners when searching for living accommodation.

Some landlords refuse to rent houses to people on welfare, while others will rent only to people on welfare, knowing they can charge more for their accommodation than it's worth. Some landlords will not rent to women alone with kids as they are afraid that such women are not able to maintain the premises.

People with children have a tough time finding accommodations. A close look at any daily newspaper will bear this out, where two or three-bedroom accommodations are put up for rent, specifying no children. Yet many times these places will allow pets. Also stated in the newspaper is "no welfare cases". The Winnipeg Tenants Association also uncovered discriminatory practices on the part of landlords when it comes to renting accommodations to people of Indian ancestry and other coloured people.

For example, we have heard grievances from many Indian people who have made arrangements to rent by phone. When these people show up to finalize the agreement, the landlord quickly backs down, usually saying that the place has been taken. Yet, several days after, it has been found that the same place is still up for rent.

The Winnipeg Tenants Association has found that tenants are unjustly and sometimes illegally treated by landlords. The landlords feel that they have a right to walk into a suite at any time. Some people are given illegal eviction notices without due cause. Due to arrears of rent for two or three days, some landlords have changed locks while the tenant is out.

Also, bailiffs have been called in by the landlord proceeding to violate tenants' rights with the tenants having no say. For example, we know of a case where a bailiff had claimed goods worth \$350 from a tenant who was in arrears of rent for only a month which was \$45. Even though this situation exists, few people can afford legal services to take action. Even if people do have some funds, the cost of a lawyer is too great.

The Winnipeg Tenants Association knows of several cases where landlords are not maintaining their suites and when a tenant complains he is evicted.

The Winnipeg Tenants Association knows that in housing projects the rents are increased as soon as a family earns a small increase in income. This is unfair. It prevents a person from getting ahead and bettering himself. Admission procedures to these public housing units are sometimes unfair and unjust. The rental rate itself is based only on gross income. This is also unfair. For example, a family consisting of ten with a gross income of \$300 a month pays the same rate of rent as a family of four with the same gross income.

In short, in spite of this big housing problem, the government seems content to shelve the housing needs. Money is spent on private development but very little on housing and human development. And these problems ladies and gentlemen, that we have mentioned about housing are a major cause of poverty.

Let us now look at the employment situation. The existence of jobs for anyone is limited. For the poor there are almost no jobs. The few jobs that are available do not

pay enough and are seasonal—they do not last long.

We have found that because of race, colour, a jail record or because a person is on welfare, employers are not too eager to hire. There is discrimination in the employment field.

Even when the poor find jobs they have to suffer under poor working conditions such as; lack of washroom and lunchroom facilities, and also safety equipment.

Because the poor are usually lacking in skills and education, it becomes doubly difficult for them to find jobs. It was hoped that Canada Manpower would help train and upgrade the unskilled and uneducated but they are themselves discriminating and selecting the best man for the job and placing emphasis on education. So people without education or skills are left out. Canada Manpower more and more is referring a person to upgrading, not on the basis of what a person thinks he is capable of doing, but instead on the person's work history and what Canada Manpower thinks is good for him.

The immigration to this country is so great that they take up the existing jobs and Canadians are left out. These immigrants seem to get better service than we do.

We find also that the person trying to apply for a job meets too much red tape.

Casual labour offices exploit the poor man. They make commissions on the earnings of people they refer for employment. They pay the provincial minimum wage even though the employer pays much higher.

As far as unemployment insurance is concerned, a person is usually unable to collect the money when he needs it. The waiting period is too long and if you make an error in filling out the form it is delayed further. Even when a person is short of one stamp he is not eligible to draw unemployment insurance.

Most people who are unable to find jobs have no choice but to go on welfare. Most welfare policies do not provide incentives to work because when you do work you are only allowed to earn \$25 a month. Jobs and employment are important to us because it means money so that we can eat and obtain the necessities of life such as clothings, shelter, social life, self respect, dignity and self determination.

Society at large also expects us to work and we would also like to work if we can get the

opportunity for decent work and decent pay. The lack of jobs and the problems we have mentioned are another major cause of poverty. Let us now look at the educational and training opportunities.

The Winnipeg Tenants Association knows that in order to get good jobs, one must have a certain degree of education or a skill. Most of the people in the poverty bracket lack both of these. To get out of the poverty cycle they must be trained. We feel that the institutions that are supposed to train and educate people are not doing so sufficiently. For example, the time limits for some courses are too short. Trainees come out of programmes with just the very basic skills of the trade and they are unable to move directly into employment. They are half-trained—most trainees do not follow up their trade upon completion of a course because of this.

A number of adults who try to go into academic training to better themselves find that they are unable to because of a lack of funds or bursaries or programmes to assist them.

Government training programmes also continue to train candidates for jobs with small demands. Because of all these problems, people are prevented from improving their situation and this adds to the problem of poverty. Let us now look at the question of enforcement of laws and legislation and the lack of legal services for the people on low income.

The Winnipeg Tenants Association knows that there are some adequate laws and legislation in this country. The problem is that they are seldom enforced.

When your rights are violated, the only democratic recourse is to take your case to court. But the people on low income are unable to pay for these services. Legal services for the poor are seldom available through Legal Aid to fight for rights. It seems that justice is not usually available for the poor.

Now we wish to examine Government communications and co-operation with its citizens. The Winnipeg Tenants Association finds that there is a definite lack of information and co-operation between Government and public officials and its citizens. When we invite officials to meetings to provide information and give answers, they send representatives. They bring greetings but no answers. They hold meetings behind closed doors and we are

seldom informed or involved in decisions that affect our lives.

We feel that Government is not taking an aggressive stand on major problems of education, housing and employment. How many public meetings and task forces must we have before they recognize today's housing, education and employment problems. When we present the facts they give us sympathy. But it is not sympathy we want. We want action.

This kind of government behaviour results in citizens losing face and giving up hope. For example, at our recent municipal election we had a record low of the electorate voting at the polls. They are, in fact, saying there is no point.

Solutions: The Winnipeg Tenants Association realizes that there is no simple and cheap solution for poverty. But we think we have the brains in this country and the money to eliminate a large part of this if we try hard.

The Winnipeg Tenants Association has the following suggestions. In the area of housing: a) every step should be taken to see that every person in Canada has adequate accommodation; b) there should be a basic minimum Canadian standard set for housing and every Canadian should have accommodations that meets at least minimum standards; c) since recreation and housing have a lot to do with poverty, adequate recreational facilities should be provided in residential areas; d) since the large majority of Canadians are tenants, there should be one federal landlord and tenant act; e) all rental accommodations should be assessed by a government body and a reasonable percentage of profit set; f) sub-standard houses should all be repaired to meet standards. If landlords do not repair their rental premises, the Government should penalize with a tax charge; g) deteriorated houses should be demolished and replaced by adequate housing; h) regarding public housing, more emphasis should be placed on single-family dwellings, instead of high-rise apartments. Public housing should be scattered instead of concentrated in one area. Public housing should take the form of duplexes or townhouses and should be for rent, sale or rent with an option to buy.

There should also be one central body to deal with public housing instead of the three levels of government.

In the area of employment, we suggest the following:

a) Government and private industry have

to create more jobs. b) The minimum wage has to be increased. c) A minimum standard of working conditions must be set for all places of employment. d) Stop immigration until we have solved our housing and employment problems. e) Ban all casual employment offices that are exploiting employees. Government should handle these offices if necessary—there should be no middle men. f) Eliminate the waiting period for unemployment insurance. Pay sufficient unemployment insurance for a family to live on decently. g) Provide incentives for people on welfare to work if they can. Raise their allowable earnings to \$100 per month while on welfare. h) Welfare departments should work with a family for a reasonable period, after the family is earning its own way—its own income, in order to enable the families to get established.

In the field of education, training and upgrading, we suggest the following:

a) Make educational, training and upgrading opportunities available to every Canadian who desires to improve his lot in life. Help financially where he cannot afford this on his own. b) Eliminate educational qualifications as a condition for re-entry into upgrading. c) Government must train people for jobs that they know exist now and that will exist in the future. d) Government must train a person sufficiently and completely so that when he is finished training he can get a decent job and not need an apprenticeship period.

In the area of legislation and legal services we suggest the following:

a) Spend money on educating people about their rights. b) Enforce all laws and legislation, especially those that were enacted to prevent discrimination and unfair practices in housing and employment. c) The Government must assist financially, people on low income to obtain legal services for divorces, etc., and to fight for their rights when these rights are violated. For example, in eviction cases which are illegal.

In the area of communication between Government and its citizens, we suggest the following:

a) When government does not provide information or when they pass the buck, citizens should have a recourse to an ombudsman. b) There has to be better communication between government and its citizens for the public to have faith and hope.

c) Governments should be expected to meet deadlines like anyone else. They should take action and not delay forever.

The Chairman: Senator Sparrow?

Senator Sparrow: Is there discrimination in subsidized public housing in regard to people on social welfare now? There have been comments made from time to time in a public housing unit of so many units there would be permitted in that unit one person on welfare and the rest employed people. Is this in fact the case and do you find this in public housing in this area?

Mr. Guiboche: I will answer that this one and I would say yes. I would sooner not discuss anything on welfare because there is a subcommittee—our subcommittee is presenting their brief tomorrow and this is what they will be dealing with.

Senator Sparrow: Well, really I was asking in the broad sense if there was any discrimination in public housing? Could you answer in a broad sense?

Mr. Guiboche: I think there is. There is definite discrimination on housing and employment—in both fields.

The Chairman: In answer to Senator Sparrow, what do you mean by discrimination? Do you mean discrimination in income or on other grounds? What particular aspect are you raising?

Mr. Guiboche: It's not so much income but rather in nationality or size of family or low income which is—yes, I would have to say that it does affect earnings. It is being practised by the landlord with all these points I have just mentioned. A tenant has no alternative to respond to what a landlord may want him or her to do. He can't fight for himself or himself for the fact that although we have adequate laws and legislation and these are not helping the public in general. This is why we say there is a lack of communication on the part of the government. We never knew of acts existing until we got involved in this association. For example, when we approached governments, no matter which level of government, and regardless of what our presentations were, we were only to find that there are existing laws. Until that day, we didn't know that these laws existed.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, regarding immigration, in this brief, I must say that here is a lot of serious thought but you speak

of immigration as being so great that they take up existing jobs. Why is that? Do they work cheaper?

Mr. Guiboche: In many cases, yes. A lot of these people are qualified to do work whereas if manpower should train people in this country, immigrants come to this country fully prepared in this field and on completion of a course you go to an employer and he is going to hire a person that is more qualified in the field for years instead of a student that just came off a course or who usually comes all the way from an apprenticeship and apprenticeship licence.

Senator Inman: Well, then do you think that the Canadian Government doesn't look after people as well to enable them to get the education?

Mr. Guiboche: We know that it doesn't.

The Chairman: That it doesn't what?

Mr. Guiboche: That it doesn't respond to the needs of the citizens.

Senator Inman: Well, it's just a matter that the people don't take advantage of it.

Mr. Guiboche: Well, maybe if people do take advantage of it as we state in our brief that Canada Manpower more and more should direct candidates to what they feel this person—well, they go by the work history as we stated in our brief rather than what this person is capable of doing.

Senator Inman: You mean direct it to another field?

Mr. Guiboche: Yes.

The Chairman: Well, before Canada Manpower puts you into a training class, don't they try aptitude tests to try and find out what is likely to be the thing they can do best?

Mr. Guiboche: This is true. They do that but a lot of people, a lot of Canadians—(or maybe I shouldn't restrict myself to saying Canadians)—people in Canada, a lot of them don't have the minimum grades it requires for a person to take upgrading or any courses for that matter. Manpower requires that you have Grade VI to get into Level III. Now, these people, the people that are concerned to try to better themselves, to try and educate themselves, be educated, they are refused these rights. Perhaps if there was something like Level V, then maybe they would be

accepted, but the way it stands and we have talked to some people who were turned down in these matters and they feel that they would be able to learn from that level on because unlike a child going in at five or something like that, the adults will naturally learn quite a bit through his life span. What we have been told is that they feel they can or have enough behind them to learn at a point from level 4.

Senator Fergusson: Well, Senator Inman asked this question but I intended to ask the question on immigration and training given by Manpower, I think it's been answered. I would like to ask you—on page 4 you say:

Some landlords refuse to rent houses to people on welfare, while others will rent only to people on welfare, knowing they can charge more for their accommodations than it's worth.

Now, that seems to be rather contradictory because you say first that some landlords refuse to rent houses to people on welfare and others will only rent to people on welfare?

Mr. Guiboche: Right. A lot of places where people have been turned down by the landlord due to the fact they are on welfare or if it's a woman with children or nationalities. All these people at one time or another have been refused these accommodations and yet where the premises are blighted—for instance if they are not worth \$25 a month and yet the welfare agencies are prepared to pay \$75 to \$100 per month for these premises.

Senator McGrand: On page 10 you said the Government must train people for jobs sufficiently and completely so that when he is finished training he can get a decent job and not need an apprenticeship period. Now, it seems to me that technical training can provide a person with some certain skills, but in order to make use of those skills he needs to work on the job over some time. Isn't that true?

Mr. Guiboche: It's true, but the way we see it and we know and the way it's been approached to us is that when people on completion of these courses come out into the field with an apprenticeship or any kind of certificate and go into employment where the employer will pay next to the minimum wage or the minimum wage at that. Whereas, if a person working alongside of you with a Master licence would be getting three dollars

or close to four dollars per hour and if this person is married they cannot live on this \$1.25 to a dollar-forty which is what is offered to them. Single, yes, I would say that they can get by, but not married.

Senator McGrand: Well, you would agree that on-the-job training is an important thing, would you not? You would agree that training on the job is important, but how can the technical training given to a person in the trade school improve what he requires for on-the-job training? It's hard for him to get on-the-job training while he is taking a technical course. Isn't that right?

Mr. Guiboche: Yes.

Mrs. McInnes: I think perhaps Mr. Guiboche means that very often people take this course and that they are not really prepared to go and take a job, but if they had a period of possibly three months further training they would be much more capable and could take their place properly. They just have a very, very basic skill when they come from the upgrading, but if they could say stay in this upgrading two or three months longer, they would be a very great deal better.

Senator McGrand: You mean on-the-job training should be part of his training for a job?

Mrs. McInnes: Yes, I think perhaps that would be a very good idea.

Senator Everett: Mr. Guiboche, you said on the second page of your brief that there is a lack of legal services, especially for the poor to fight for their rights when their rights are violated. I wonder if you would be able to tell me or your association could tell me what free legal services are people provided in Manitoba and where those services are failing the people who are in poverty?

Mr. Guiboche: Where was that again?

Senator Everett: Page 2, subsection 1, subsection e.

Mr. Guiboche: Well, we had people approach legal services and they were refused for asking for assistance to fight for their rights, such as if they were being evicted or if they go there to ask for aid for a divorce, etc. These people were refused that—in one case I think it was only last week or something one person was told not to go back there because they were on welfare. The fact that this person was on welfare he was told not to go back there.

Senator Everett: Did the Association investigate any of these cases?

Mr. Guiboche: Yes, we have, but I am not prepared today to give you that kind of information because our subcommittee on welfare rights movement are the ones who were approached on these and I am sure at tomorrow's hearing they will be better prepared to answer these questions.

Senator Everett: Thank you.

Senator Sparrow: Well, you refer to the minimum wage and that it has to be increased. To what figure?

Mr. Guiboche: They had a hearing on this matter of wage increases not too long ago and at that time our subcommittee on employment made a presentation and taking the figures from the welfare audit—we took for example a family of four and basing the wages on this we came up with a figure of \$2.65 an hour. The Labour Minister prepared to raise the minimum wage 10 cents.

Senator Sparrow: From what?

Mr. Guiboche: From \$1.25 per hour.

Senator Sparrow: I see.

The Chairman: \$1.25 to \$1.35 for men—how about women?

Mr. Guiboche: This includes everyone. When this was announced after the hearing the cafes had raised their prices such as for coffee from ten cents to fifteen cents. They couldn't even wait until the minimum wage went up. The minimum wage won't go up for a month or so, but they have already started charging these higher prices. We have heard but we have never looked into this and whether it is true or not I can't say, but it was stated that the price went up as high as 25 cents for a cup of coffee. We know for a fact that in a lot of places it went up a nickel. The minimum wage hadn't gone up yet. It certainly is not enough. Ten cents is not enough—not by far. If the Government is prepared to do anything on poverty, then they should look at the people in the low income bracket.

I am sure that two dollars an hour would not hurt any employer because if they pay the wages, they still have to pay tax anyway. They would have to find the money in other sources, so why not give the employees the money? If they don't pay it there, the poor man will have to get it from the Government

through welfare and this is why there is such a high number on the welfare rolls. It is steadily going up and it will continue to go up unless the Government makes a plea or says to industry that rather than make a freeze on wages make the freeze on the big fellows and let us try and build up our wages to the organized groups. It's the unorganized groups that are being paid the very very minimum wages and I am sure that a lot of these people can pay an awful lot more than what they are paying. Because of the fact that they are employees or unorganized—and when I say this I am talking about Hudson Bay Company and the T. Eaton Company of Canada—these are big companies and they pay the minimum wages and very little above that.

The Chairman: Tell me isn't it illegal for a man to advertise rental premises in which he says "no welfare cases"?

Mr. Guiboche: Yes, it is, but like I said, they don't know from lack of information from the Government. It says in these Acts and we have never studied these Acts yet because we just got a hold of them and we never had a chance to go over them, but it was told to us that these things do exist in these Acts.

The Chairman: But you will be studying them now?

Mr. Guiboche: Yes. We are prepared as is the purpose of the Winnipeg Tenants Association and we have stated this, that we are prepared to take whatever action is necessary to increase the housing stock and to work for better housing conditions in this province and we stand by that statement.

The Chairman: Assume, for a moment, that a man is receiving \$200 a month from welfare and the landlord increased his rent \$15 in the month of January. Would he get \$215 a month from the welfare department?

Mr. Guiboche: No.

The Chairman: All right, what will he get?

Mr. Guiboche: Well, he will get the \$200 and where the fifteen dollars comes from—it would have to be from the poor for clothing or whatever this person is allowed. This will have to come out of something, but it certainly wouldn't be an increase in their budget.

The Chairman: Well, that isn't the case in all provinces and I don't mind telling you.

That is why I asked the question very deliberately. Most of the provinces, where you have a deliberate eligible increase in rent they must pay because they can't get the welfare department—they will pick that up because they can't get any other premises and they can't leave people on the street. Why doesn't that happen here?

Mrs. McInnes: Well, I think there are many fine laws and legislation, but a great deal of it is not enforced. I think this is one of our major problems in our province at any rate, that health by-laws—people are living in homes that are infested with rats and bed-bugs and these things shouldn't be. No Canadian or person that lives in Canada should have to live under these conditions and I think certainly the Government realizes this and legislation over the years has been passed, but it has not been enforced. What I would like to see is some type of board or group of people within the government who would make a point of inspecting premises that are to be rented so that there can be some basic level of accommodation right across Canada.

The Chairman: Rent is part of the payment, isn't it?

Mrs. MacInnes: I believe so.

The Chairman: Well, isn't that correct?

Mrs. McInnes: Yes.

The Chairman: Well, do you know that under the law in Manitoba you have the right to appeal to a board that is in existence if you are dissatisfied with the welfare or with the rent payments or whatever you are required to pay? There is a board in existence in Manitoba here?

Mrs. McInnes: Well, I think many people that would like to appeal will not appeal because of fear. If people are evicted several times they are thrown out into the streets and this happens time and time again—landlords that are approached because of defects in their property become quite nasty sometimes and the people know that if they make complaints they are out.

Senator Hastings: I don't think the Senator was referring to a rent appeal board, he was referring to a welfare appeal board.

Mrs. McInnes: Well, I'm afraid I couldn't answer on questions of welfare.

Senator Hastings: You say admission procedures to public housing units are unfair sometimes—unfair and unjust. Could you give me some specific examples?

Mr. Guiboche: Yes. In the brief you will see that we say that the waiting list is in the thousands and even though this exists a person can walk into an office and ask to move into these premises and the manager or the person will ignore the request, the waiting list that is there, and tell this person to move in.

Senator Hastings: Are there any other things that are unfair and unjust?

Mr. Guiboche: Well, the rent itself. I have a scale here, and this is also stated in our brief, the scale for the rents. When the rent—just as an example here, a person has an income of \$192, the rent is \$32. Every four dollars of increased income, your rent goes up one dollar out of every four dollars. Yet, they call this low rental housing. They don't even give a guy a chance to try and better himself in these projects. I think, if they were going to live, they should have a different scale. Instead of every four dollars, make it every one hundred or every two hundred; then it would give a person a chance to better himself. When we do ask him these questions all they tell us is when you people come to a point when you feel you are paying too much rent in these housing developments, then you should move out and get somebody else to move in. How can they expect somebody to move out when they are steadily keeping them in the poverty line?

Senator Fergusson: I would just like to ask this one question. On page 6, paragraph 47 you say this:

Casual labour offices exploit the poor man. They make commissions on the earnings of people they refer for employment. They pay the provincial minimum wage even though the employer pays much higher.

Would you explain that to me. I don't seem to be familiar with that in my own province.

Mr. Guiboche: Well, these are casual labour offices, private agencies such as Office Overload and agencies like that. They advertise jobs such as construction labour and this casual department gets two-sixty-five an hour and then sends out a man for a dollar and a quarter an hour. They make over a dollar an hour on every man they send out.

Senator Hastings: Are you sure of your figures?

Mr. Guiboche: Yes I am pretty sure because I was one of them.

Senator Hastings: Are you sure they charged \$2.65 an hour?

Mr. Guiboche: Yes.

Senator Hastings: And they were paying you a dollar and a quarter?

Mr. Guiboche: Yes.

The Chairman: That is in places like Office Overload and places like that. This is a different problem. They charge for some one who takes a job; this is a new one on me.

Senator Hastings: Is a one hundred per cent markup normal?

The Chairman: One hundred per cent, I have never heard of such a thing. This suggestion shakes me.

Mr. Guiboche: Where the Manpower or the unemployment people cannot supply people with work, with the jobs, yet these agencies are able to from day to day to give these people different kinds of work. He gave the figure of \$2.65 an hour and we have different figures too. They are much higher than \$2.65.

Senator Hastings: A bigger spread?

Mr. Guiboche: Yes. They will pay the man they refer to these jobs the minimum wage. The provincial minimum wage, and this is why we say in our brief that the Government takes action to eliminate these agencies and operate these agencies themselves if it need be. This will enable the employees to get the full benefits of their earnings.

Senator Everett: Mr. Guiboche on the same page just above that under 4.4, you say:

It was hoped that Canada Manpower would help train and upgrade the unskilled and uneducated but they are themselves discriminating and selecting the best man for the job and placing emphasis on education.

I am not just sure that I understand what you are trying to say there. I would assume that you are talking about re-educating and upgrading? You seem to be using the term "selecting the best man for the job". I wouldn't have thought that that would be a term that would be applicable to re-educating or upgrading.

Mr. Guiboche: Yes. I think I answered some of that question...

Senator Everett: You answered the last part of the question. You were referring to the cases of a person being upgraded on the basis of what Manpower thought he could do rather than what he thought he could do. I am referring more specifically to the first part of the question. I just don't understand the terminology. It says "they are selecting the best men for the job and placing the emphasis on education". Now, if the function of Canada Manpower is to list people in jobs and that is what I suspect what they do, surely they are not doing that if they are talking about upgrading or re-educating or retraining someone.

Mrs. McInnes: Well, I think as far as the best man for the job is naturally what most people do. They are selecting among several one particular person to do a job, but I think the problem is that they leave the other people without a chance, without a job and there are so many people that have no education or very little education and very little training that have a great deal of difficulty in getting jobs and possibly these people come time and time again to get a job and are unable to. Perhaps Mr. Couchene could answer this question and tell you some of the difficulties that he has encountered.

Mr. Victor Couchene (Winnipeg Tenants Association): I was up to the Manitoba Manpower trying to get myself an education to try and get myself a better position so I could get myself a job. I went up there and I found out that I have to have Grade VI education to get into upgrading courses. I have been having difficulty getting jobs. First of all I was on welfare assistance and in the welfare department they found me a job at a dollar-sixty per hour. I have a family of five including the wife which makes seven of us and I don't think I can make on that. I have been going from job to job and I can't seem to get anywhere. Everytime I go to a job they ask me what education I have. I haven't got no education.

Senator Everett: You say that Manpower won't return you?

Mr. Couchene: No. I was up there myself just about a week ago.

Senator Everett: And the reason they give you is that your basic education is too low?

Mr. Couchene: I haven't got no education.

Senator Everett: You have to have Grade VI?

Mr. Couchene: I have to go to level of Grade VI before I get any upgrading.

The Chairman: What sort of work have you done all your life?

Mr. Couchene: I was a truck driver and a taxi driver back home in Pine Falls.

The Chairman: You mean all they look at was your basic schooling and they wouldn't look at your experience, the education that you picked up in the course of your life?

Mr. Couchene: No, they didn't.

Senator Everett: You are not under any obligation to answer this, Mr. Couchene, but if you choose to I wonder what grade of education you do have?

Mr. Couchene: None, I have never been to school. I was just a matter of six months and then I came out and I started to work in the bush. This is where I learned English in amongst the white people.

Senator Everett: What trade then do you think you could learn?

Mr. Couchene: I would like to be a bricklayer. I have been working for bricklayers most of the time here in Winnipeg. I would like to get a bricklayer's course so I could get a better job.

Senator Everett: Can you lay bricks now?

Mr. Couchene: Yes.

Senator Everett: What do you lack?

Mr. Couchene: Well, I got to have Grade VI. I have got to have measurements and all that. You have to have mathematics and all that. I don't have any of that.

Senator Everett: And there are no agencies that can help you get the education?

Mr. Couchene: Well, I went up to Manpower.

Senator Everett: Well, I understand what happened to you, but I am amazed that if you know how to lay bricks and if you want just a formal education that's involved in making you a qualified bricklayer, I can't understand—if as the Chairman has said you have years of experience in doing various things, I can't understand it. I can't understand why Manpower would say just because you don't

have Grade VI education we won't train you. This is something that you virtually know about already.

Mr. Couchene: Well, I have been working with these bricklayers since they learn me you know. They ask me to put blocks in, you know, and I could put the blocks in.

The Chairman: When you went to Manpower you said, "I want to learn to be a bricklayer"?

Mr. Couchene: I didn't tell them.

The Chairman: What did you ask them?

Mr. Couchene: I went there and asked them to take upgrading.

The Chairman: To upgrade in any course?

Mr. Couchene: Yes.

The Chairman: Why do you mention bricklayer?

Mr. Couchene: Well, that is a job that I would like to do.

The Chairman: You know that is the toughest union in the world to get into, do you not?

Mr. Couchene: Well, that is, I have been working as a bricklayer.

The Chairman: That is probably why they wouldn't retrain you, because it would be almost impossible with your education to get into it.

Mr. Couchene: Well, I believe if I can learn to do it, I can do it.

The Chairman: By the way, I think I must bring to the attention of the Committee that the gentleman's statement on the two-sixty-five and one-sixty-five is quite correct. As a matter of fact, we the Committee have to get help on short notice in Ottawa, we pay the Overload two-sixty-five and they pay the stenographers one-sixty-five. This apparently is the common practice and I am told that this is normally done.

Senator Hastings: Why do we not use the Manpower system in Ottawa?

The Chairman: Well, I am talking about what we have to do back East. The Manpower haven't got the facilities for that. They haven't got people available. They are just not available.

Senator Hastings: Is there not a section of Manpower available for temporary help? Is there not a section available where an employer could phone for temporary help?

Mrs. MacInnes: I think in regards to temporary help that maybe they do not want temporary jobs. They want full-time jobs.

Senator Hastings: No, but this situation is in regard to temporary help. You mentioned other cases; now, would you care to tell us some others, Mr. Guiboche?

Mr. Guiboche: Well, I would have to use welfare on this. When a person approaches Welfare for assistance, in a lot of cases the welfare department will direct these recipients to such jobs as these and yet they should be the people trying to keep such people away from employers because of the low wages, but this doesn't happen. We have heard from different sources of people that if they refuse, then they are threatened by Welfare that they are not going to get any more assistance, and so they have two choices—either take what the employer is offering which is the minimum wage, or go out and seek help from different agencies.

The Chairman: Or go out hungry?

Mr. Guiboche: Yes, and go out hungry. The Winnipeg Tenants Association—we have become more and more involved in these problems and having some recourse to go by, we are either assisting these people back and having more information than the individuals themselves—we are able to at least up to now, to maintain their rights.

Senator Hastings: I notice you say in your brief that your membership is approximately five hundred. What percentage are Metis?

Mr. Guiboche: I would say in the neighbourhood of maybe forty to forty-five per cent.

Senator Hastings: You also say:

Unlike municipal, provincial and federal governments, we find there is a housing crisis.

I think, sir, that the Federal Government would agree that there is a housing shortage. Not unlike you—like you.

Mr. Guiboche: What we can't understand is the fact that any level of government knows that there is a housing crisis and these major points are being the cause of poverty. I will

just give you an example and I will quote from this general report. This is an urban renewal neighbourhood that is off the boundaries—the boundaries of this is on the east, is Main Street and on the west is Arlington Street, to the south is Notre Dame Avenue and to the north it's the C.P.R. tracks. In this area urban renewal area 2 comprises 157 city blocks and contains about 540 acres. There are over 2,000 buildings in that area. It goes on to say, of the 2,341 buildings in urban renewal area 2, 1,662 are residential structures. 567 are non-residential structures. A further 112 are structures in which residential uses are combined with some other type of use, such as commercial where the ground floor, for example, is occupied by a retail store and the second floor is occupied by a dweller. Among the purely residential structures over 75 per cent were found to be in only fair to poor or poor conditions. It gives the conditions of the residential buildings. Conditions. Good—18 buildings. Good to Fair—90 buildings. Fair—288 buildings. Fair to Poor—874 buildings. Poor—392 buildings. Fair to Poor—out of 1,662 buildings, residential buildings, there are from fair to poor 1,554, which leaves Good and Good to Fair—108 buildings. This report is a 1966 report. That is four years ago and there are probably a lot more buildings in further deterioration.

The Chairman: Has anything been done about it before?

Mr. Guiboche: No.

The Chairman: All there was was this report?

Mr. Guiboche: I have a letter here where our council—our city council—went to Ottawa to meet with Mr. Andras on the subject of housing when our Prime Minister put the freeze on funds and the cutback on housing and they came back with this report. There is nowhere in this report that I can see that there is going to be a development or a project going. All it states throughout the report is how they are going to try to get the Midland railways, how they are going to get the Midland railways—how much they are going to pay the Midland railways. Now, we have tried and the only answer that has been given was that they cannot through some kind of legislation—they cannot build a project unless that railway is taken away from there.

We gave suggestions to that—whether—where there are houses deteriorating to a

state of demolishing these premises, that they be demolished and adequate accommodation be built in that area instead of, as we stated in our brief, concentrating in heavy concentrated areas. People don't seem to like the idea of this and they feel like they are in some sort of concentration camp and especially the way these developments of this type are built. You have walls there that are eight feet high and there again is another point. People would like to see a neat little fence instead of these big brick walls. Having no recreational facilities for these areas, and all those bricks that go to waste in making these walls—that some sort of building could have been built and that building would have taken almost a block in size for all the waste that went in there. We call it waste, but I am not sure what the architects call it.

Mrs. McInnes: I think also that people that live in low-income housing still like to be part of the community and often in these large developments they tend to put them either on the outskirts or within their own community. I think they feel that they would like to remain part of the community in which they grew up and as I say, two or three houses are in a state of repair where they have to be demolished, I think it might be a better idea to demolish the two or three houses of say 150-foot frontage and build say some sort of short block of row-houses, approximately three or four right in that area. People in these low-income houses can live in the districts they have grown up in.

The Chairman: Well, that has always been the argument, particularly on behalf of the aged, and it is an argument that goes on all over the country every time we start an urban renewal project and the bulldozers go in and move people out and demolish these buildings.

Mrs. McInnes: Well, it could be done in a smaller scale throughout many districts so that people who are either on welfare or in subsidized housing don't feel there is a stigma on them because of this.

Mr. Guiboche: Mr. Chairman, we have answered a lot of questions. Could perhaps the Senate Committee answer a few of our questions?

The Chairman: Well, the Senate Committee is here to listen to you and we have listened to other people and we answer our questions when we make our report which is some distance away. We are not here to institute deci-

sions because we have to hear all there is to be heard all across Canada; so you will have to wait for our decision for some time yet.

Mr. Guiboche: Will this information—will you obtain this information for us and for the people that made the presentations?

The Chairman: What information?

Mr. Guiboche: What people achieve or what kind of a report you intend to submit.

The Chairman: Our investigations of poverty have just commenced. We have had a dozen or fifteen meetings and we will probably be meeting throughout the balance of the year and in 1970. We have to hear sixty or seventy large international groups and we have to hear from provincial governments and from municipal governments and we have to hear from all these people before we come to any conclusions or make any recommendations, so if you are looking for any immediate solution, it is not available to us. We will make a report and recommendations to the Government and the Government then deals with it.

Mr. Guiboche: Well, what I am getting at is after this report is finalized would some sort of committee or whatever it may be that would be dealing with these facts or information for the various groups or that the various groups have made in their representations—would you be able to let our association know how many of the points that we have mentioned or suggested are being put into effect?

The Chairman: All we can do is give you a copy of the report and you will see what was recognized and what was not. The points you make are being made in many parts of Canada, the same as your points are and they may think it's theirs that are being recognized and you may think that you are being recognized, but we will just have to deal with it on a total basis. You will have to read the report and we will be glad to send you a copy of it. We are certainly taking cognizance of what you are presenting to us and we agree with you that it is an important problem and we can assure you that we have heard parts of this before in many parts of Canada. We will also hear part of it in the next couple of days in Vancouver. We will hear the very same things you are telling us, so you will just have to wait. You not only have this type of problem in Winnipeg, it is in other parts of the country, as well, although it might be more acute in Winnipeg.

Mr. Guiboche: I would like to bring out another point. I see the Committee hasn't or couldn't get around to asking us about this problem which we feel is a major problem towards the tenants here in the city. This has to do with the Landlord and Tenants Act and we presented the Committee with copies of the Landlord and Tenants Act and nobody seems to be interested to have our points of view regarding the Landlord and Tenants Act.

The Chairman: Well, you heard evidence that there isn't a great deal that we can do. The Landlord and Tenants Act as an Act is a provincial Act. It is not a Federal Act. We can deal in housing and we can deal more generally with anything that has or is of a specific nature, but the Landlord and Tenants Act is purely within the realm of the Provinces.

Mr. Guiboche: We are stating in our brief that there should be one Federal Landlord and Tenants Act.

The Chairman: Well, I will tell you right now that you have a full-time job on your hands to sell that to the ten provinces.

Mr. Guiboche: Well, if they get the same reaction or protection from our present Act as we have, I don't think we will have no problems at all. I think they will be glad to accept our proposal.

The Chairman: Well, are you saying that you have a good Act or a bad Act?

Mr. Guiboche: Let me give you an example. On page 1050 of the Act where it states "exemptions". This is the only protection a tenant has and this is only when a bailiff has taken all of your goods as we have mentioned in our brief. This is what we are entitled to.

The Chairman: I think you will find that that section is similar to the sections in every Landlord and Tenants Act in Canada, if I recall it correctly. I haven't gone through all of the details and I can't remember each item, but I remember the Act very well and I am a lawyer and I practise it sometimes and I can tell you that the Act is essentially the same as it is in other provinces.

Mr. Guiboche: Yes, but this is about the only place where this Act refers to the people. We don't understand this Act the way that it's written and the language that it's written in and we are not lawyers, but we have asked lawyers to translate the Act for us in language we could understand. This has

been done and nowhere in the act does it say "tenant", and it seems to me the way we understood it, I mean the present Act, it talks about livestock, it talks about grain and in this Act—this Act must have been enacted as one person put it to us, in the days of Henry the Eighth. We can see that very clearly with regard to the very minor changes that have been made. The minor changes were made in 1960 and 1962 and 1958. Now, you can see by even the colour of these pages and the colour of this that this is very aged and probably when Winnipeg was incorporated in 1873 possibly this was when the Act was enacted. Possibly this was done when there were a lot of farmers around. Today, we have tenants and this is what we formed our Association for, to aid these people and to aid ourselves and since we are not getting these laws enforced such as the Public Health Act, the by-laws, the eating by-laws, that we found that the only solution possibly for this was to revise—get the Landlord and Tenants Act revised. If not revised, then make a separate Act for the tenants of this day and age.

Senator Hastings: In other words, you say the Act was written for the benefit of the landlords and not the tenants?

Mr. Guiboche: Right.

Senator Hastings: Yes, I would agree with you.

Mrs. McInnes: I was going to say that I think due to the fact that so many people are leaving the country and moving into the city, many of these people are possibly not very well educated and they just don't know their rights as far as being tenants. This, to me, is a major problem and it is a problem of educating people to what their rights are and what they can expect from their landlords. Anyone who has a copy of the Landlord and Tenants Act—very few people can understand it. I think that this is one major difficulty today.

Senator Everett: You stated earlier that you intended tomorrow to deal with the question of legal services in Manitoba on the brief that is to be given tomorrow morning. I hope you do deal with that because we would like to have the facts on the legal services and also the facts on how an individual can get the information.

The Chairman: This will be another committee that will be here tomorrow, but certainly we will tell them of your request.

Mrs. McInnes: On behalf of our group I would like to thank you very much for letting us appear before the Senate Committee and we hope it's of some use to you and in the future perhaps that you can help us.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. On behalf of the Committee, we are appreciative of the difficulties under which you work. The poor people—this is a sacrifice for you trying to organize other people who need help more than you do and this is a great mark of citizenship and a mark of decent people and it's one way we can learn of your ideas here and I am quite proud of the fact that witnesses come here for us and are able to talk in such knowledgeable terms, technical terms and very difficult problems, and it should be a great comfort to your people and to your organization.

I must say this to you. I think you understand what's in these various Acts and you bring it pretty close to home where a loud shout can be heard in the parliament buildings. That is the place to start your movement and continue it. We will pay attention, you can rest assured, because we have a very large problem before us and this is one segment, as important as it is, and so on behalf of the Committee I thank you and I thank the rest of you for coming along.

Tomorrow morning, we have a brief from Mother's Allowance. I would like to ask Senator Inman, a former member of the Board, and was for many years, and Senator McGrand to sit on that committee tomorrow morning.

From the Floor: Mr. Chairman, this lady has a question and so have I. First of all, you said about the report. Now, I am not associated with the Winnipeg Tenants Association, but I am quite interested to find out how long it will take the Senate Committee to prepare this report?

The Chairman: We don't expect to have it ready until the end of 1970. We have to see and hear other parts of the country as well.

From the Floor: The other part of the question is this. If there is immediate recommendations, are you going to wait until the end of 1970 or are you going to take action as they come up?

The Chairman: Well, we really have to deal with the total question of poverty. It will be the end of 1970 before we can look at the whole problem.

From the Floor: Is there a way the people in Winnipeg can communicate these immediate questions, suggestions and ideas to someone who will get it done before the end of '70?

The Chairman: For immediate attention you will have to communicate to your member of parliament, with your own provincial member of parliament and your own civic officials.

From the Floor: This is the question I had before and it's sort of a suggestion and sort of a question. It was mentioned in the brief that if the rest is raised—the landlord will raise the rent because he knows the Welfare Department will pay it or some landlord will rent only to welfare recipients because they know the welfare will pay. Has anybody ever approached the Welfare Department, and as I understand it they are financed by public funds, to withhold rent moneys that will be paid to make inadequate standard housing?

The Chairman: I can't tell you. We will probably hear something about that tomorrow morning.

From the Floor: Miss Valerie Bingeman of the North Winnipeg Office of the Manitoba Health and Social Service Department. I would like to make a small criticism and protest to this Committee. I object, generally speaking, to the format of this hearing. I feel that I really question whether you're here to hear these people. When you make statements and say things such as "I don't feel we are prepared to discuss the Act because this is a provincial act." You have no right to come here and tell the people what they are going to say. Your role is to sit and listen and to encourage them to see and I am not sure whether you realize the kind of intimidation that you are projecting—and particularly you, Senator Croll. I know for a fact, from talking to other people, that they are non too eager to appear before you. I would suggest that you make the environment a little bit more encouraging and generally accepting, rather than your very critical—and I don't feel very facilitating, and going to see these people and having any kind of rapport with them. I feel you are a little insincere.

The Chairman: Well, young lady, you have said what you had to say. I thought we had listened very attentively to everything that was said. I think the young lady here appreciated the fact that we had listened to them. It may not be your view, but they

are here and they both spoke their minds and we listened to them and after all, there is no use kidding them if they are off on the wrong track, they might as well know now some things that we can do and some things we cannot do. We are not here to fool anybody or be insincere with anybody and so we lay the cards on the table as we go along without trying to build up something in their own minds and their own hearts to feel that we are going to do things that we are unable to do. This is the place to say it rather than to disappoint them at a later stage.

Miss Valerie Bingeman: Yes, but I don't really feel in some cases that you are really prepared to listen to what they want to talk about.

The Chairman: You may not feel that way and of course that's quite your view, but we are here for that purpose and if you have no confidence in us, well, that is our fault—not yours.

Mr. Joe Beaver, Manitoba Metis Reservation: There have been two questions asked here regarding the operations of the present Senate Committee on Poverty. One was Mr. Tom Eagle who asked when the Senate Report would be complete and you said by the end of 1970. The young lady asked about what other means that might be available to people and I think you, Senator Croll, answered by saying that they should appeal to their members of parliament for some parallel action. Now, what I am wondering about and this is a very honest wonder on my part—I am not tending to be necessarily critical, but what exactly is the channel of legislation of a senate report on poverty? I recall that from 1957 to 1960 there was a joint Senate of the House and joint committee of the Senate of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs which sat from 1957 to 1960 and I am not aware up to this date whether any of the recommendations that were passed at that time have been implemented. They may have been. What will happen to this report after it is completed at the end of 1970? I am certain that all of the people who are giving briefs have come here with certain hopes in their heart that something will happen and I am just wondering what will happen?

The Chairman: The normal thing that happens is that the report is submitted to the Government and the Government then acts on the report in its wisdom and we hope, of course, we will be able to influence them that

they ought to act on the report and that is all I can tell you. That is the usual normal channel and that is why we were appointed to make the investigation and recommendations and that is the way it's done.

Mr. Beaver: Well, sir, you make certain recommendations and that is all the power that you have?

The Chairman: That is all the power that any committee has whether it's a Royal Commission, whether it's a Committee of the Senate or any other group. That is the normal practice.

Senator Everett: May I add, Mr. Chairman, that many of the Senate Committee's recommendations have resulted in legislation and very promptly.

The Chairman: Well, my colleague's report indicates to me that I should call to your attention the fact that in the last five or six years any of the Senate Committees' investigations have brought about some fruitful results.

We investigated first the matter of Manpower and from that came forth the Department of Manpower. We investigated—we had a committee deal with land use and ARDA(?) was the product of that. We had a committee deal with the truth in lending that became the law of the land—which all the finance companies now tell you they invented. We dealt with the question of the aging and investigation took us three years to do and from that came the guaranteed income for the Old Age Security people. We started the investigation on the cost of food and from that came the Department of Consumer Affairs which is doing its job now.

Senator Hastings: And there is a Committee on Divorce.

The Chairman: Oh yes. We are all members of the Committee that brought in the recommendations of divorce and that changed the law after 100 years, so our record isn't a bad one.

Mr. Tom Beaver: Sir, I would suggest that part of your effectiveness also runs parallel to the strength of the people and the people who are in the organizations such as these poor people and these people would like action on the other recommendations. It is quite possible that many of the recommendations that go to the House of Commons will become the law of the land.

The Chairman: Well, the reason for us going about the country which we are doing at the present time, is first to hear what people have to say and second to work up a public opinion in favour of it so pressure is brought to bear. As a matter of fact, most of the matters that I mentioned came as a result of pressures from the communities and from their citizens and from members of parliament and from the Senate. Particularly, that goes back to truth in lending and particularly with respect of food costs and that is the way this will work. This will work in the very same way.

From The Floor: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask if this committee here will be going into the rural areas?

The Chairman: Yes, we plan to go into some rural areas.

From the Floor: How soon?

The Chairman: I can't tell you how soon. We have quite a timetable and we have a great deal of work ahead of us. I can't tell you at this time. Thank you very much.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

BRIEF PRESENTED TO
SENATE ON POVERTY
By
MOUNT CARMEL CLINIC
On
NOVEMBER 18th, 1969

INTRODUCTION

1. Poverty is pervasive and all encompassing. It debilitates human dignity. It can destroy an individual's will to live as a human being.

No group suffers more than the poor. Medical authorities state that the poor have more heart disease, more rheumatoid arthritis, more unrehabilitated injury, more mental illness, more tuberculosis, more illness whether chronic or acute and higher death rates in all ages than do Canadians at large. Yet the more that is known about the treatment of any disorder, the greater the likelihood that this knowledge is not benefiting the poor.

Poor people are finding it increasingly difficult to provide essentials for themselves and their inevitably growing (often unwanted) families. Faced with problems of poor housing, inadequate clothing and empty refrigerators, this group is naturally susceptible to insurmountable problems that inevitably affect their health. Victims of their environment, these people must be helped both physically and socially—i.e. the whole family should be treated in the context of its environment. It is precisely this function that the Mount Carmel Clinic is performing in the community. With an integrated approach to the physical, emotional and social needs of these people, this Clinic offers a comprehensive total care family service. The Mount Carmel Clinic was founded in 1926.

Working in a unique team approach, doctors and nurses function together to provide this comprehensive care service. Once seen by the doctor, the patient's care is followed up by the nurse, who sooner or later becomes a confidante of the patient—a person who has the time to listen to their problems, be they financial or marital, etc.—a person who can represent them or refer them to the available agencies. Hence, an intimate atmosphere is prevalent in the Clinic which is fostered by his personalized and individualized attention. We see that in addition to immediate physical

needs, the patient is cared for emotionally and socially.

As the Clinic exists today, it offers a wide scope of services. These include:

- (1) Medical Services (examinations, treatments, surgery)
- (2) Dental Services
- (3) X-Ray Services
- (4) Laboratory Services
- (5) Family Planning Clinic
- (6) Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat Clinics
- (7) Immunization Clinics
- (8) Acne Clinics
- (9) Pharmacy
- (10) Group Counselling Services
- (11) A Day Hospital for medically neglected children

We feel that to function as a more effective and comprehensive Clinic and to serve the total family needs in the context of its environment, we propose the following:

- A. That an "adequate housing" service be instituted
- B. That an "emergency welfare fund" be made available
- C. That a legal department be established to advise those requiring its services
- D. That there be the utilization and training indigenous workers as health advocates
- E. That a day care facility be instituted
- F. That a domestic Police force be established to assist the abused wife and/or children
- G. That a corporate babysitting and homemaker service be made available to those requiring it.

2. STATEMENT OF POLICY OF MOUNT CARMEL CLINIC

2.1 The Clinic's avowed policy, being a family-oriented medical centre, is to provide total care to families.

What, in essence, is meant by that statement? Simply this—the Clinic seeks to serve the whole family, medically and emotionally, and promote better living conditions as a prerequisite for good health. We consider both as being inextricably connected with each other.

People who come to Mount Carmel Clinic find the struggle to survive too much and simply give up and drift aimlessly, indifferently and with a deep sense of failure and worthlessness.

The wife, often burdened by unwanted pregnancies and ultimately by numerous children, and having no support from the husband, sinks into stuperous indifference or ends up in a psychiatric ward. Such people require special treatment.

We have developed a doctor-nurse partnership which is indigenous to Mount Carmel Clinic and, to our knowledge, does not exist elsewhere. In this partnership, the nurse complements the role of the doctor. Patients who initially are seen by a doctor, examined, etc., have a need to communicate further and verbalize their many symptoms, often apparently totally unrelated.

A highly trained nurse is a continuous link between doctor, patient and the many agencies. After the patient's confidence is gained, the patient is able to unburden himself. The nurse, through her frequent and more intimate contact with the children and the parents on an on-going basis learns, directly or indirectly, a great deal more about the family than the doctor is able to during the rather formal visit. Often, the patient feels constrained to talk to the doctor, or is too embarrassed, or does not wish to impose, or is afraid of rebuffs. Admittedly, this requires a highly trained perceptive nurse who can establish empathy with the patient effortlessly.

Can this be achieved in a small clinic such as ours? Only in a small, intimate, clinic, where the general practitioner or internist plus a pediatrician are the pivots, consultants are used judiciously and dynamic use is made of highly trained registered nurses, can this be partially achieved. However, to truly serve the family as outlined above, a psychiatrist and a medical social worker plus other ancillary staff must be an integral part of such service.

2.2. Staff Programme in General

As stated elsewhere, our avowed policy is to give comprehensive care to the whole family on a personalized basis. Now Medicare makes it possible for the doctors to obtain part of the money paid for the patient's care, the judicious use of professional staff, such as registered nurses, is of the utmost importance. This cannot be stressed too strongly. It is

their role, not only as the ones to carry out treatment prescribed by the doctor, but as the link on a continuous basis between the doctor and the families served. They are involved in teaching, counselling, reassuring the anxious, allaying the fears of the apprehensive and generally assisting the patient to regain both mental and physical well being.

Group therapy for teenagers is a must, as we are increasingly confronted with disturbed, disillusioned, confused youngsters, whose achievement at school is a prelude to their role as a failure in adult life. Dropping out is inevitable. We must face the fact that families disintegrate, and more so in a situation where parents are beset by many problems. The most pressing is their inability to provide adequately for their growing children. These feel keenly their deprivations on all levels: economic, emotional (mostly lack of love) and an inability to find their niche in a socially acceptable way. This, of course, leads to deviant behaviour ending up in delinquency.

Prevention must be the keynote. Both medically and dentally and, in time, promotion of good mental health. If we can, in a small measure, bring serenity, understanding and a desire for self-help, we will have achieved a great triumph in preparing the not so "successful" individual and family in coping with this ever-increasing, demanding and confusing world of ours.

To do so, proper staff and, more important, an enlightened public opinion which can help finance such projects, is crucial in successful operation and achievement of the goals outlined.

The need for ancillary staff (social workers, family health workers, etc.) is more urgent than ever. More and more, we see families with multi-faceted problems. Alcoholism, desertion and delinquency have become common problems among our patients. They come with medical complaints, but are also burdened with numerous, almost unsolvable emotional and related problems, which poverty and deprivation produce.

The need for such staff is critical, if we are to carry out our program of giving total care to the entire family. A social worker, as part of the medical team, is of utmost importance and invaluable in assisting in the rehabilitation process of the total person.

2.3. Programme Information

The purpose of the Clinic is to provide people who are on low income and public

welfare with a medical and dental facility where they can be treated with concern, consideration, dignity, and above all genuine warmth and understanding. At the Clinic an individual or a family can have his own doctor whom he is free to consult. If surgery or an expert opinion is required, the patient is referred to one of the Clinic specialists who either performs surgery or consults with medical specialists of every kind. After treatment by a specialist, the patient returns to the Clinic for follow-up care by a general practitioner, internist or pediatrician. Thus continuity is maintained.

The care is provided on a personalised basis, with one doctor attending the patient consistently. Often the entire family is cared for by the same doctor. The Clinic also provides a follow-up service, contacting patients who are remiss in returning for tests and treatment. Because the Clinic emphasizes preventive care, patients are encouraged to seek medical attention in the early stages of a disease.

The methods of examination and diagnosis are similar to any small clinic. Facilities are available for X-rays, laboratory tests, etc. They were provided up until April, 1969, with no cost to the patient. Drugs and other treatments are still free.

3. MAJOR SERVICES AND ACTIVITIES

3.1. Technical

A) Dental

The dental services have been extended to include restorative dental care. The Clinic had long been giving a partial service to people who required dental care (extractions only), but with the acquisition of dental equipment, thanks to the generosity of the Winnipeg Kiwanis Club, a comprehensive dental clinic was opened in 1965.

Our particular area of concern is families in low income groups, who are struggling to maintain a measure of independence and dignity, but are not able to pay their dental bills. The neglect of teeth is most prevalent among such families. Since we opened, many teenagers have required and obtained partial and full dentures, who otherwise would just let their teeth rot in their mouths.

About twenty dentists were prepared to come once every six weeks. However, as they got busier, they were able to donate time very two or three months only. Some have stopped coming altogether.

During this critical period, much energy was directed towards recruiting new dentists. We met with some success, but the dilemma has grown with the enormous increase in demand for dental services. We now have a patient waiting list in excess of one thousand, six hundred persons.

It is an unhappy situation to be compelled to advise these people that the Clinic is unable to offer any help.

Some weeks the Clinic has the services of dentists for three one-half days, which we greatly appreciate, other weeks none at all. At a recent meeting with officers of the Dental Association, they proposed informally that the Clinic would be able to obtain dentists if we could cover the cost of "out of office" expense.

Dr. Bernstein, who has been on our advisory staff as an orthodontist since the dental clinic's inception, is now directing our Orthodontic Clinic. He had assured our Dental Committee it would not be costly to the Clinic. The Kiwanis Club of Winnipeg have underwritten any expenses incurred for the children treated. Also many instruments were donated. It appears that the costly part of orthodontistry is the doctor's time which, of course, Dr. Bernstein is donating.

B) X-Ray

All X-rays required by the doctors, except barium work, are taken at the Clinic. Films are interpreted by doctors. Colon and gastric X-rays are done at Drs. Kiernan, Elliott, Boulton and Associates, since this type of examination requires the presence of a radiologist and special additional equipment. Hence, patients are sent to the radiologists' office for that purpose.

C) Laboratory

All tests which assist the doctor in arriving at proper diagnosis are done at the Clinic, all under the watchful eyes of a Haematologist.

Electrocardiograms are taken, when requested, by attending doctors. The tracings are interpreted by cardiologists who are on staff at the Clinic.

3.2. Doctor Assistance and Follow-Up

a) Physical examination by qualified doctors—a daily activity. Minor accidents are treated by the attending physician, or when he is unavailable, by the doctor "on call". Service in this category includes the treatment of burns, cuts requiring suturing and the application of casts.

b) Treatments include any and all services rendered to the patient after a diagnosis has been made, such as infra-red, ultraviolet-rays, dressings, fomentations, baths, shampoos (hair with lice and nits), scabbiol treatments, burns, application of casts, etc. Injections for anaemia and upper respiratory or viral infections and local ulcer treatments to adults are also given. (Venereal disease).

c) Major Surgery and Hospital Care

When a patient requires major surgery after diagnostic tests have been made, our surgeons perform these in a hospital. Often both surgeon and referring doctor visit the patient in the hospital.

After discharge, the patient is advised to return to the Clinic for further care. Continuity is thus established between patient and doctors; the patient truly feels that he or she has his or her own doctor. This is most important to all of us, but particularly to those in low incomes.

Similar practice is followed when a patient has to be admitted to a hospital for medical reasons, often both Internist and the Clinic doctor care for the patient jointly. The following specialists are involved:—

Internists, Surgeons, Gynecologists, Obstetricians, Ophthalmologists, Orthopedists, Ear, Nose & Throat Specialists, Dermatologists, Cardiologists, Pediatricians, Urologists, etc., etc.

d) Pre-Natal and Post-Natal Care

Patients receive pre-natal care at the Clinic and their babies are delivered in a hospital by the doctors who look after them during pregnancy. Special consideration is given to unmarried mothers.

Patients are encouraged to return for post-natal care and to bring their babies for frequent examination.

e) Eye Clinic

Once every two or three weeks. Attended by an ophthalmologist who examined eyes, does refraction and surgery when required.

f) Ear, Nose and Throat Clinic

Attended by a specialist once every two or three weeks. He examines and treats patients who have special problems with ear, nose and throat. Many such patients require surgical procedures, e.g. tonsillectomies, nasal operations, etc.

g) Immunization

Immunization is available daily to mothers who bring their children for that purpose.

h) Camp Examinations

Indigent children who require a medical certificate prior to going to summer camp can obtain medical examinations and certificates at the Clinic. Many organizations which run summer camps have utilized this service.

i) Pre-Marital Blood Tests

Young people requiring blood tests for marriage purposes can receive this service free of charge. Information regarding birth control is given on request.

j) Acne Clinic

Many youngsters, especially in the four schools surrounding the Clinic, have severe skin conditions on their faces known as acne. We have made a special effort to treat this, with singular success. Such children suffer miserably and are unable to cope when their faces suddenly become covered with pimples.

k) Interviews with Patients

As mentioned elsewhere, the type of patient who comes to the Clinic is not only seeking medical or dental aid, but is often beset by many problems, notably economic and emotional. These problems are often so acute that they bedevil the issue and make it difficult for the doctor to make a valid diagnosis. Many require psychiatric treatment.

However, others simply seek to unburden themselves and have habitually sought the attention of the Executive Director.

Wherever possible, contact is made with other agencies, such as the Children's Aid Society, the City Welfare Department, the Family Bureau, etc., if the patient is already involved with these agencies. In this regard the Clinic staff works co-operatively with these agencies to benefit the patient.

3.3. Family Planning and Pharmacy

a) Family Planning Clinic

Birth control advice and aids are given to women with whom we are in frequent contact to make sure that they are following instructions properly and a detailed record is kept of each woman's reactions to the "pill".

We are continuing to be involved in Research Project to ascertain what, if any side effects are to be found from different birth control pills.

Five gynecologists, as well as general practitioners, participate in this programme and attend the Clinic every Friday, in rotation. Every woman is thoroughly examined before

being instructed regarding birth control, and a cancer smear is taken. As a result of such examinations, some women have been found to have cancer of the cervix. Surgery was performed and all are doing well. This Family Planning programme is a growing, dynamic, part of the Clinic work and promises to be of great service to people who need it most.

b) Consultation re Birth control

This is a distinct service which has arisen as a result of our Family Planning Clinic. Endless hours are spent by the nurse in charge, or the Executive Director, in explaining and re-explaining methods of birth control. This is to allay fears, encourage the timid and convince husbands to allow their wives to rest from burdensome pregnancies. In this area, a well-trained medical social worker could play a vital role as part of the medical team, or perhaps a special registered nurse with social work experience, or one with a Public Health Certificate would be useful.

c) Pharmacy

Drugs are provided at no cost, or where feasible, at a nominal fee. This service constitutes one of the most expensive single items.

3.4. General Information (Non-Departmental)

a) Group Counselling

A group, consisting mainly of women was set up two years ago. These patients have marital problems or are deserted wives. This discussion group is guided by a social worker from the School of Social Work of the University of Manitoba, and the Executive Director.

The aim of this group is to make it possible for the participants to face their problems realistically, and eventually to do something about them. It is easier for individual members of the group to carry through decisions, since they feel that the group as a whole is backing them.

This has been, to date, an exciting experiment which bodes well for the future. What has so far transpired that is so exciting is that members of the group not only have forgotten about their own problems in their desire to help each other, but have also become interested in applying for jobs as welfare workers.

The self-help has sometimes consisted of members offering their homes to other members of the group who are in great distress and need temporary sanctuary.

The approach is pragmatic, realistic and the hope is that eventually many of them will act responsibly, not only to help themselves, but others as well.

b) Our Aim

The Clinic is a dynamic, changing health resource. Our aim, among others, is to continue the high standard of service and raise these standards wherever possible within our frame of reference. To do so, we must be flexible to meet the changing needs of society. The changes, in turn, affect the human being who is constantly beset by new pressures, new demands, new anxieties. This is especially trying and sometimes disastrous for the economically and emotionally deprived in our community. Our task, above all else, is to assist in mending their broken health so that they can at least function within the limits of their environment.

4. CONCLUSION

To do the most effective job for a community, a medical clinic such as Mount Carmel should offer not only health care but sociological and economic services. Some of these services may be performed by volunteers, but many require professional and trained personnel.

Using Mount Carmel Clinic as an immediate example, we now provide medical, dental and a limited counselling service including group therapy. In addition to expanding these present services, we feel that the total family needs required by the underprivileged or economically depressed should literally be met under one roof.

We recommend the following services as those essential to a total need community health care clinic:—

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Full medical care, including specialist services.

2. Drugs and medications available in accordance with the patient's ability to pay.

3. Complete dental care, including restorative work.

4. Ophthalmological services and prescriptions for glasses.

5. Day hospital care for children and adults who require supervision from a medical faculty in the application of medications and other forms of treatment and who are able to return home at night.

6. Family planning services, including examination, prescriptions, advice and counselling.

7. An adequately staffed counselling program for anyone with marital, premarital or other personal problems.

8. Group therapy programs for deserted wives, predelinquent and delinquent youngsters and persons with other problems who can be helped through supervised group interaction and collective support.

9. Emergency financial assistance service until such time as the family is able either to support itself or make other arrangements for support.

10. Legal aid program with legal services available, either on the Clinic's premises or in the lawyers' offices, as required. People living in poverty are constantly at loggerheads with the law. Be it delinquency by the young, alcoholism, or just a deserted wife requiring advice, a legal department should be there ready to assist in that area.

11. Housing registry and assistance in adequate home finding. Many of our patients live in high-priced inferior housing and very often they are forced to vacate and are unable to find new quarters. With our philosophy of health being indivisible, and that sending a family back to their draughty, rat-ridden home is not a good health practice, we submit that the Clinic inevitably has to be concerned with obtaining and assisting people to find decent housing.

12. Clinic trained health advocates who would promote, insure and protect the total health needs of families.

13. Examples of other required services which could be located in central community facilities outside of the Clinic:—

(a) Temporary babysitting service available on short notice when parent must be absent for a short period in an emergency situation.

(b) Homemaker service—to work in conjunction with the Clinic.

(c) Immediate liaison facility with police personnel who are specially trained for domestic situations that require police action. There is no protection for women, especially the poor, who have been brutally beaten and mistreated by their husbands. The police can only admonish, since legally the husband is in his own home. Often the husband, drunk and vicious, continues to pummel the wife after the police leave until tragedy

ensues. We suggest that a Domestic Police force, trained in handling such situations, with an enlightened staff educated in psychology, sociology and governed by special laws be instituted to save such women from permanent harm.

14. Supervised Play Area

An area should be put aside for children waiting with their mothers to see the doctor. A similar area should be made available for mothers to leave their children for therapeutic reasons in order to give the mother a day away from her children. This should be *in no way considered a day nursery*.

In conclusion, the promotion of good health cannot be fully effective without the simultaneous promotion of total welfare requirements. Such services must not be cluttered with red tape and virtual barriers to those who require this help and because of that very need do not know, or care, about all the referrals and various agencies presently involved. This has been effectively illustrated in the recommendations of the Social Audit of Winnipeg which recommends that all such services be coordinated under one roof.

Mount Carmel Clinic, the pioneer of this comprehensive care scheme, is no longer alone in this concept. Within the last four years clinics with similar services and philosophy have been springing up in the United States. Of particular note are the clinics recently established in the Watts area of Los Angeles and the noted Montefiore Clinic in the Bronx, New York. Interest in this total care concept has also been displayed by the School of Medicine, University of Manitoba. Dr. E. G. Brownell, eminent Cardiologist, Professor of Medicine and Director of Ambulatory Care of the University Clinics, stated at a recent lecture:—

“Concepts regarding comprehensive and community health care are at the present time being evolved and defined largely at Neighbourhood Health Centres and we have one of the best Neighbourhood Health Centres on the continent here at the Mount Carmel Clinic”.

To reiterate, our concept of the ideal community service role for Mount Carmel Clinic

ic—and similar facilities that may follow—is
TOTAL FAMILY SERVICES FOR THE
POOR UNDER ONE ROOF.

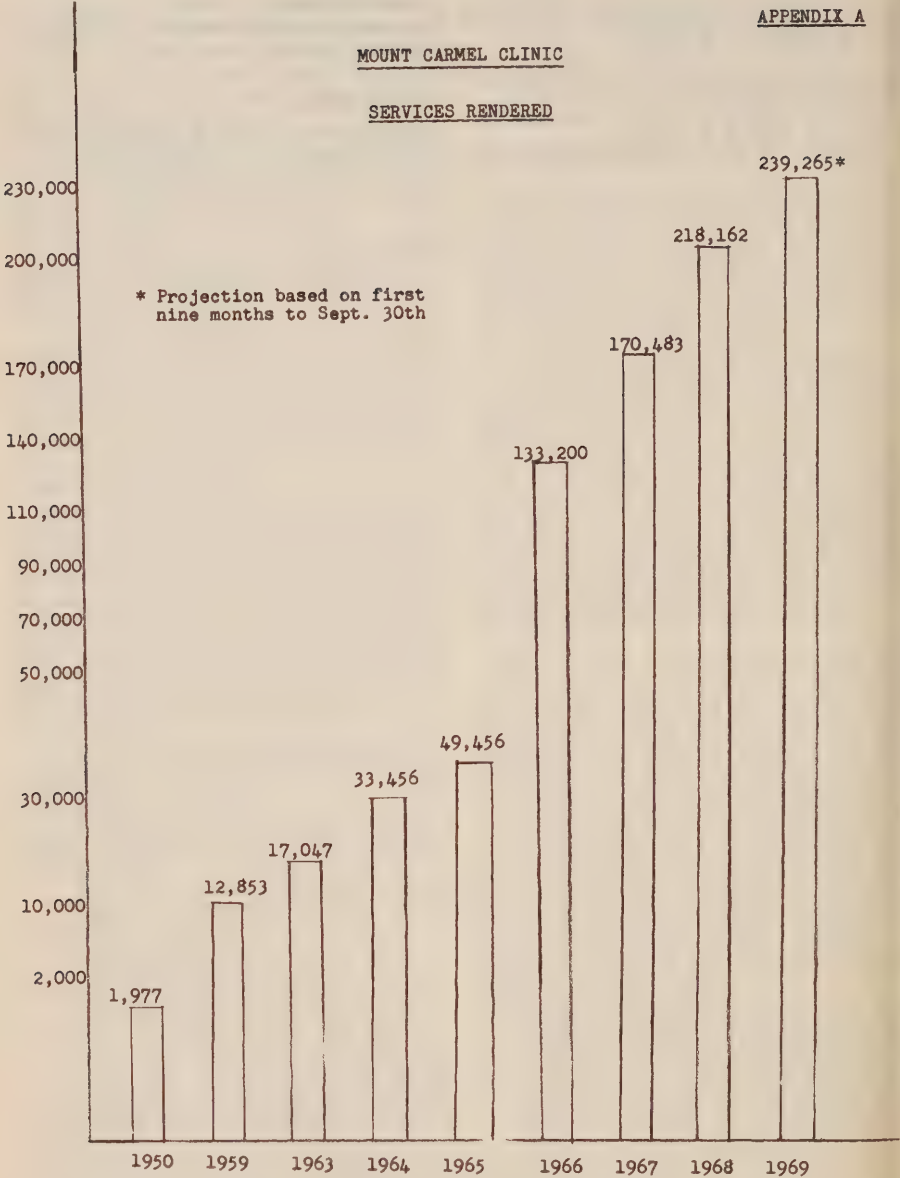
Respectfully submitted this 18th day of
November, 1969,

Anne G. Ross, R.N., R.T.,
Executive Director of Mount Carmel Clinic.

Bill Trebilcoe,
Broadcaster/Report, Member of Board of
Directors, Mount Carmel Clinic.

Renee Israels,
Member of Board of Directors, Mount
Carmel Clinic.

MOUNT CARMEL CLINIC
SERVICES RENDERED



	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1. MEDICAL AND NURSING CARE												
Patient visits.....	1,091	1,078	1,091	112	1,138	1,131	1,174	1,091	1,360	1,323	1,288	1,096
Medical examinations*.....	896	870	837	90	321	832	650	551	485	604	586	599
Interviews with nurses.....	1,112	937	1,230	91	967	1,360	1,471	1,454	1,144	1,842	1,932	1,644
Treatments.....	291	218	960	720	1,640	2,009	2,701	155	437	377	548	300
Hospital admissions and Con-												
sultations with specialists....	116	221	196	196	234	189	202	236	138	129	163	78
Confinements, surgical cases,												
etc.....	15	25	24	36	26	16	7	4	7	19	16	24
Home visits, nurses and social												
workers.....	89	82	111	81	42	24	17	19	46	54	30	32
TOTAL.....	2,714	3,615	3,615	3,020	4,047	4,729	5,572	2,959	3,132	3,744	3,967	3,174
2. FAMILY PLANNING AND PHARMACY												
Prescriptions.....	1,034	860	1,087	1,237	1,228	1,339	1,013	1,490	980	1,923	1,888	1,903
Interviews re: Birth Control												
information and aids.....	1,279	1,444	1,764	1,579	1,994	2,216	2,020	2,134	2,813	2,686	2,727	3,057
TOTAL.....	2,313	2,304	2,851	2,816	3,222	3,555	3,033	3,624	3,793	4,609	4,615	4,960
3. DENTAL												
Patient Visits and Examinations	157	170	93	21	90	114	198	132	125	195	142	117
Fillings, Extractions, X-rays,	176	172	132	54	606	853	772	593	672	784	654	649
Orthodontia, etc.....												
TOTAL.....	333	342	225	75	696	967	880	725	797	979	796	766
4. DAY HOSPITAL												
No. of Patients.....	283	270	210	204	175	182	222	283	302	290	230	228
No. of Treatments.....	2,947	2,779	1,767	2,120	1,508	1,783	2,486	3,152	3,046	3,036	2,657	2,280
Diagnostic Procedures.....	566	457	303	303	290	352	393	552	572	490	406	446
Home Visits.....	30	37	27	12	81	122	112	47	56	91	144	189
TOTAL.....	3,826	3,543	2,307	2,639	2,054	2,439	3,213	4,034	3,976	3,907	3,437	3,143
5. TECHNICAL												
A. X-Rays and E.K.G.'s, etc....	145	127	120	95	88	89	62	51	74	114	103	100
B. Laboratory, Blood Chemis-												
try, etc.....	882	976	1,172	986	748	1,449	1,097	973	935	1,071	1,107	1,050
C. Diagnostic Aids.....	2,278	3,197	2,727	2,929	2,110	2,437	2,107	2,328	2,507	2,701	2,634	2,383
TOTAL.....	158	123	109	106	186	194	220	222	247	194	273	233
6. EVENING ACTIVITY												
Group Therapy.....												
Evening Family Planning.....												
TOTAL.....	158	123	109	106	186	194	220	222	247	194	290	258

ANALYSIS OF SERVICES—1968 (Concluded)

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
7. GENERAL INFORMATION (NON-DEPARTMENTAL)												
Phone Calls re medical problems, etc.....	2,101	1,987	2,695	2,985	3,224	3,960	4,265	4,155	4,105	4,050	3,450	3,750
New Patients**.....	140	141	131	131	136	127	122	172	149	165	157	143
Wellfare Patients**.....	130	493	492	508	452	273	302	306	214	348	430	502
TOTAL.....	2,101	1,987	2,695	2,985	3,224	3,960	4,365	4,155	4,105	4,050	3,450	3,750
TOTAL SERVICES PER MONTH.....	14,750	15,160	15,821	15,699	16,375	19,819	20,549	19,071	19,566	21,369	20,399	19,584
TOTAL PATIENT VISITS PER MONTH.....	1,812	1,905	1,743	1,687	1,816	1,813	1,882	1,616	2,074	2,141	1,892	1,814

TOTAL SERVICES FOR THE YEAR 218,162.

TOTAL PATIENT VISITS FOR THE YEAR 22,195.

* Included in total elsewhere

** Not included in total (Number 7)

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1. MEDICAL AND NURSING CARE												
Patient visits.....	1,350	1,292	1,431	1,318	1,436	1,151	1,305	1,296	1,338			
Medical examinations*.....	710	797	840	729	694	618	725	653	782			
Interviews with nurses.....	2,025	1,938	2,146	2,057	1,961	1,726	1,957	1,944	2,007			
Treatments.....	296	300	304	270	248	207	153	327	200			
Hospital admissions and consultations with specialists....	119	136	130	12	7	15	33	14	12			
Confinements, surgical cases, etc.	22	20	6	38	37	28	31	25	26			
Home visits—nurses and social workers.....	18	18	18	10	8	4	2	1	2			
TOTAL.....	3,830	3,704	4,035	3,705	3,697	31,31	3,481	3,607	4,367			
2. FAMILY PLANNING AND PHARMACY												
Prescriptions.....	1,611	1,479	1,608	1,489	1,464	1,207	1,233	1,169	1,278			
Interviews re: birth control information and aids.....	2,862	2,954	2,702	2,019	2,042	2,011	1,992	2,042	1,945			
TOTAL.....	4,473	4,433	4,310	3,508	3,506	3,218	3,225	3,211	3,223			
3. DENTAL												
Patient visits and examinations	136	94	160	161	400	100	487	455	253			
Fillings, extractions, x-rays, orthodontia, etc.....	661	485	746	525	450	703	161	166	708			
TOTAL.....	797	579	906	686	850	803	648	621	961			
4. DAY HOSPITAL												
No. of patients.....	222	195	205	226	236	448	272	253	264			
No. of treatments.....	2,289	1,996	2,449	2,229	2,185	2,671	2,830	2,086	2,890			
Diagnostic procedures.....	432	366	402	397	414	576	531	401	494			
Home visits.....	130	119	150	111	89	129	184	129	126			
TOTAL.....	3,073	2,676	3,206	2,963	2,924	3,824	3,817	3,269	3,774			
5. TECHNICAL												
A. X-rays, and E.K.G.'s, etc...	24	144	177	157	132	78	93	89	49			
B. Laboratory, blood chemistry, etc.....	987	1,054	1,215	824	820	622	889	811	1,075			
C. Diagnostic aids.....	2,898	2,903	3,123	2,953	3,168	2,644	2,919	2,987	3,182			
TOTAL.....	3,909	4,101	4,515	3,939	4,120	3,344	3,901	3,878	4,306			

ANALYSIS OF SERVICES—1969 (Incomplete) (Concluded)

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
6. EVENING ACTIVITY												
Group therapy.....	214	262	270	270	250	150	130	292	315			
Evening family planning Clinic.	40	37	60	53	43	38	50	48	54			
TOTAL.....	254	299	330	323	293	188	180	320	369			
7. GENERAL INFORMATION (Non-DEPARTMENTAL)												
Phone calls re medical problems, etc.....	3,525	3,575	3,353	2,989	2,550	3,065	3,165	3,240	3,343			
New patients**.....	169	171	154	128	124	92	148	147	145			
Welfare patients**.....	515	473	460	404	382	350	404	330	344			
TOTAL.....	3,525	3,575	3,353	2,989	2,550	3,065	3,165	3,240	3,832			
TOTAL SERVICES PER MONTH.....	19,861	19,367	20,655	18,113	17,940	17,573	18,417	18,146	20,050			
TOTAL PATIENT VISITS PER MONTH.....	1,748	1,618	1,856	1,758	2,365	1,887	2,244	2,324	2,262			

TOTAL SERVICES FOR THE YEAR

TOTAL PATIENT VISITS FOR THE YEAR

* Included in total elsewhere

** Not included in total number 7

APPENDIX "B"

To: The Chairman, Senate Committee on Poverty

From: The Stony Mountain Native Brotherhood, Manitoba Penitentiary November 10, 1969

Sirs:

In this brief we:

1. clarify the meaning of "poverty" as we define it,
2. review some of the manifestations of poverty in terms of the above definition,
3. reiterate some of the effects and consequences of poverty upon the lives of people living in such circumstances,
4. attempt to determine to our satisfaction "the reasons why" poverty is perpetuated, and
5. tender suggestions to be considered by the Senate Committee on Poverty, which suggestions may be incorporated into any reports and/or future government policy statements.

This brief was prepared in consultation with those members of the Stony Mountain Native Brotherhood who wished to contribute their ideas. The purpose of the brief was outlined, and a group discussion centering upon poverty was held at a general meeting (October 29, 1969) of the Native Brotherhood. The comments of the participants were tape-recorded and these were edited the following day. In addition, each participant was asked to write a reply to a brief questionnaire. Ideas from both sources have been incorporated into the present brief.

Consideration of the question of poverty entailed the use of the following broad areas of living as guidelines:

- Economics
- Education
- Social and Recreational Facilities
- Health and Dental Care
- Religion
- Politics

These guidelines were used in both the group discussion and the questionnaire, and were considered further under subheadings as shown in Appendix I.

We wish to remind the honorable committee that we have prepared this brief by approaching the question from the "Indian"

(and Metis) point of view; nevertheless, we are aware that poverty recognizes no cultural, ethnical, nor racial barriers, and that the native people have no monopoly on indigence.

We submit this brief with the realization too that other groups and individuals may be making similar observations and recommendations. However, we feel that repetition in this instance is not redundant, since such similarity may assist the Committee in identifying problems that are common to people living in poverty, regardless of their geographical location.

1. Definition of Poverty:

In addition to the dictionary definition of poverty, distinction is made between being *poor* and living in *poverty*. Within our frame of reference, both terms are defined as they pertain to the financial standing of the individual or family. Being *poor* denotes that the person(s) in question has or earns just enough money to provide him and his dependents with the necessities of life. A poor person can afford few if any luxuries.

Poverty on the other hand, denotes life at a level where the person(s) cannot afford even the bare necessities of life, and where he cannot subsist without financial or material aid from other individuals, groups, or organizations. Within our terms of reference, we conceive of poverty at all its various stages which include want, destitution, indigence, and penury.

Such definitions are made as they pertain to contemporary life: we do not deal with poverty as it existed during, for example, the Great Depression when the majority of people were poor, with a great many living in poverty. We deal with the topic as it exists today, where the majority of the population has adequate income, but where there is a minority of people living in a state of poverty.

2. Manifestation of Poverty:

Manifestations of poverty were recounted by the respondents as they have witnessed or experienced poverty. These were dealt with under the headings and subheadings as shown above.

ECONOMICS:

"Economics", in reference to financial status, occupies this first position and is dealt with at length because we feel it is an accept-

ed fact of modern life that all other areas of living are affected, and more or less regulated by a person's financial standing.

Housing:

The homes of the poverty-stricken are usually found to be in a dilapidated condition, with broken windows, leaky roofs, unpainted interiors and exteriors, uncovered flooring, and so on. In rural areas in particular, such homes are usually draughty and difficult to heat in winter.

The heating systems, especially in rural areas, are obsolete and usually inadequate. Wood is burned in space heaters or outdated kitchen ranges.

Again in rural areas especially, there is a lack of modern sanitary facilities: no indoor toilet and bath, no modern laundry facilities. The problem is compounded by the lack of a safe, sanitary water supply. Water has to be hauled from a distance, or be obtained from nearby open bodies of water.

Generally there is no modern house-cleaning equipment, and no suitable modern food-storage equipment.

Homes of the poor are usually overcrowded. There is rarely a division of living, dining, and sleeping quarters, especially in rural areas. There is an utter lack of privacy, and no room for a school pupil or student to study properly.

In rural areas, many of the homes are not supplied with electricity.

Food:

Usually there is an insufficient amount of food to eat. The poverty-stricken subsist on a very imbalanced diet. There is a disproportionate amount of starchy foods in relation to protein and vitamin foods such as vegetables and fruit.

The lack of food often entails the substitution of one food for another; eg: the use of lard instead of butter or margarine.

A paradox exists too in that the cost of living is increased for the poverty-stricken in relation to the middle class because the very poor are unable to save money by buying food in large lots. Lack of suitable storage facilities prevents lot-purchases also. Lack of money on hand does not permit the poor to take advantage of any sales or specially-reduced prices as often as those who are better off. Moreover, even when money is available, the

actual buying of food includes many ill-chosen purchases.

Clothing:

Usually there is a lack of suitable clothing; often the dress is unseasonable. Clothing is often patched or torn. There is a lack of modern equipment for repairs to clothing, or for dress-making. There is a similar lack of modern laundry facilities.

Handling of Money:

Poverty-stricken people of course rarely have a savings or other bank account. Investment, and the purchase of stocks and bonds is nil.

Household budgeting or planned spending is rare; most money that comes into the hands of the very poor is spent quickly, in order to satisfy the immediate goals of staying alive.

Employment or Work Situation:

Limitations on types of work a person is involved with and the lack of job opportunities generally, exist because of inadequate training or skill. The impoverished are usually limited to types of jobs that are considered to be inferior: laboring, farmwork, garbage-collecting, etc. Much of the work is seasonable.

Mechanization is diminishing the number of jobs available for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and those who are displaced find that their skills are no longer in demand.

Much of the work mentioned above provides insufficient wages when considered in relation to the rising cost of living.

Very poor people are not so likely, on the average, to "stick to their jobs".

EDUCATION:

Many of the people living in poverty are poorly educated; few of them have succeeded in completing high-school; few have any technical training.

The lack of academic and technical training prevents a worker from finding another job if he is "replaced by a machine", or if his present skill is no longer required.

It is felt that young people who come from poverty-stricken families form a disproportionate number of school "dropouts", in comparison to other segments of the population especially in the lower grades. (This is born out in John Porter's *Vertical Mosaic*, Table XIX to XXII incl., pp. 180, 181, and 184) Rela

tively few succeed in completing high school, and very few attain education at the university level.

SOCIAL and RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES:

Family social and recreational activities are rare. There is little participation in individual or organized sports. There is a lack of suitable equipment for sports activities—especially for children. Attendance at social functions such as dances, or picnics, or even going to the movies, especially as a family group, is very irregular.

The very poor rarely if ever attend any shows, displays, exhibits, or exhibitions, which are considered "cultured", such as live stage shows, ballet, opera, and so on. Involvement with any of the creative arts, except for guitar and fiddle playing of music with a plaintive note, is practically nil. There is little or no participation in service groups or clubs.

"Cultural" or educational books are rarely read. Slick and pulp magazines and pocket books of inferior quality, format, and content forms the main body of reading material for the very poor. Newspapers are not generally subscribed to, but are bought on an irregular basis.

Drinking of alcoholic beverages is the main form of entertainment or social activity.

HEALTH and DENTAL CARE:

Due to imbalanced diet, irregular sleeping habits, and lack of sanitation, the younger people—infants and children—are susceptible to a variety of illnesses and diseases. The infant mortality rate among the uneducated poverty-stricken is greater than that among the other segments of the population. Medical attention is not sought so readily, and is not so accessible to the poverty-stricken.

With regard to dental care, because of poor personal hygiene, and because of a high percentage of starch and sugar (in the form of candy and other sweets) in the diet, teeth of this group tend to be in very poor condition. Early dental treatment is not generally sought.

The impoverished tend to have large families: there is little information provided with regard to birth-control, and afterward, with child care.

SOME EFFECTS and CONSEQUENCES of POVERTY:

The lack of material objects and sufficient food over long periods of time not only gives

rise to physical discomforts but also affects psychological and sociological development. Besides actual hunger and the accompanying undernourishment, malnutrition, and generally poor health and dental problems, all of which may contribute to an untimely death, there are adverse psychological effects which influence the whole life and lifestyle of the individual.

There is often a breakdown of the family because of the undue tensions and unhappiness which results from living in poverty. The father for example may abandon the family out of sheer desperation and frustration. Poverty generates a feeling of inferiority through loss of self-respect and pride; a sense of shame in not having sufficient material things develops, especially in the young people.

These feelings, combined with boredom and aggressiveness unreleased through sports activities or other accepted channels, very often lead to *juvenile delinquency and crime*, and other socially unacceptable behaviour. Often, the norms and values of the larger segment of society are rejected, along with legally constituted authority, which the impoverished feel is being imposed upon them by people other than their "own kind". Moreover, a deep desire to have the "things other people have" may contribute to a person's entry into crime. This course may be taken because the person may not be aware of alternate ways of obtaining money to purchase these material possessions which other classes have.

Further, those who are not employed may be ignorant of ways to obtain job training. With lack of skill and training, many job opportunities are closed to them. For those who are employed, monotonous, tedious, ill-paying jobs do not inspire them to maintain long-term and steady employment.

The heads of the families living in poverty, as it has been pointed out, do not often have a great degree of education. With this lack of schooling, it is very difficult for the parents to see the value of education for their children. The children are not encouraged to go far in school, and often they quit at an early age in order to work (also at "unskilled" jobs) and contribute financially to the upkeep of their families in an effort to improve their level of living. These drop-outs in turn become part of the uneducated poor; part of the proverbial "vicious circle" from which there seems to be no escape.

Poor or poverty-stricken people have little political power. They feel helpless and frustrated in the face of the "system". They often give up hope of ever changing anything that affects their lives and a lack of unity and a lack of aggressiveness—of a will to "fight for their rights"—is especially obvious in this area.

"WHY" is POVERTY PERPETUATED?

No doubt there are other "causes" for the continuation of poverty than those pointed out in the following pages. There is no one cause that gives rise to such a complicated problem as we are discussing, and each of those outlined below is intertwined with all the others.

The first "cause" for poverty that comes to mind, of course, is the lack of sufficient money for the purchase of the basic necessities of life. The question that follows is: Why can enough money *not* be obtained over a period of time so that the family, or at least the children can move from this environment into a more affluent one? We feel that the answer to this question lies in the word "environment".

It is a sociologically accepted premise that the child must *learn* how to function as a person from those around him, through a process known as socialization. Through socialization, the child learns not only how to carry out the physical aspects of dressing, feeding, and otherwise caring for himself, but he learns as well the attitudes of those with whom he is in daily contact, and adopts these attitudes for himself. The primary socializing agent is the family, and it is from the family members, be they natural or foster parents or siblings, that he learns his work habits, how to express himself, how to act in given situations, how to act toward other people, indeed, it is from the family that he learns (adopts) his entire outlook on life.

Now, if the parent sets a poor example with regard to work habits, for instance, it is likely that the child will have similar poor work habits. If he is raised in a dirty, untidy, ill-kept household, he will not likely be inclined to go out of his way to learn how to keep his own things clean and well-cared for. Such examples could be recited at length, but we shall limit our discussion to a few more which bear out our point with regard to socially-unacceptable behaviour. The child learns to mistrust and be suspicious of other people, especially those from other classes. He

learns to think of himself as inferior, as unworthy. He learns to display his resentment of others and his anger through physical aggression. And, if it has been the case that his family has subsisted on "welfare" payments, he learns to think that he can get something for nothing.

And if it is true that the poor child learns his attitudes from his family, it is equally true that the child from the "middle class" learns his attitudes in similar fashion. This child learns to shun those who are not so well-off as he; to be contemptuous of the poor; to scorn those who do not work, even if there is a cause for their not working. As these children grow up, the lines of class distinction and discrimination harden.

So it is that even when an impoverished person tries to better his lot, he is not accepted by those from the higher classes. He meets with discrimination in housing and in the field of employment. He meets with a condescending attitude in those who are supposed to be helping him, such as doctors who are working for clinics, secretaries who are working for government agencies, field social workers, and so on. If the poor man does come into some money, by whatever means, and tries to move up to a higher class, it is often the case that he does not know how to behave in the different environment. He experiences a great degree of discomfort in this different social circle, and longs to return to his "own kind".

To return to the question of financial standing, the poverty-stricken person must spend his meagre income to satisfy his immediate needs; he has no money left to start a saving or other bank account; he is not able to invest his "extra money" in stocks or bonds. He has no money to start a business of his own, and because of his background, no one will lend him money for such purpose (or for any other purpose!)

Even the matter of getting a high level of education is affected by both the lack of money and class distinction. (See Porter's *Vertical Mosaic*) It will be noted that the largest percentage of university students come from those families whose parent is in an occupation with high status and high income. The smallest percentage comes from the low income group. This paradox of the richer obtaining many more benefits than the poor extends into almost all aspects of life.

Also, the lack of money and class distinction prevents the impoverished from joining

any of the service or social clubs and organizations to which the rich have access. Even the churches follow lines of class and status in the community.

Such discrimination simply adds to the feeling of inadequacy and frustration which the poverty-stricken already suffer. With the utter feeling of hopelessness, very often the heads of the family turn to the solace of excessive consumption of alcohol, which is, as he sees it, about the only form of recreation and social activity that is left to him. Drinking does serve this purpose of giving the person some measure of social life, and helps him to forget for a little while his status in life. But this only compounds the situation; when he does get a few cents which might possibly be saved for the future, he spends it to satisfy his immediate desires. And if the father and mother display poor drinking habits and poor control over finances, it is likely that the children will do likewise.

Without an adequate and steady income, the impoverished cannot plan for the future nor do much to improve his lot. He cannot for example buy a new house or move to better accommodation. So, because of lack of money, ignorance, class distinction, discrimination and so on, the impoverished family finds it almost impossible to move up to the next social class. But the simple doling out of money will not alleviate poverty in the long run. The dole merely hastens a person's loss of self-respect and adds to his feelings of inferiority.

RECOMMENDATIONS and SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ALLEVIATION OF POVERTY:

As pointed out in the last paragraph with regard to "why" poverty is perpetuated, we stated that simple handouts, or even the splashing around of large sums of money is of no long term advantage. The past record will show that the issuing of direct financial assistance provides a temporary solution only. In order to achieve long term benefits, we suggest the following, in addition and complementary to direct financial aid:

(These suggestions are not laid down in any order of priority, since they are all complementary and intertwined)

1. The Welfare Program (of direct financial aid):

—more trained social workers must be employed so that (a) the individual's case load can be reduced, and (b), so that a more inti-

mate and personal degree of communication can develop between worker and client.

—more consultation with the poverty-stricken must take place. More work must be done at the "grass roots" level, rather than at the managerial level. Rather than the "experts" laying out a plan for social improvement and imposing it upon the "poor", the poor should take an active part in the formulation of such plans.

—more workers from the same social class as those with whom they are working, must become involved in the planning and administration of the welfare program. The people themselves must feel that they are doing the work; that they are doing something constructive to help themselves.

—there should be established guidelines for a "sliding scale" of payments for assistance so those most in need receive the most financial benefits.

—able-bodied men should be required to work for wages, no matter what the job, rather than be given handouts. A medical certificate of incapacity would exempt a person from such work.

—the government should proceed as quickly as possible with legislation to provide a guaranteed annual wage or income.

Any granting of direct welfare assistance should be done in conjunction with a program of education with regard to the handling of finances.

2. EDUCATION:

Education here is not limited merely to formal schooling but must extend into all areas of life: economic, social, political...

—modern school buildings and equipment must be constructed and installed in the poor districts, whether urban or rural, to provide a suitable learning environment and to reduce overcrowding

—wages and salaries for teachers should be raised in order to obtain the services of highly qualified and experienced teachers and supervisors

—more well-trained, preferably experienced guidance and vocational counsellors must be employed by schools in "low-class" areas. An important goal of such counsellors would be to act as public relations people to increase the involvement and participation of the parents of children from poverty-stricken homes. The counsellors would establish a personal relationship with the student and the parent, and of course

assist the student in choosing and planning an academic, vocational, or technical course, in conjunction with the parents.

—Adult Upgrading courses: these must be prepared specifically for the teaching of and the learning by adults. "Dick and Jane" must not be seen running.

—as a follow-up to or as an off-shoot from the above, a self-help program could be established. Under the guidance of the teacher, those people who have already done a course—for instance, in literacy classes—could teach others who are just starting. These "auxiliary teachers" would be reimbursed.

All of the above requires increased government grants and subsidies.

Instruction with regard to matters pertaining to Home Economics must necessarily be part of any welfare program involving financial or material assistance. Such instruction or training would involve such aspects as:

- Home Making
- Household Budgeting
- Food Purchasing
- Providing Balanced Diets

Impoverished people must be made aware of the services offered, in the field of welfare assistance, medical assistance, and so on, as in housing.

3. INDUSTRY and LABOUR UNIONS:

—both must agree to the expansion of their on-the-job-training programs, and become increasingly involved with any other training or retraining programs

—the impoverished must be given the opportunity to learn new skills and to work, regardless of education and "intelligence quotients". This point may specially emphasized with regard to operations in the north.

—in conjunction with the above, counselors must be hired to work closely with such people until they are "established". (The counselling would extend to areas over and above that which pertains strictly to the job, and would be coordinated with the overall educational programs involving social workers and the "welfare" program.)

—more industry must be established on reserves and in other areas of economic depression. Grants for such purpose should be large enough to ensure success; subsidies should be given if necessary. (Such industry should be owned and operated by the people who will be affected by and directly in-

involved with the industry. Government departments or branches of services could be operated by people living in depressed areas. For example, a branch or department such as those involved with the preservation and control of fish and game could be operated, especially in the north, by Indian and Metis people, right from the top administrative position through to the bottom.)

4. HOUSING:

—the program of low-rental housing must be extended. (A move into a "new" house must be accompanied by the above-mentioned homemaking courses to prevent the deterioration of the building and equipment.) *There must be FOLLOW-UP.*

—the qualifications concerning the minimum and maximum amounts of income which presently serve as guidelines for obtaining low-rental housing should be open for annual review.

Minimum and maximum limitations with regard to annual income in order to secure a loan or a mortgage in order to purchase a home should be removed. If not removed, they should at least be reviewed and changed.

—Grants should be given to those now living in poverty who wish to erect or purchase their own homes.

—Grants or low-interest loans should be given to organizations or service groups who wish to purchase accommodation for rental to members of their group—as in the case of an Indian organization or a "Poor Peoples" group that wants to buy a small apartment block to be rented to and maintained by members of the group or organization.

—Low-interest loans or grants should be readily available for home repairs and renovations.

—Municipal and provincial laws and by-laws concerning proper maintenance of rented buildings and houses, and household equipment by the landlords, should be more strictly enforced

CHURCHES:

The churches must coordinate their activities with those of other service groups and agencies. The church should direct more of its attention to the secular needs of the people it serves. It should strive to eliminate class distinction within its sphere of influence.

UNIVERSITIES:

The centres of higher learning must take a more active part in helping to alleviate poverty.

—they should strive to instill the students they are training for social work with attitudes which make them more accepting of, and thus more accepted by, the impoverished.

—the universities are ideally suited to do research and collect data concerning the poor and impoverished. Such information is necessary to long-range planning by any service group or agency. (The paucity of sufficient information and data was noted by the Social Service Audit, Inc., which recently completed a three-year study of social services and requirements in and around metropolitan Winnipeg.

POLITICS:

Poverty-stricken people should be educated to the basics of politics, and be urged to form groups to gain a measure of power in order to influence their own destiny. Any government projects for the benefit of the impoverished and poor should be undertaken with a genuine concern for helping these people, rather than with the idea of simply appeasing a noisy minority. Spokesmen for the poor should be reimbursed and if necessary, should be given advances to meet their expenses.

NEWS MEDIA:

All media should publicize more the constructive steps that people are taking to help themselves and improve their communities, rather than concentrating on sensational and often adverse stories of poverty.

All should play a greater role in the education and formation of favorable opinions and attitudes of the public toward the poor and poverty-stricken.

HEALTH and DENTAL CARE:

Services should be extended, especially in the north, and should include more home visits and simple education about medical treatment. This latter points also apply with regard to health.

Home visits or group education sessions should be extended to include instruction on modern and reliable methods of birth-control, especially now that the law has been changed in these matters.

Sports and Recreation: This topic might be included here since such activities are tied in directly with health and welfare. Larger grants should be given to community and other centers which are genuinely attempting to set up a constructive program of education and training, and are encouraging participation in organized sports activities. Local

people should be in charge of setting up and maintaining such programs, especially on reserves.

TAXE and REBATES ON SAME:

Taxes on income, property, and meagre assets should be forgone in cases of people who are very poor—who do not have an income of \$5,000 or more depending upon the number of dependents in the family, and so on.

Recipients of old age assistance should not be required to pay taxes, except perhaps in the rare case where the income exceeds perhaps \$10,000.

The level of income which is presently used to define the "poverty line" should be revised upward. This should be done considering the area in which a person lives. For example, the cost of living in some northern communities are much, much higher than it is in the cities, while the wages are much lower and the jobs are seasonal.

The question of foreign aid and immigration should be reviewed, taking into consideration the domestic employment situation and the degree of poverty in which so many of families are living.

These recommendations have been wide-ranging, and perhaps not as concise as they could be, but we trust that they will be relevant, considering the short period of time in which we had to prepare this brief, and the amount of resource material that was available. The whole of the Native Brotherhood feel that the answer to many of the problems that arise in connection with poverty can be alleviated or eradicated through education. This refers not only to formal education, to education for the poor people but to education for other members of the public. There must be a program of education to help the public rid itself of apathy and antipathy—of discrimination over class, language, religion, and so forth.

Spending of more public funds for educational programs, housing, industry for the poor, and so on, must be regarded as an investment in human resources, never as a waste of money. The benefits that will be reaped will contribute to the betterment of our country as a whole.

Respectfully,
President,
Stony Mountain Native Brotherhood,
Manitoba Penitentiary,
Box 101,
Stony Mountain, Manitoba.

APPENDIX I

The following is the format of the questionnaire that was used as guidelines for the tape-recorded discussion and for the written answers:

1. What do you think people mean when they say someone is living in poverty?
2. What do you think they mean when they say someone is poor?
3. Have you ever lived in poverty, or have you known someone who was living in poverty?
4. Do you think there are *causes* for poverty? Please explain.
5. Do you think "poor" people can do anything for themselves to improve their lot? If so, what could they do?
6. What do you think others (individuals, groups, organizations, government agencies, churches, etc.) could do to improve the lot of the poor people and improve their chances

for the future? Please explain under the following headings and sub-headings:

ECONOMIC:—employment; job training and retraining; housing; food, clothing.

EDUCATION:—helping young people stay in school; academic schooling; vocational and technical training; retraining for people who have lost their jobs to "machines".

SOCIAL and RECREATIONAL:—organized and individual sports and activities; books and magazines; newspapers; radio and television.

HEALTH and DENTAL CARE:—are the present facilities and procedures adequate?

RELIGION:—are the organized churches doing as much as they can to alleviate poverty?

POLITICS:

APPENDIX "C"

KIDS' PLAY AND POVERTY

a brief prepared for the
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON
POVERTY

by the students and staff of the
DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL
STUDIES

FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

November 1969

FOREWORD

There are many observations contained in the appendix: of these observations, only a few problems have been isolated; finally, in the following brief, only a few recommendations have been advanced.

The investigation and construction was carried out in a relatively short period of time, and did not follow any 'scientific' methods. Thus one cannot construe this brief to be comprehensive nor conclusive: to do so would destroy its very impression we have tried to convey.

Thus, our main recommendation would be that this report be viewed only as a basis for

a later and much more comprehensive study involving many more related disciplines. Such a study, if recommendations are to be drawn from it, must be considered as a long-term investigation: some participating disciplines that must be brought 'on stream' during this study would pertain to child nutrition, muscle development, psychological development, family and community development, and a complete re-thinking of the manner in which these ideal new environmental qualities might be implemented physically.

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Adrian Bishop, Bernie Nelson, Lois Emery, Fran and Spencer Putnam, Dr. Hirsch, Joy Williams, Punch Jackson, Miss Rebchuk, Mr. O. Johanson, Prof. Poskanzer, Doug Lawrence, Hal Studholm, Cameron Mann, Gordon Throp.

and finally, to Professors Gordon Adaskin, Claude deForest, Winston Leathers, and Jim Lewis who carried much of the work load during school investigation and meetings.

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INTRODUCTION: POVERTY AND PLAY

It is now generally agreed that one's character and attitudes are determined by his or her social and psychological environment: one's behaviour in later life is generally a development of certain basic character traits developed during his or her early 'formative' life.

Only relatively recently has it become generally agreed that the most important 'formative' years are those years between the ages of birth and four or five years of age; earlier development in the physiological, psychological and sociological sciences has now advanced to the point where fundamental relationships are now apparent between these sciences.

Only more recently have there been any rigorous methods of comprehensively analysing one's 'formative' environs.

We do *not* feel that it is thus presumptuous to advance this type of investigation as one which has possibly the greatest importance in understanding and dealing with the long-term causes of poverty.

Professor Poskanzer introduced PLAY as the important part that should be added to Freud's inter-relations of LOVE and WORK as the major components of one's life. He suggested that one cannot achieve sound mental health without meaningful working relationships between these.

PLAY, according to consensus, is not capable of being completely defined. It is a personal value which varies in its specifics with each specific individual, but which at different age 'groups' has certain general principles that hold true. Professor Poskanzer recalled Erickson, who classified the following age group characteristics:

0-1 year: narcissistic play with self, reliance on mother, development of sense of trust in others, exploration of immediate physical environment: sees self as 'center of universe'.

1-3 years: exploration of extended physical environment, extends self-occupation to others, has little interest in store-bought toys, little understanding of values, begins to learn limits of handling objects... "no" is a constant word; is asocial—has no respect for possessions of others, plays amongst others rather than with them, time orientation is short: fears and doubts can develop.

3-6 years: sense of initiative begins, locomotor activities, boisterous and adventurous, imagination and creativity potential very high; forms groups of between two and four children, discovers sex differences, meaning of life and death, vocations and professions: exploration of outdoor physical environment.

6-12 years: industrious accomplishments valued: forms larger groups of children of same sex, needs ability to succeed with people and activities, needs to clarify position of self with others; superiority and inferiority strongly felt.

Erickson's three other age groups, adolescence, adulthood, and old age are not included herein since they are concerned with developments of the above characteristics and also have not been dealt with during this investigation.

Dr. Hirsch and Professor Poskanzer both emphasized the value of play in educating children; it has a vital role in the physiological and psychological development. Physiologically; at the early ages, larger muscles are developed by crawling, walking, jumping and running, while later on, the fine muscles are coordinated by climbing, balancing, and so on. These thus become extremely important in providing success in play activities with children of the same age, and are closely related to providing a sound mental life. Psychologically, play is the main factor in the maturation process; it is a *re-creative* process depending on the recall of past experience. It thus not only relates past experiences into meaningful 'overviews', but stimulates curiosity to find new relating experiences. Play can also develop personality since recreation provides both ego-shattering or ego-building experiences. Play can be therapeutic in the sense that it can sort out difficult experimental relationships. Play, in the sense of expressing oneself, becomes a major form of communication.

Play must be stimulated or caused in some way: purely spontaneous play is almost nonexistent. We saw the lack of many stimuli to play in environments other than those referred to as 'poverty areas'. Through our work, which limited us to mostly physical media, we saw possible non-physical amelioration of these environments.

It become very important, then, when referring to the following discussion of POVERTY, that a deficiency in the opportunities for children to play, ultimately, in some form, restricts the development of a 'whole' human.

The *Oxford Universal Dictionary* (1955) defines poverty: the quality or condition of being poor. 1) *the condition of having little or no material possessions*; indigence, want, destitution. 2)a) deficiency, dearth, scarcity; smallness of amount. b) deficiency in the proper or desired quality. c) deficiency in some property, quality, or ingredient.

Determined by our investigation, we would, for the reasons outlined in the following report, define poverty: *a deficiency in the desired amount and quality of opportunity for physical recreation of children between the ages of five and ten years of age.*

This aspect of poverty is in direct relationship with other aspects, or definitions of poverty, such as:

(1) *lack of family money*: both parents must work, in some cases only the most

important parent to young children, the mother, must work; children must be put to work earlier to assist the family.

(2) *lack of real parental concern*: how many children are unwanted due to poor family 'planning'? Can there be real love (mother or father) displayed by a baby sitter?

(3) *lack of time for family occasions*: too much time needed to earn money to make 'ends meet.'

(4) *lack of communication with 'outside community groups*: vague fears of authorities, relating to social workers, police, urban renewal plans, higher status individuals and groups ('the rich'), absentee landlords, 'do-gooders'.

(5) *lack of permanent majority population*: especially those younger adults who normally carry out 'community spirit,' there is a very high mobility rate in these areas.

(6) *lack of concern for longer-term planning*: most concerned with making short-term 'ends' meet; many who are highly mobile, making the community only a brief stop-over; fear to invest in any community improvement since it is under the cloud of Urban Renewal; non-improvement oriented absentee landlords.

(7) *lack of 'well-oiled' public and/or private agency interfaces*: territorial disputes, mistrusts; no real and total information exchange, bureaucratic red tape.

(8) *lack of real public and/or private involvement* (face-to-face communication): only social workers and some police and some community organization workers really have a chance to understand the values, mores, problems of the residents—most welfare work carried out in absentia.

(9) *lack of research and training of people dealing with these phenomena*: traditional case-work, monetary aid, and other accepted welfare programs destroy self-help initiative, pride; often complicate problems.

The above list of other aspects of poverty is by no means complete, not completely understood. At one time or other, though, these seemed to be felt and experienced during our work.

We feel that the first definition as put forth by the *Oxford Universal Dictionary* is very misleading: the fact that these people have

little or no wealth or material possessions seems to be the universally accepted definition . people who wish to deal with poverty conditions almost always seem to gravitate to improving the physical environmental conditions. We feel that these actions have little or no consequence in fact.

Outwardly, these areas are in no worse *physical* shape than some other non-poverty areas of Winnipeg. Inwardly, however, we could quickly see many *behavioral* characteristics that only by the wildest stretch of the imagination cover the entire community with the blanket description of "behavioral sink", as most slums are described. Many of the residents we talked to were concerned as any 'outsider' of the conditions created by only a *portion* of the residents.

In summary, then, we saw many attitudes of the residents and service agencies that hindered the development of opportunities for younger children's play. Most of these attitudes are clearly summed up and displayed when one sees the manner in which Urban Renewal is inflicted on these areas. This term seems to imply that there is only one manner in which poverty areas can be handled—through complete re-building. These simplistic notions of poverty, poverty physical environments, and means to implement amelioration have been corrected to a large extent in the major cities of the United States, through many years of evaluating results of earlier Urban Renewal blanket-reconstruction programs. Later planning term such as Rehabilitation, Re-organization, and Advocacy Planning are now being put to fruitful use. It seems that this means that any planning for the future of these areas must:

- (1) be done in conjunction with community residents,

- (2) be done without just a single 'master plan' in mind,

- (3) use the more rigorous, but infinitely more flexible planning tools that are now being developed by disciplines that until now were considered peripheral to City Planning.

We believe that, with our crude methods and lack of time, we accomplished an approximation of these ideals, especially when building our play 'lot' for the Lord Selkirk Inter-faith Group, whereby a group from that community was directly involved in doing something, of value, for itself.

DESIGN FOR CHILDREN'S PLAY FACILITIES IN HOUSING PROJECTS:

Brief visits to Burroughs-Keewatin, and more thorough investigation of the Lord Selkirk Housing Projects confirmed the fact that all but one of the five or six play areas provided were not used at all. Reasons for this lack of interest in playing in these areas are:

- (1) designs are too abstract, association-al stimuli missing

- (2) designs are too 'rigid' and axial—no informality

- (3) sitting areas for adults suggest supervision surveillance

- (4) no shade, many surfaces absorb sun's heat

- (5) hard concrete and asphalt play surfaces to fall on

- (6) some areas are out of the way of main child traffic

- (7) too few moving parts

- (8) meticulous but irrelevant details soon lost with no maintenance

- (9) no division of play areas for smaller and larger children

- (10) extremely high construction costs

One play lot in Lord Selkirk Project does get a lot of use: its design suggests that a different designer who was sensitive to the play needs of children was employed.

The design of all of these areas suggests that small areas were set aside and termed 'play area,' rather than being designed as an integral part of the housing project.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- (1) Larger amounts of funds be allocated to Parks and Recreation Departments dealing with Urban poverty areas for the express purpose of research and experimental design of play equipment.

- (2) Larger amounts of funds be allocated to any agency involved in recreation programs for the express purpose of providing more physical equipment and supervision of recreation programs.

- (3) Incentive, in form of tax-relief or no raising of taxes for improved use of vacant land, or free demolition of condemned buildings with no tax increase for private owners of vacant land or land that could be used for recreation purposes: this seems feasible since land can be transferred from City of Winnipeg through the Urban Renewal Committee to Department of Parks and Recreation—it

would not be that much more complex to involve private owners.

(4) Grants of funds to individuals or groups that wish to implement projects of value to the community as a whole, but who have no personal funds with which to carry out the project: the unfortunate mispending of some of the Manitoba Centennial Funds could have been used—will other such opportunities arise?

(5) Provision of government-owned (public) tools and equipment which can be used—under 'overtime' supervisors for such community projects: many residents have training in the use of such equipment.

(6) allocation of development funds to private manufacturers for *competitive* development of play equipment.

(7) development of closer working 'ties' between the various service agencies: this is not a centralisation of power, but a much more efficient communication network between these agencies. Also see (8) below.

(8) Stronger communication network between service agencies and the residents of poverty areas, so that residents can get a total view of the many services and community plans. This can also be thought of in terms of recent ideas in Community Organisation and Development, as being considered at University of Winnipeg.

(9) A complete re-consideration of the way 'housing projects' are designed, especially in relationship to their total environmental context. This needs revamping of local zoning codes, public education (who wants a 'project' in the neighborhood?), and use of up-to-date large and small scale planning and design methods.

(10) a complete re-consideration of large-scale total rebuilding: allowing the community to rehabilitate rather than being slowly frozen and scrapped.

(11) Stimulate more applied research into causes and results of poverty, to be carried on by both private and public firms and institutions.

PHASE ONE: COMMUNITY COMPARISON SURVEY

In the early spring of 1969, a small group of second year students asked their Basic Design instructors to incorporate the students' interests in building a playground into the program of studies of that year. Since the suggestion fitted well with the intent of the curriculum, an eight-week, two-part program of investigation and design was begun.

The first part included a survey of two apparently differing residential communities in Metropolitan Winnipeg, specifically focusing on the state of provision of opportunities and facilities for children's play. The second part included the drawing of criteria for design of physical accommodation for children's play, and the actual design of prototype structures.

The communities chosen were Wildwood Park in Fort Garry, a post-war 'total design' housing project; and the Central Logan Area in Winnipeg, now known as part of Urban Renewal Area Number Two.

(See maps and graphic statistic comparison chart.)

OBSERVATIONS

In the following observations, Wildwood Park will be implied as being 'the norm' for comparison: however, as pointed out in certain instances it falls well below what we would consider to be an 'ideal' play environment.

Attitudes: Questions directed to Wildwood parents brought out a concern for the safety of their children who spent a great deal of time playing in the service/access loop roads peculiar to the plan layout of Wildwood. Of lesser concern was the distance these children had to walk to community recreation facilities during the cold periods of winter. Concern for children crossing trafficked streets not mentioned—there are no main streets dividing these areas. No residents nor children seemed to mind being asked questions by the students, nor having photographs taken.

Before we could go to the residents of Logan Area, since we were working with Neighborhood Service Center, we had to select from their files, persons categorized as being interested in community recreation facilities, children, and so forth. These people were then screened for interview 'suitability' before the students were allowed to speak to them. It appeared to us that the social workers (not all of them) were being too protective of the families they were dealing with. However, we do realize that many of these families are visited many times each week by varying service representatives, and thus the concern by the social workers, to some extent is valid. Another valid concern of the social workers was that we follow through with our findings and designs: too many people, termed 'do-gooders' had raised the expectations of the residents and then had left them disappointed by not following through. Specific

mention was made to the students by the social workers that the residents must be asked simple questions, and should not be 'grilled' by the method asking indiscrete questions in too rigid a manner.

Of the thirty five residents of the Logan Area that were questioned, the main concern seemed to be that the facilities for recreation were too few and too centralized, and that they were not able to spend their time accompanying the younger children these long distances to playgrounds. The residents seemed as concerned with the welfare of their children as the Wildwood parents. Fears of small children crossing heavily trafficked streets and encountering older bullies were expressed. Some residents were suspicious of students, but most seemed to enjoy talking once the intentions of the students were known. A few residents were never found to be home, although of these, some made appointments to talk after they had finished work. Some residents made passing unfavourable remarks of welfare agencies in general. We found, from talks with Neighborhood Service staff that few residents understood or cared for the Urban Renewal Plans that had been explained to them by this Service Agency, and that most residents had too many other more pressing worries than just concern for recreational facilities; such as food and clothing and furniture costs, finding adequately paying jobs, and generally being able to make ends meet.

Money: In Wildwood, each child had adequate provision of play equipment—balls, bats, skates, sleds, bicycles, wagons, and so on. The community as a whole has enough money to support a small community shelter and two rinks, and joined in other programs of the immediately surrounding schools. Each individual family has enough money to spend time on summer vacations.

In Logan Area, social workers told us that not many families could afford play equipment for their children. Some families had small store-bought swings and slides in their yards, but use of these was restricted to the children of the family and the immediate friends. There was no community shelter or facilities supported by the community themselves. Many children did not have any family vacations, although some attended the YMCA day camp at Manitou; some parents thought that the small amount of money asked by the YMCA was too much.

According to our survey, there was a lack of recreational facilities and lack of imagina-

tion in design of play lots and equipment. (see survey maps.) Upon talking with the staff of the Winnipeg Department of Parks and Recreation, we were told that their budget is set up annually, based on the costs of equipment previously provided, and the known plans of setting up new playgrounds. This means that there is no means for experimenting with new play lot plans nor play structures, although the staff expressed a wish to do so. Related to this is the fact that there are few manufacturers of play equipment. The structures used by the Parks and Recreation Department are made specially, and are rather high in price for the number of children that each piece can accommodate. Other play equipment that is made from the newer metals and plastic must be imported from the United States, and this cost becomes exorbitant.

Time: Of two aspects: firstly, as mentioned above, parents in Logan Area by necessity cannot spend as much time with their children as the parents of Wildwood. Secondly, and directly related to the former, is the fact that there are two different play seasons—summer, spring and fall, and winter: in the extreme cold, since there are no widely available sheltered areas, smaller (and noisy, exploring) children must play at home, usually in groups. Even with the recreation areas in the basements in Wildwood, mothers cannot be expected to be constantly worried by this play, and, in Logan Area, there are not enough basement areas for this group play—the upstairs thus becomes the playground, and this in turn serves as stimulus for many child-parent conflicts that would not occur if the play was outside or removed from the living activities of the parents.

Community physical layout: The 'total design' aspects of Wildwood show definite advantages since there is a continuous park strip connecting all houses, with no heavily-trafficked streets to be crossed. There is a zoning of land use that makes each use compatible: school areas, shopping service areas, recreation areas, and residential areas. This zoning for compatibility of use is completely missed in Logan Area; the area is also divided into four areas by heavily trafficked roads, with some areas having more recreation accommodation than others. In Wildwood, community supported maintenance services assure a clean safe play environment, whereas in Logan Area, there are many abandoned cars and other potentially dangerous debris. Since the levelling of residences for

future Urban Renewal development, many vacant lots contain hidden broken glass, sharp construction rubble, and garbage. There are still many vacant and 'boarded-up' buildings which provide stimulating but dangerous play activity, along with other less acceptable activities. The news media has recently focussed on this problem, and perhaps something will be done, although, as with the abandoned cars, it took incensed mothers to pressure government to move to remedial action.

Play patterns: Because facilities for play were accessible to every child in Wildwood, because parents could afford more time in casually supervising from the houses, and because parents could afford more time actually being with their children, there was no need for much supervised play or for a large community recreation program, and all recreation programs that existed, both summer and winter were PRIVATELY sponsored by the residents themselves, with only a small Parks Department program for smaller children.

In Logan area, the exact opposite is true, with most of the recreation programs being sponsored by PUBLIC agencies. This involves the use of much more supervised play activities. Also, because their is less parental provision of play facilities, the public must assume this. Since there are limits to the Parks and Recreation Department budget, not enough facilities can be provided, especially for all age groups.

Especially neglected are the very children with whom we were most concerned about—those between the ages of five and ten years of age. These are mostly left to provide themselves with opportunities to play: since this age group is inventive, it has been assumed that they can 'fend for themselves.' Our observations of their activities have shown us that the environment they use to play in is both lacking in facilities that stimulate their imaginations, and presenting potential danger, such as roofs, streets, and so on.

Another important factor is that play patterns differ widely according to the age group; the case usually being that the play of the older children is much faster, and often utilises wheeled or hard equipment. Since there is a lack of grounds to play in in the Logan Area, these groups must use the same grounds, with the result that the younger children are often hurt, even with no malicious intent on the part of the older children.

Comparison Summary: The consensus of the class, after analysing all available data was that there was little need to design accommodation for play in Wildwood, other than providing a stronger focus for play in the central park strip.

In Logan Area, there was a two-fold concern of behalf of the students: firstly, a recognition of the need to provide many more 'pocket' play lots liberally placed throughout the entire area. Secondly, that low-maintenance winter playgrounds and sheltered areas be incorporated into the design of these 'pocket' play lots. The main criteria for designing play lots and structures in the Central Logan Area were:

- (1) simplicity of construction so that residents could build their own projects. Plans are now being considered for publishing a 'do-it-yourself' construction manual that sets forth both instructions for laying out a play lot and constructing various structures.
- (2) use of 'found' or inexpensive materials,
- (3) use of rugged, weather and vandal—proof materials.
- (4) multi-use components that stimulate imaginations.
- (5) different play zones for different age groups. This was not considered to be important until our summer experience.
- (6) safety from streets—sidewalks
- (7) safety from bullies and 'muggers'—no dead ends or dark areas.
- (8) safety of components and materials—no sharp projections, hard ground surfaces, hard-to-clean areas; good joints.
- (9) low maintenance—no worn grass scattered sand, rain pools.
- (10) summer and winter play areas
- (11) sitting areas for supervising parents should not present an atmosphere of 'surveillance'.
- (12) enough 'action space' around play structures and ample amount of traffic space between these structures.
- (13) flexibility of layout of play structures—lots of many differing shapes and sizes will be used.
- (14) play lots and structures must have high children: ground area ratio. The structures must accommodate more children than existing equipment.

(15) shielding of noise and projectiles from neighboring houses and buildings, streets and sidewalks.

(16) all designs must be visually attractive—no 'junk'.

Two student designs were selected that could, with little revision, meet all these criteria. (see photographs.)

(1) *Climbing Structure*: The estimated cost of the Three-module design was approximately \$300.00; it has a capacity to entertain approximately 40 or 50 children in a ground area of roughly 20 feet by 20 feet, and can be constructed using 1 truck, 4 people, saw, hammer, axe, telephone poles, plastic rope, wire rope and large nuts and bolts. It can be constructed in approximately 2 weekends.

(2) *Fort/sandbox Structure*: The estimated cost of the design as seen in the photos is approximately \$100.00; it can entertain approximately 80 children in a ground area of roughly 30 feet by 70 feet, and can be built with used railway ties (scrubbed clean) by 4 people and less tools in approximately 2 or 3 weekends.

Note: Normal 6 person playground swings cost \$400.00 and occupy a ground space roughly equal to design 1) above.

PHASE THREE: COMMUNICATION OF RESULTS

An exhibition of survey maps of both areas and student design drawings and models was held at the Faculty of Architecture Building at the University of Manitoba.

At the first of a set of three meetings, students and staff presented their findings and designs to those persons who assisted during the first two phases, plus some other interested persons, landscape architects, Parks and Recreation Department officials, an alderman, and Wildwood parents. The intent of this meeting was to obtain constructive criticism of the survey and designs.

The second meeting was of the same format, and was presented to Wildwood residents interested in constructing play equipment in the Wildwood central Park.

The third meeting presented the survey and designs as information to officials of the Metro Winnipeg Area Municipal Recreation Directors, as a diversion from their conference.

Summary of meetings: attitudes: The students made these presentations with a real

effort to not only obtain constructive criticism, but to present themselves as being ready to assist in actually building one or more of the (revised) designs. There were a few offers from communities in Portage la Prairie and several suburban areas, but all these did not offer any funding for complex pre-conceived plans nor any sense of enthusiasm that would make the students glad to help. In short, while some valid criticisms were made, 1) the residents or other citizens in a position to act could provide no real follow-through, and 2) rather than talking of the important planning ideas, were content to idle over small and relatively irrelevant design aspects. Some students felt that a few residents took note of these ideas to implement with pre-conceived designs of play grounds, but only as 'garnishes,' and 3) generally displayed enough polite disinterest to 'turn off' the students.

After the students were 'turned off' by what they considered to be confirmation of their suspicions of typical middle-class attitudes, a second set of meetings occurred after the exhibit was moved to the gym space of Neighborhood Service Center. Apparently this display was a complete success in that children who saw the models gave the most meaningful feedback as to the relative play potential of the designs. These were noted by a student who acted as a 'guide' for the exhibit. It was also noted that some residents expressed some range of desires to see these implemented in their area.

The fourth, and most important of both sets of meetings involved members of the Lord Selkirk Park Interfaith Group who had been contacted and informed of our project by a member of Neighborhood Service Center. This was the first of a series of observations of the close personal ties that do exist between members of various service groups in various locales. It seems to be a tie at the personal rather than official level, however. This was also the first time that a group offered a serious interest in our work, to the point that we thought that perhaps we might be able to build one of the designs yet.

The fifth meeting involved members of the YMCA Camp Manitou day camp. At this meeting, the students saw a complete reversal of the previously displayed attitudes. Ideas were enthusiastically and unpretentiously advanced, until a plan for the location of different designs for different age groups was decided upon for Camp Manitou. We decided that we would start building with this as first

priority, with Interfaith having second priority, since plans were not finalized for that group.

The sixth meeting was held downtown with the advisory committee of the Interfaith group. It was decided that either of the two prototypes was inappropriate to being built at their location, but money was allocated for another design. Since the attitudes shown did not seem to form a consensus of enthusiasm as did the fifth meeting, second priority was held for this construction.

The seventh and final meeting was held at a working lunch session of the Winnipeg Housing Authority. This was perhaps the most depressing experience of the whole project. It had been arranged by the manager of Lord Selkirk Park and Burroughs-Keewatin Housing Projects. He was concerned over the lack of adequate provision for play in the Burroughs-Keewatin Project, and was especially enthusiastic over the potential of the prototype 1), previously described, to improve the conditions of the existing playgrounds there. The author was given a specific appointment and a set amount of time in which to make the presentation to the Authority. He was admitted late and had to wait while the Authority cleared up other business, and then, after a short talk, was told that the Authority would give approval if the author, on behalf of everyone, would ask CMHC in Ottawa for permission to provide this improved play facility. We then decided that we would not work any further at communicating our ideas to suburban or public service groups.

By this time, our efforts of communicating our ideas has occupied a time of approximately two months. Our rather naive hopes of quickly building the prototypes and confirming our faith in their ability to stimulate play and involve the community residents were drastically altered.

PHASE FOUR: SUMMER CONSTRUCTION OF PROTOTYPES

Camp Manitou 'sandbox'—prototype 2): The sandbox for small children was relocated from its planned location in a poorly drained and unshaded area to a few feet away, under some trees. It was constructed of used railway ties (5c each) brought to the site with the Camp truck. The 60 ties were used log-cabin style to form low-walled interlocking eight-foot squares. These squares were given different floor heights by laying down ties, and the

walls of one square were built up to a level of four feet, and then partially roofed to form an observation tower. A window was made in one of these walls by omitting one tie. All ties were spiked together and critical corners were further strengthened by steel reinforcing rod dowels. The whole structure was then soaped and scrubbed, and clean sand laid on each floor. It cost approximately \$40.00, can maintain over 20 children at one time, and occupies an area of roughly 20 feet square. It was built by 6 people over a period of 2 weekends. Ordinary hand tools plus a power handsaw were used. Water and power were supplied by the Camp.

Evaluation: This structure forces children to use their imagination. It cannot be stereotyped. When in use, at various times it became a fort, 'Jupiter,' a climbing structure, a sandbox, a resting place, and a story-telling place. One child that was involved in the Interfaith construction was observed to build a detailed village, then swiftly destroy it and then run away... could this be considered therapy of play? It appears that older children use more challenging higher parts to climb upon, whereas the younger children use the parts farthest away from this part as a sandbox. All persons using the swimming pool nearby use the entire structure as a sitting area. The sand must be replaced next spring, since it has seeped into the cracks in the floor; relatively little sand has been scattered around outside the structure.

It also appears that this would be readily built in the city by any group of resident handicraftsmen with a minimum of planning and supervision and funds.

Lord Selkirk Park Interfaith Center 'pocket' playlot: After some staff involved in the childrens' play program at the Center viewed the potentials of the Manitou structure, alterations of the same prototype were made. The structure was to be built beside the Center on the same lot, in an area roughly equal to that at Manitou. Design features were a raised platform for impromptu plays, several story-telling books, an observation tower, and a small sandbox. It was imperative that the person telling the stories be placed in such a way that her back be protected from flying objects.

This was the most interesting, if not the most frustrating experience of the whole project: soon after four of us arrived, we were greeted by two Métis brothers, five and six years of age. An hour later there were a

least a dozen children of about the same age, from varied ethnic and racial backgrounds running around and trying to use the equipment. We soon learned to keep all the tools in a locked car and use only one tool at a time. On Sunday, the same children appeared. Several of the staff also came to help, regretting that there had not been sufficient notice so that neighborhood parents could also join the construction. In the end, all were engaged in hammering nine-inch spikes, soaping and hosing the ties, and painting a seat for the story-teller. The hammering and sawing provided great 'therapy' for some children, one of whom had been observed slamming his fist into the side of the house on the previous day. Also constructed was a successful go-cart.

Observations: At various times over the weekend we observed, in random order: the favourite game of throwing stones at discarded glass bottle targets; ranges of vocabulary that only an adult would know being used by five-year-olds; various extremely annoying actions meant to attract personal attention rather than be purely malicious; a child that had apparently taken a knife to his brother, but missed, and gashed his own leg and ankle;

A child commenting that another child would not understand a student's comment because the child was 'dumb' in school—this was as information, and was not meant to hurt the other child; comments by Interfaith staff of how many children in the area were taking prescribed sedation or tranquilizers; that the children's program at Interfaith Center was not designed so much as a baby-sitting program so much as something that would keep the children from causing a nuisance in the neighborhood (it is interesting to note that the majority of damage to buildings, etcetera, is done by the pre-teens who have little to do); the extreme patience of the Interfaith staff, especially when dealing with naughty children.

Evaluation: On later weekends, three swinging ropes and a 'tether ball' were installed. Again the children appeared and offered verbal and physical assistance. Our main idea of having people in the community work on their own projects seemed to be confirmed by this construction, even though we had to provide the initial stimulus. Many passing teenagers were curious, but could not risk working with children and inviting comments from other teenagers: however, they

were observed to be climbing all over the structure later on. We should have given ample prior notice so that neighborhood parents could have been involved; then the initiative and understanding would have been 'planted.' We did not want this to appear to be another isolated 'do-gooder' project. Several children were hurt on the swinging ropes, and they were removed. They had been placed too close together, and too close to the main structure of ties. These ropes had attracted several older children never seen in the area before, and when the ropes vanished, so did the children. When the ropes were used, the smaller children were forced to play in another corner of the lot, but after they returned to their original play on the main structure: the same observation was made with the addition of sand. This attracted older children who soon dispersed it over a wide area and the side of the house. When it disappeared, so did the older children, and the younger children returned. The tether ball is kept in the Center, and used only when there is supervision, for fear of theft or vandalism. It is used by all sizes of children in a game called 'murder ball,' the object of which is to hit the ball as hard as possible in the direction of the child on the other side of the pole, in hopes of hitting him. (the ball is soft.) In summary, except for the swinging ropes and sand and short notice, this was a complete success. Interfaith now has plans to acquire the adjoining vacant lot (levelled through Urban Renewal) and use it as an extension of the play lot originally constructed. The House has also been painted, and all the weeds have been removed. A maintenance program has been started whereby teenagers are paid for work.

Camp Manitou 'climbing structure'—prototype 1); Since we had proven the success of prototype 2), we wanted to build the other. Also, since Interfaith had obtained a grant from the Winnipeg Foundation for the construction of a structure similar to prototype 1) on some lot that would be provided in that area by the Department of Parks and Recreation, we decided to build a structure at Manitou that, if necessary, be dismantled and moved to the city lot. This structure was placed beside the original 'sandbox.' It was made of a telephone pole frame bolted together and painted, with a plastic rope net constructed by the students fastened to the poles, forming a tent-like climbing net.

Evaluation: The construction was more complex because of the bolted joints, and

more expensive (approximately \$130.00) because of the rope net and paint and truck used to transport the poles. More initial maintenance is required to ensure that the bolts do not loosen with the slight movement of the structure when playing occurs, and the net had to be tightened against the poles after being in use for a short time. If used in the city, the plastic rope may be prone to vandalism.

However, this design has confirmed our faith in its ability to provide a stimulus to play; it is either a ship's rigging or a space vehicle, and can support over 15 older children (actual count) swarming over it. The bright colors seem to attract the children. Apparently the YMCA wants to use the rope net indoors during the winter.

Observations: One child commented that both sides were not painted with the same color; one group of cubs had to be forced into playing the organized baseball game in the other corner of the field instead of climbing on this structure.

Lord Selkirk Area playground; current project: After officials and staff from the Department of Parks and Recreation saw both completed structures at Manitou, they informed us that they could arrange transfer of a vacant lot at the other end of the block from Interfaith Center, across from Lord Selkirk Project. Arrangements are apparently now complete. Although we stated that we would not be available once school started, this does not seem to pose any problems—at least to these people. Suggestions were made that involved the use of teenagers from Interfaith as construction workers, but this has not proven itself in the form of any concrete proposal. Parks and Recreation Department have, beside providing the transfer and liabil-

ity insurance, arranged for the levelling and grading of the site to the amount of \$100.00. We have asked that extra fill be brought in so that an earth mound be formed at the same time that the heavy equipment does the levelling, in order to provide a winter snowslide. Apparently fill is hard to find until we submit sketches of our design. However, we are now back at school and have little time to devote to this. We had decided at the beginning of construction that we would not submit detailed 'sketches' to this Department because of the lack of time (we all had other jobs).

It seems that once again we are back at the stage where the red tape and attitudes are fighting any worth that this project once had: the Winnipeg Foundation money must be spent in a meaningful manner immediately so they will be satisfied, and will not be at cross purposes with Interfaith, who obtained the funds initially. We seem to be the people under pressure to compete, or follow through, even though we explicitly stated earlier a desire for the same kind of land in the same area, and had to build to prove that our intentions and designs were of quality; once again there will be no action and little trust of the students' ability to follow through because of some infathomable attitudes on the part of others.

This project will be constructed next spring if the land is still available, and if there are students willing to work on it. It is hoped that it can provide the beginning of a series of similar projects in the community, as well as a more rigorous research period investigating the development of young children and the design of play facilities in housing project designs.

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Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 7

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18th, 1969

WITNESSES:

Indian and Metis Friendship Center: Mr. George Munroe, Executive Director, Mrs. Barbara Duggan, Mrs. Dorothy Betz.

Winnipeg Welfare Rights Movement: Mrs. Hilda Towers, Chairman, Mrs. Yvonne Putman, Secretary, Mrs. Betty Carson.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> , <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract of the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969.

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban; rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

Extract of the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Winnipeg, Manitoba.

TUESDAY, November 18th, 1969.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Belisle, Connolly (*Halifax North*), Croll (*Chairman*), Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Hastings, Inman, McGrand and Sparrow—(10).

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

INDIAN AND METIS FRIENDSHIP CENTRE:

Mr. George Munroe, Executive Director

Mrs. Barbara Duggan

Mrs. Dorothy Betz

In attendance:

Mrs. Bertha McCorrister

Mrs. Burton

The Chairman thanked the delegation from the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre of Winnipeg for their valuable testimony to the Committee.

The following witnesses were then introduced and heard:

WINNIPEG WELFARE RIGHTS MOVEMENT:

Mrs. Hilda Towers, Chairman

Mrs. Yvonne Putman, Secretary

Mrs. Betty Carson

In attendance:

Mrs. Vivian Hales

At the conclusion of the questioning, the Chairman thanked the Winnipeg Welfare Rights Movement for their fine presentation.

The Chairman informed the members that a sub-committee consisting of Senators Inman and Sparrow had been formed to hear a brief from the Senior Citizens of Winnipeg and the Mothers' Allowance Committee. Senator Inman made a verbal report of these deliberations. The briefs from these two organizations have been retained in the Committee's records.

Briefs received from the Winnipeg and District Labour Council and William Buchanan of Winnipeg, were presented to the Committee and duly acknowledged by the Chairman.

At 12.12 p.m. the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chairman.

ATTEST:

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

November 18, 1969,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: We will call the meeting to order. Senator Inman and Senator Sparrow are hearing briefs next door from the Mother's Allowance Committee as well as the Senior Citizens Committee.

We have here now the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre. Mr. George Munroe is the executive director. The activities of the group include counselling, referral and legal assistance, and assistance in finding housing and employment is provided. As well, social and educational programs are operated. Funding is through contributions and the United Way.

I will call upon Mr. Munroe who will then introduce his delegation.

Mr. George Munroe, Executive Director, Indian and Metis Friendship Centre: Thank you. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, senators: on behalf of the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre I would like to introduce our witnesses. Our spokesman is Mrs. Barbara Duggan. The others are Mrs. Bertha McCorrister and Mrs. Burton of the Ladies Aid of the Friendship Centre, and Mrs. Dorothy Betz, our court worker.

This particular brief was prepared exclusively by the Indian women who come from the Friendship Centre.

Mrs. Barbara Duggan, Indian and Metis Friendship Centre: Honourable senators, this brief is presented on behalf of the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre Women's Group. Many Indian people have been visited and have discussed their feelings and needs.

It is estimated there were about 18,000 people of Indian origin in Greater Winnipeg and that this population is increasing rapidly. Most of these people live in tenements and houses unfit for human habitation and are

therefore fully knowledgeable of existing conditions, and wish to have the following changes considered. Indian people in many areas are enduring and coping with problems common to decaying urban areas.

The women unanimously agree that there is a need for information and service centres within walking distance of their homes. We particularly speak of the areas adjoining Logan, Ellen, Pioneer, Austin and Andrews Streets. Having centres located in these areas would increase opportunities for community participation and involvement in the responsibility of implementing change.

The following recommendations have been made for inclusion in the proposed Centres:

1. Adult Training in the area of child care, sex and adult education, budgeting, day nurseries, as well as interpersonal relationships development to encourage people to share ideas for their mutual benefit.

2. Individual & Group Counselling and Therapy—which would give guidance to young people with regard to the following areas of concern;

- a) Counselling and assistance in establishing good work habits to lessen the discrimination that exists in the area of employment.

- b) Counselling in hygiene and household management through homemaker services.

3. Home visitors for improved communication between teachers and parents.

4. Employment and Income

- a) Each Centre should have a Manpower representative to furnish information regarding services for employment counselling, upgrading, job finding and work training programs.

- b) Financial assistance should be made available for those who are in need of financial assistance for other reasons or between jobs.

- c) Financial assistance should be given to those starting work to help them until they receive their first pay cheque.

- d) Since the minimum wage is insufficient

or the needs of most families it is recommended that a supplement be given to assist the family according to their needs.

5. Law—Many women suggest that the law be adequately enforced with regard to admitting juveniles to pool halls.

6. Housing

a) There is need for more public housing and more adequate furnishings of those dwellings.

b) There is also need for a system of establishing rental rates according to the condition of the premises.

c) There is need for a stricter enforcement of housing by-laws and safety regulations as well as health regulations.

d) It is recommended that each Centre have a list of houses or living accommodations available to anyone needing this information.

7. Recreation—Programs for people of all age groups are needed. Social Centre activities are seen as an alternative to the Main Street activities and is of concern to many people. The women are in general agreement that even if all of these conditions are improved nothing will really change until the attitudes of society are changed at the same time that physical improvements are being made in the community.

Thank you.

Senator Fergusson: I wonder if Mrs. Duggan would tell us what the Friendship Centre Women's Group did and how many there are in that group.

Mrs. Duggan: Well, we did have a Ladies Aid Group and we had quite a number of—I would say about 30 regular members and I have been trying to get more women belonging to the group so we haven't as many members—we do not count them as members because we do not have memberships.

Senator Fergusson: Do you have meetings?

Mrs. Duggan: We do. We visit homes and have a women's handicraft afternoon and a social afternoon on Thursday every week. We visit homes and ask women to come and visit us at the Centre to find out what we can do for them or what they would like for activities.

Senator Fergusson: You are sort of a ladies auxiliary to the Friendship Centre?

Mrs. Duggan: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: You say there are about 18,000 people of Indian origin in Greater Winnipeg. What percentage makes use of your Centre? Do many of them come to the Friendship Centre?

Mrs. Duggan: Yes. I would say possibly we have sometimes seen them all making use of the Centre.

Senator Fergusson: They look at it as something of their own where they can come?

Mrs. Duggan: Yes.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, you state in your second paragraph there are 18,000 people of Indian origin and the population is increasing rapidly. Would you care to explain how rapidly it is increasing and why it is increasing.

Mrs. Dorothy Betz, Indian and Metis Friendship Centre: I am the advisory counselor and court worker for the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre. I would say it is increasing now in so many numbers that we are having difficulty in finding accommodations for these people.

Now, just Monday alone we had 14 fellows come in from out of town looking for employment. Now, some of these fellows are married men with families in their own area and because there is no employment in their own area they come to the city. We have to find accommodation for the family man who is expecting to bring his family in.

It is just increasing so badly that I am at a loss sometimes to find employment for these people. Referrals through the Canada Manpower doesn't seem to get anywhere. They go there and maybe one in 10 may get a job so it is almost getting so serious I think that we at the Centre are at a loss to find employment for these men because we still have employers who are discriminating against an Indian person.

Senator Hastings: I will get to that next. First of all you say Indian and Metis?

Mrs. Betz: Yes.

Senator Hastings: What do you mean, leaving the reservations to come to Winnipeg.

Mrs. Betz: Well, a treaty Indian is one that lives on the reservation. The Metis is possibly half of Indian descent. He is actually...

Senator Hastings: But you say the Indian is coming to Winnipeg. Is he leaving the reservation?

Mrs. Betz: The person living on the reservation, yes. They have to leave the reservation just to provide for their families.

Senator Hastings: In other words it is an economic condition of unemployment and so forth that is bringing them to the Greater Winnipeg area?

Mrs. Betz: Yes.

Senator Hastings: This area that you describe, adjoining Logan, Ellen, Pioneer, Austin and Andrews Streets, is this essentially the same area that was described to us last night by other witnesses?

Mrs. Betz: I am sorry. We were not here last night.

Senator Hastings: Now, I want to get to your discrimination clause. "To lessen discrimination that exists in the area of employment". Does this discrimination exist because you are Metis or Indian or does it exist because of lack of education or because you are in poverty?

Mrs. Betz: Well, I would say it is the employer. We have tried to get society to accept us as individuals rather than class us as one. They employ one person and this person may not be the right person for that job but they use this against the others and they will say "No, I have had one before. I wouldn't take another one", that is another Indian, you know.

Senator Hastings: Is this because you are Indian?

Mrs. Betz: Yes.

Senator Hastings: Not because you are uneducated?

Mrs. Betz: Not Indian or Metis, just plain Indian. There is no difference when it comes to employment or accommodation for people. When you get to a landlord and try to find a house.— I have had an Indian woman, a widow with two children, a 17 year old son and a 12 year old girl.—They had never lived in the city before and she was a widow. She had lived with her children up North. She came into the city. Rather than have her move into the court area I tried to get her settled in a new area so that when she is working her children will be able to attend school, but no. The minute she walked into that house they said "No" and yet she had already made the deposit the day before.

She was there ready to be moved in and because she was Indian "No".

Senator Hastings: And this discrimination exists in employment too?

Mrs. Betz: In employment and accommodation.

Senator Hastings: Public eating places?

Mrs. Betz: I would say no, although it has happened the odd time someone else is there. That is neither here nor there. I do not accept this.

Senator Hastings: At Section 5 you say you would like the boys kept out of the pool halls.

Mrs. Betz: My concern has been with young people in the Main Street area—not just there. It is in all the pool establishments and this is not only our Indian youngsters. It is also the whites but because they are in the court area and all the Indian kids are going into the court area and mingling in and these kids are beginning to pick up an awful lot of information that they should not even be aware of at eight, nine or ten years old and they are admitted into those halls.

Senator Hastings: Where would they be if they were not in the pool halls?

Mrs. Betz: I do not know. They should be in the Community Centre that we are asking for.

Senator Hastings: I learned a great deal in a pool hall.

Mrs. Betz: Oh, you can get an awful lot of information there and you can grow up awful fast too.

Senator Hastings: Thank you.

Senator McGrand: Just to go back to where you left off about this woman. She paid her deposit. Now, we have a Civil Rights Legislation with a great deal of emphasis placed on civil rights, the Civil Rights Charter, I think it is called.

Is there no way that you can take action against these people under our Charter of Civil Rights?

Mrs. Betz: Well, I have given all the information to the Civil Rights Committee and left it up to them then to take on the responsibility. I gave them all the information on this person plus the landlord and—I guess he was

the caretaker in the establishment—and was an agent who was looking after the house.

Senator McGrand: Now, you come back to this thing, the population is rising rapidly. I take it that this is due to the influx of these people who are coming in from other places. I presume these places are largely in the North. Is that right?

Mrs. Betz: No, I would say they are from all over. We get them from Saskatchewan, Ontario, Southern Manitoba and all over.

Senator McGrand: Well now, how do you compare the life they have? I presume that these people who come here are unhappy with what they have in the places where they have lived and they have moved in. In your experience with them are they better off after they are here or do their conditions worsen after they come here?

Of course, I do not suppose you know much about what their position was before they left where they were.

Mrs. Betz: I have had a chance to see this. I have lived in the area myself before I moved to the city. I have an understanding of the kind of conditions they had to live in.

Senator McGrand: What resources do they have in these communities?

Mrs. Betz: Well, this is it. They do not have any and yet they would be happy if they could have it in the home areas because they would see their children going to school and not having to compete with the rat race of the city. They would just love to stay there if they had a job in their own home areas and their children could go to school and I think the most important thing is that they want their children to have an education today.

Senator McGrand: If you move into this Northern area and take a look at it, what resources are there up there to make a livelihood or whatever they have been living on up there? What do they work at in the North?

I have never been up there. I am completely ignorant of Northern Manitoba in what they call the inner lake district and so on but I do realize that conditions are bad.

What are they surviving on up there, mostly trapping?

Mrs. Betz: I would say no. There is trapping but most of them leave their families to go and work somewhere else. During the

sugar beet season they move south to work on the sugar beet farms and they move back home and in the potato season they move back. Some of these people are working for farmers each and every year for the same farmer and they move in and back out again.

Senator McGrand: When you move up North...

Mrs. Betz: You mean farther North?

Senator McGrand: Yes. Did you not work for farmers up there?

Mrs. Betz: No, they don't. Most of them are on the lake.

Senator McGrand: When you say on the lakes, what do you mean; fishing?

Mrs. Betz: Fishing and hunting and trapping for survival. A lot of the young ones are attending school now in the cities and towns south and they are not going back.

Senator McGrand: I have had two reports of the future of trapping. One is that trapping is on its way out. It is no longer a means of livelihood and perhaps the sooner it was finished and closed out the better for everybody.

On the other hand I have been told by people in the Wild Life Branch of the Northern Affairs that the crop of furs in Northern Canada and I presume this takes in Northern Manitoba, is as good as ever before, so have these conflicting reports.

In your experience with these people from the North who are dependent on trapping would you say that trapping is out due to a scarcity of fur or just to the fact that price of the pelt does not buy as much as it used to? Which is it?

Mr. Munroe: Yes. I would say that trapping—you mentioned something which involves more than just people. You forget these people in the North have lived there for many, many years. They have managed to survive.

We have a tendency today to think in terms of dollars and cents but you must remember these people.

One of the reasons trapping is going out is the fact that pressures from the technological societies have raised and these people must necessarily come to the city and try to adjust to the technology that is going on.

Also in the Northern areas in Manitoba, give you a concrete example at Thompson

They have a mining area there and there are many industries that will in the future be developed in the Northern part of our province and the Northern part of Canada. The mid-continental corridors is a new development which is beginning and there will be a lot of industries and there will be a lot of future in the North, as many people see it.

There are many types of jobs being started.

I think it is wrong for our society to put pressure on many of these residents in the northern areas to come to the city, just to see what it is like. That is why we have so many people in the area. They are getting pressure from the social workers and the agents that are working there at the moment.

Senator McGrand: Do you mean the social workers in the north are promoting the idea of people leaving the north to come to Winnipeg?

Mr. Munroe: Definitely, a lot of them are. Very much so.

Senator McGrand: That is something that I cannot understand, why the social workers of the north knowing the condition that exists here in Metropolitan Winnipeg, which is the only large centre in Manitoba, would say to them "Well, you would be better off in Winnipeg".

Mr. Munroe: They do not say it in so many words. "You would be better off" just like that. They always do it under the lure of better jobs, better housing and so on and so forth.

If you ever want any reports on some of the conditions in the northern areas, you will see why, I suppose some of these social workers have a tendency to do this. There are, for instance, some families with 14 children that are living in a two-room house and the immediate reaction of a person who is used to living in a three or four-room house with only five children is "Well, this is really terrible".

Senator McGrand: This is the social worker's point of view, you mean?

Mr. Munroe: Right, most social workers and Indian agents and what have you. This has been the trend over the past years. They have people in the cities with their facilities and their individual society...

Senator McGrand: They do it largely, I suppose, because of the opportunity of better education.

Mr. Munroe: Yes.

Senator Belisle: Mr. Munroe, my question will be directed to you. Regarding your brief here you say in Section 4 under employment and income (a) "Each Centre should have a Manpower representative to furnish information regarding services for employment counselling, up-grading, job finding and work training programs."

Do you not take advantage of the present training facilities available to all Canadians by the Canada Manpower Assistance Act or is it not available to Indians and Metis?

My second question would be: have you applied directly to the Federal Government for the establishment of a Training Centre for your own two groups? You say there are 18,000. That is enough for the establishment, in my thinking, of a centre right amongst your group.

Mr. Munroe: To answer your first question I think the Indian people have been taken advantage of the opportunities provided by Manpower and the different employment opportunities that they do have in the city.

However, as you know a lot of these people have an education deficiency and in order to cope or to meet the standards even in a construction job in the city, you have to have certain standards and a lot of these do not have the education so they do not qualify for many of the jobs they would like to have when they go to Manpower and consequently Manpower, I suppose, cannot provide them with the jobs and they come to us in many instances.

The second part of the question I didn't get.

Senator Belisle: Have you applied directly to the Federal Government for the establishment of a centre in your own group?

Mr. Munroe: Not to my knowledge, no.

Senator Belisle: I gather from this you are not too pleased—like most of us Canadians—regarding education. Would you prefer to have your education switched from the provincial to the federal or vice-versa? Which one do you prefer? Would you prefer to be under the federal? My understanding is that most of the education of Indians and Metis and other people are a direct federal responsibility while they are on the reservations.

Senator Fergusson: Not Metis.

The Chairman: It is a provincial service delivered by the provinces. The Federal Government pays.

Senator Belisle: It is contracted by the province?

The Chairman: Yes, they are contacted from the province.

Senator Belisle: What can we do to better the educational system?

Mr. Munroe: Well, one of the things you can do is to bring education to the people, not the people to education because this is what has been happening over the past 100 years. They have always transported the Indian people from God knows where to somewhere 500 or 600 miles away from their own home communities and this hasn't worked for the simple reason that the type of education these people get is completely unsuited for their special needs.

I would say that there has to be a complete education program that has to be geared to the individual community. It has to be developed for that particular community and this type of education—I am not only speaking for the Indian people but I think for all of the rural people that come into this educational system.

Senator Belisle: What can we do or what can people do to keep their children in school longer so that they would be able to take advantage of the training program when they leave their community?

Mr. Munroe: Well, as I said right now what is happening at the present time and what has been happening over the past 100 years is the fact these people have been taken away from their homes for a period of 10 months and from their families and when they get old enough and they went into the home to carry on the responsibility of raising a family, they have to leave school.

What I am saying is that if the education is brought to the people in the community level and on the local level where they can have an opportunity to expand their education all the way up to grade 12—and especially if there was a grade 12—and to have some sort of up-grading courses in the community where it is requested; and there are people requesting this now to the organization; I think that you could solve a lot of the problems that are confronting this committee here.

Senator Belisle: Am I right in assuming that you would prefer to have the children educated in their own locality and not transported?

Mr. Munroe: Very definitely.

Senator Belisle: You are referring to elementary or secondary school?

Mr. Munroe: Elementary, secondary, vocational, business and what have you, business college. If you want. These things should be done right in the community.

Senator Belisle: Is it practical to have small community schools, for example, to have its own vocational, technical training centre? Do you have enough? We in Ontario try to centralize in order that we take advantage of facilities that are available to the large centres.

Senator McGrand: What is the population of one of the communities to which you refer? How many would it be, 1,000, 2,000? What would it be? What is the population of these communities?

Mr. Munroe: The population of the communities I am referring to would be between one and three thousand people and the small communities that the senator mentioned there, of course, would have to centralize somewhere but there would be an Indian agent and they would have hopefully, Indian instructors.

Senator McGrand: Now, what would be the skills that you think would be more suitable to the Indian? That seems to be the question—that the Indian should be permitted to carry on his old Indian culture and his old skills. What skills are there that you think would be suitable? Do you think the old skills of the Indian of 100 years ago would be suitable for the environment of today?

Mr. Munroe: Well, I do not know what you mean by "old skills". I have not seen any of these old skills you are talking about.

Senator McGrand: I have not either, but as I read this material that I ran across it seems that the Indian does not want to be incorporated in the Canadian way of life. He doesn't feel he is a Canadian. He feels he is a Indian living in Canada and that he has certain traditional cultures and that carry from certain traditional skills and he wants to preserve his way of life.

What skills would you teach him in this modern technology that will permit him to carry on his traditional way of life? I think that is very important.

Mr. Munroe: Well, one of the first skills I would teach him actually is the ability to get a better understanding of himself and to get a self-image. Once that has been achieved, all these other things, housing and all these other things will...

Senator McGrand: Come naturally.

Mr. Munroe: Come naturally.

Senator Everett: Mr. Munroe, I wonder if you could look at item d on the top of page 2. You talk about a supplement to the minimum wage. I wonder if you could expand how that might work?

Mrs. Betz: For instance, I have one fellow that is earning \$50 a week. He is paying \$80 a month rent and he has seven children. Now, how do you suppose this man is surviving and his family? Certainly they would have to have a supplemental income.

Senator Everett: I am very sympathetic to the situation and the fact that the minimum wage is insufficient especially when the family is large. All I am asking you is: by what method are you proposing to pay this supplement? You see the danger you run into. If you have a minimum wage that was dependent say on the number of children in the family or on the cost that the man has suffered, then an employer would select a man to whom the supplement would not be payable.

I recognize the supplement is necessary but I am asking you as to how the supplement should be paid?

Mrs. Betz: This would have to be paid by the province, possibly the welfare or something.

I know that this fellow I am talking about is very proud. He does not want to go on any type of assistance. I know he is not going to be able to manage. I can see it. I have six myself and I am having a heck of a time and both of us are working. He is the only bread earner in his family.

Senator Everett: So what you are suggesting is that if anybody were on the minimal wage for each child they had they could apply to the welfare or provincial government or some provincial government agency for an

addition to the minimum wage in much the same way as the baby bonus is paid.

Mrs. Betz: Yes, I would because there are an awful lot here to consider now. These children are small yet but most children grow up. They are going to want the same things their neighbours want and that is where the breakdown occurs. It is because they have not enough to provide for the family. This is where the breakdown occurs.

This is the preventive part I am considering rather than X number of dollars per child. It is the breakdown the family has to go through by the time that all of the children reach the age of say 12 or 13. It costs you more money to keep the family going once you have them in the junior high level because they want things at that age and any family will try and give this.

This is what I mean, it is a breakdown in between and they are in a poverty-stricken area. There is going to be a breakdown in the family and here you are going to have a juvenile delinquent and, you know, who have the skill to get something, to have something, you know. This is where the breakdown occurs.

This is why we are living in a poverty-stricken area and there is an awful lot of this petty stuff, you know, of trying to get a little bit of excitement through a lot of nail polish remover and all these little things, hanging around in the pool halls. These kids are bumming off people on the street just for survival. This is the type of thing. That is what I mean.

Senator Everett: Can you tell me what, in your view, the minimum wage should be? I think it is \$1.25 and this will be raised in November to \$1.35. I would be interested to know what you think a fair minimum wage should be. Have you thought of that?

Mrs. Betz: I would say \$1.65 or \$1.85 would be sufficient.

Senator Everett: Is there a general agreement on that, \$1.65 or \$1.85?

One of the areas you mention here, you talk about the need for information and service centres. We are very very interested in that because time and again we seem to find that people who are by the law do not understand the law, do not even know it exists, do not know how to prosecute it, do not know how to get legal help.

I would be interested in knowing what specific ideas you have if any, and how these information service centres should work.

Mrs. Betz: Well, it would have to be someone possibly from the province, some real humanitarian that would be hired in these areas because a lot of these people living in these areas do not know how to do so many things and yet they want—. They give up after a certain point. This is what I am working with a lot, these people—. They just to get away from everything, will go out and get drunk. They don't care what happens to them because nobody cares. They have been kicked out of their place and they are moving from one place to the other.

These information centres could be useful to someone like this, you know, just gives them a lift.

It could be in regards to employment, recreation, exactly all the items we have recommended here. There are so many things that should be done in these areas that is lacking.

Senator Everett: Has your colleague something to say?

Mrs. Duggan: I was thinking about the young girls who come in from the reserves. They are uneducated. Of course, they do not know anything about the cities. They often wind up on Main Street or on the drag. Of course, they get into every sort of trouble you can imagine and these centres would certainly help these girls, you know, for information and education they need.

Senator Everett: How many do you think you would need in Winnipeg to do a proper job?

Mrs. Betz: Well, I would say four or five in the areas that I cover, in the slum areas where most of the Indians live. It takes in a big part of the downtown area, what we call the downtown area.

Senator Everett: How large a staff do you think each centre should have?

Mrs. Duggan: Well, I hadn't really thought about that but as you can see in the brief all the things we want to do.

Senator Everett: Should it include a lawyer?

Mrs. Betz: I beg your pardon?

Senator Everett: Should the staff include a lawyer?

Mrs. Betz: I think it would be a good idea to have a lawyer giving advice to it.

Mrs. Duggan: Yes.

Senator Everett: Thank you.

Senator Belisle: May I be permitted to ask another question?

The Chairman: Of course.

Senator Belisle: In Halifax and Charlottetown we had different views regarding education. We were told that in Halifax the environment of the child developed from three to five to six and his environment is made probably for part or all of his life. We were told that it would be good to have a kindergarten starting at four like the kindergartens in Ontario, Quebec and other provinces.

But we heard something from a social worker and especially a man who had a PhD in sociology who said there should not be any school before the age of seven or eight. Do you believe that or would you rather have kindergartens?

Mrs. Duggan: Yes, definitely. I believe children do need this education at this age but they also need a good environment. That has to go with the education with the day nurseries and the environment is what we want in the areas that they live in.

Senator Belisle: But your experience has been it is an asset to have a half day of school starting from four or five.

Mrs. Duggan: Well, we are starting to get day nurseries now. We do have one at the Centre that we have but it is not enough. There are hundreds of children that cannot be accommodated.

Senator Belisle: My final question is: if the environment of the home is not what it should be (and we are told that this is due to lack of proper education) where have we failed in our primary education to create an environment for them after they are out of school or to create the proper environment for their children.

Mrs. Duggan: Well, I guess it goes back to poverty, that somewhere along the way when people are forced to live in these areas—don't know—it leads there to delinquency in a lot of parents and drop-outs and broken homes and alcoholism goes with it on the parents' part. Just a lack of education, guess, in a lot of ways.

Senator Belisle: Thank you. I introduce the question and it was a delicate and difficult question and you did very well. Thank you.

Senator McGrand: This kindergarten to which you refer, do you have a kindergarten here?

Mrs. Duggan: No. It is a day nursery.

Senator McGrand: Do you have integration among Indian and White people in this kindergarten or are they exclusively for your Indian and Metis children?

Mrs. Duggan: Well, at our Centre we have here in Winnipeg it is just Indian and Metis. We could not possibly accommodate others.

Senator Connolly: Mr. Chairman, if I may ask a question?

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Connolly: Am I correct and did I hear properly that Mr. Munroe said he preferred to have the children educated at home sites rather than be absorbed in the general education system elsewhere?

Mr. Munroe: Very definitely.

Senator Connolly: That is correct?

Mr. Munroe: That is what I said.

Senator Connolly: How then do you expect a child or children to realize that there is a world outside the world he has always known or an environment other than the one in which he was brought up.

Mr. Munroe: Because the type of education I had foreseen in the community I have described would not only include that particular small community but it would move out into the rest of the world. I never said for one minute it would be closed to that particular community. When you talk of education, education is a world, from what I understand.

Senator Connolly: I must say to you in all kindness I find myself in complete disagreement with you and I will tell you why.

Mr. Munroe: That is your privilege.

Senator Connolly: I think in the back of your mind it is a thought that the child might be subject to some humiliation by moving outside his own sphere into another sphere—and that may be true—but in the attainment of greater objectives, larger education, more general knowledge of the world and its people and its affairs, which he in turn could translate to his own people, isn't a little bit of humiliation worthwhile?

What about the poor people from all of the groups in this country who get by on scholarships for university, who wear poor clothes, who have to absorb the same sort of thing?

Mr. Munroe: Do you know what it is like to be humiliated?

Senator Connolly: Pardon?

Mr. Munroe: Do you know what it is like to be humiliated?

Senator Connolly: Oh yes. I have good reason to know.

Mr. Munroe: Okay.

Senator Connolly: I have personal reasons to know.

Mr. Munroe: My personal reaction to that particular statement would be to begin with I never said for one minute that a particular individual would be completely confined to that community for the rest of his life.

He would be in the community from which he could get a foundation from which he could move into greater society. I believe a lot of these people who come to the city do not have that foundation. They do not have any solid ground they can stand on and that is why they have a problem. That is why we get all these problems.

That is why we are here today with a brief on poverty, because people haven't got a leg to stand on.

If you can give them this leg to stand on when they are young and when they are small, no man or nobody in the world is ever going to stop them from taking their rightful place in society no matter where they are, and that is my concern.

That is the reason why I said take education to the people and you will see in 30 years a new Indian and a new Metis people.

Senator Connolly: I hope you are right but we are having so many diversifications with our people in this country that I become more fearful every day of the ultimate consequences. We forget we are all Canadians and we ought not to subdivide ourselves into cultures and isolate ourselves from our fellow Canadians no matter what our ethnic origins are.

It is a great mistake and this country will suffer if we continue to do this sort of thing. It doesn't matter whether we are English,

Scotch, Irish, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Metis or Indian or whatnot, we will all suffer the same consequences.

Mr. Munroe: May I ask you this, sir? Who started all this? Who started all this subdividing?

Senator Connolly: That is not for the moment of importance. The fact is we should recognize it.

Mr. Munroe: That is where it starts. It started when somebody said "This is where I am. I am here" and "This person is over here". That is where it all began and as much as I hate it it is here. It is a reality. Now, what the hell are we going to do about it?

Senator Connolly: There is no use perpetuating it. What we have to do is to try and correct the law and not labour under real or imaginary injustices.

Senator Everett: Mr. Munroe, when you are talking about taking education to the Indian, you are not talking about making that education exclusively in their area?

Mr. Munroe: Definitely.

Senator Everett: You are contrasting now that the Indian children are taken from the reservation?

Mr. Munroe: Right.

Senator Everett: And brought to an Indian school many miles from their home community and then taken back again.

Mr. Munroe: Yes.

Senator Everett: You are talking about educational centres in the community or near the community?

Mr. Munroe: Right.

Senator Everett: But not exclusively for Indians?

Mr. Munroe: Oh definitely not.

Senator Hastings: That is not the curriculum for Indians.

Mr. Munroe: Well, sir, in communities where the majority of people would be Indian, I would suggest that you would have the curriculum to suit them that would be Indian; that would teach them something about their background that when some joe comes along and says "Well, you have nothing to be proud of" they can turn around and

say "Like hell I have because I know" and that is the trouble with a lot of people. My own teacher was a priest. I was 15 years old. He says "Indians got nothing to be proud of. You have never done anything". I did not know at that time but I know better now.

Senator Fergusson: I have one question I would like to ask in a quite different area. I would like to say first that I am always delighted when we have senior witnesses who can appear before this committee and present very clear and informative briefs in which they show a great deal of knowledge and give interesting answers when they are questioned and I say to this group they have both given us an excellent brief and these people have answered the questions in a most intelligible way.

I do congratulate you for your presentation.

I think your suggestion regarding the Centre is very excellent. Whether we can do anything to help bring this about or not, I do not know. What my question was has nothing to do with what I have said but I am particularly interested in the fact that Mrs. Betz is a court worker for the Friendship Centre.

I would like to know if you are the only court worker, Mrs. Betz, and do you appear in court with people who are charged or are you just a social worker with these people?

I would like to go beyond that because I would like to ask if you feel there is any discrimination against Indian girls and Indian women? That is when an Indian girl or woman is arrested and charged, and perhaps convicted for an offence that if it were done by a White woman it might not result in a serious charge or the serious results for her?

Mrs. Betz: Well, you have so many questions here.

Senator Fergusson: I mostly want the last one.

Mrs. Betz: Yes. I am the only worker of Indian descent and because I speak the language as well, I am able to assist the court magistrates and the town prosecutors and lawyers.

These women we are talking about possibly are arrested and charged, you would have to consider them as the individual person which I always do. They are all individuals. Because they have committed some offence of possibly drunk on the street or intoxication, they are

individuals, and this is how I work with them.

They at one time may have been repeaters but I still phone them up and work along with them and they know I become concerned with them so that even if they fall down again and get picked up again, then I will pick them up again.

Now, since I have worked there the police department has called before laying a charge in some instances. They have called me and I have talked to the person and I felt they had no grounds for it and they accepted this.

Senator Fergusson: Good.

Mrs. Betz: And I communicated with the legal aid. I used the legal aid so much. They don't like me when I call, what I am calling about. They say "Who is it" and "What is the charge".

I get an awful lot of free legal advice as well because there are people who are appearing in court that do not come under the legal aid so I still consult a lawyer and ask him "What is the right thing to do here?"

In fact I think possibly one of the lawyers—if a person can afford it, they will pay so much for the lawyer. If they cannot afford it then I will explain to the lawyer "This person is making \$50 a week and he has seven children. We know he cannot possibly pay \$250 to a lawyer to defend him", so I sort of feel around and see what I can find and then consult with this lawyer and see what can be done here; so that I am available every day.

I am there at all times. I have to go to the Law Courts Building occasionally to interpret as well, or sometimes a lawyer will say "You know, I have this client. I cannot make him understand me. We cannot defend him properly" so I go down and interview this person because I speak the language. I can get more information from the person and then give this advice to the lawyer so that...

Senator McGrand: May I ask you just what language do you speak, Cree?

Mrs. Betz: Sioux.

Senator McGrand: What is the language in the home of most Metis people?

Mrs. Betz: Sioux or Cree. Whichever they speak, it doesn't matter. It depends on the area where they come from. Maybe they come from an area where they speak a lot of Cree. Then invariably the family will pick it up but you

are going to find an awful lot of the Indian children just speak English now, especially in the cities; although I came across one family that has lived in the city for three generations now and they still do not speak English.

Now, that is really surprising.

Senator Everett: Can you tell me how Legal Aid works in this province?

Mrs. Betz: Well, it depends on what the charge is. I think it has been a summary address or some conviction. This comes under the Legal Aid, free Legal Aid and Legal Aid have different counsels, different lawyers assigned to each day and each day they have two counsel on duty in the courts, in the Magistrate's Court and in the Law Courts Building it is a provincial court and they work for five days, I think two different lawyers who do five days a week. There are 10 lawyers assigned. They work for five days and then they turn around and we have another duty counsel on duty all the time.

They come in around noon, 12.30 to one o'clock or a quarter to two and the court starts at two o'clock so if a person is in custody, I think this is primarily the purpose of the Legal Aid. So many people have been held in custody, have lost their jobs, have lost their places, their establishments, their suites or houses by being held in custody three or four days at a time.

Now, there was one fellow that was held in custody for five months and then they found out, they stayed proceedings. Now, this is ridiculous for a party nine months in confinement, waiting for a trial and then a stay of proceedings.

He was just released and that is all.

The Chairman: Because he couldn't put up the bail?

Mrs. Betz: Because he couldn't put up \$8,000 bail money.

Senator McGrand: You are in social work. What is your training in social work?

Mrs. Betz: That is one question I always avoid answering.

Senator McGrand: That is fine. I understand. What I mean is the work is mostly voluntary?

Mrs. Betz: No. I did voluntary work for seven years and then I got into this work.

Senator McGrand: Who pays you?

Mrs. Betz: Indian and Metis Friendship Centre.

Senator Everett: Are you pleased with the Legal Aid service you have just described?

Mrs. Betz: Yes, I am.

The Chairman: We have got a few minutes more. Does anyone have any questions they would like to ask?

Mr. Glassco: Mr. Chairman, I am a social worker. One of the senators raised a question of Human Rights Legislation. I think he said "Surely this exists in this province" and I just wanted to point out that unlike Nova Scotia, Ontario and possibly New Brunswick there is no Human Rights Commission in this province.

We do have legislation related to fair accommodation practices, fair employment practices but most of the social workers and most of the poor do not know this legislation exists and even though social workers who know it exists and try to get people to launch complaints in the courts as discriminatory practice, are unsuccessful because the onus is on the person who is the victim of discrimination to go into the courts to establish his case.

I just wanted to clarify this particular point. I think too that our practice has not given too much attention to instances related to discrimination. It is a condition that exists; that legislation will not improve attitudes of the public towards minority groups. I do not particularly agree with this.

There is another matter I would like to bring to the Committee's attention and I think this has some bearing in the federal field and that has to do with the practice of applying quotas to residents in housing projects. The thing is that everyone is interested in the success of public housing programs and so to have a quota for so many welfare recipients and perhaps you have a quota for so many persons of Indian or Metis background.

I think perhaps the Committee might make a real contribution here if they examine the quota practice in housing projects.

The Chairman: Mr. Glassco, you are knowledgeable on this. What do you suggest instead of the quota? As it is now they try to give everyone a fair shake in the best way they can. What do you suggest as an alternative?

Mr. Glassco: I do not think the quota was really set up—although it may have been

originally set up as a fair shake. Mr. Chairman, I think it has come to be used as a way of having a successful quiet housing project.

I do not think that they should have a quota. I think that what should be done is that the people who apply and get on the list and get in for a vacancy, irrespective of whether they are on welfare or from ethnic backgrounds, should be allowed to go in and they should leave it to the people there and presumably the social workers to help them resolve these conflicts that may exist in the project.

Senator Belisle: May I ask a question of Mr. Glassco?

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Belisle: Mr. Glassco, yesterday I had the opportunity of visiting the penitentiary. I mention this because you said you are a social worker. We were told that we were placing too much emphasis on education, educational degrees and not enough on the human approach of social problems by social workers. Do you agree with that thinking?

If a man does not qualify with a B.A. or a PhD we question him. Do you feel that we should place more emphasis on the ability to communicate?

Mr. Glassco: I believe that there is a role for many people in our society to play in the area of the social worker. I do not believe that all of the helping tasks that are required in welfare have to be carried out by highly qualified social trained personnel but I do believe that there are degrees of training in orientation here—even if you are talking about a person with a grade four education who could assume certain helping tasks.

I happen to work in an agency in which there are 24 local people employed, doing an excellent job, working as a team with highly trained professional social workers.

I think that the efforts here of both the experienced people working with knowledge of their own community and local conditions working as a team with the professional people, has proved to be very effective.

The Chairman: Senator Belisle, I thought Mrs. Betz, who is a graduate of a school of hard knocks, was a pretty good example of one who has not got a lot of diplomas but has an awful lot of common sense.

Senator Belisle: I agree, Mr. Chairman, with what she said.

The Chairman: This other school is very useful. Are there any other questions?

Mrs. Cree: I am a student of social welfare. I am interested in knowing if there are any programs right now on the reserves or in Winnipeg for people of Indian and Metis descent, because in my opinion, the present programs of service now available for the people are not sufficient. They are just little patchy efforts in proportion to the size of the Indian problem and the result is that industrial society is producing social mutations in these Indian people.

Now, the real problem is that these people have not integrated into their personalities more of the white population as far as the values of education and achievement are concerned.

Mr. Munroe: That is not our fault. At the present moment the Friendship Centres are trying to move away as much as possible from being a welfare agency, which is what we are, and becoming concentrated on more on programs of service to the community.

Some of the things we are working towards at the Friendship Centre is development and cultivation of leaders. We would like to take some social action on certain issues which we have not done (and none of the Centres in Canada has done) and very few agencies have taken it upon themselves to take a stand in these matters.

We are also working to get citizens in the community involved in what we are doing. Now, I can agree with you there are very few programs on the reserves in Indian communities that have any reality to the situation at hand and this is one of the tragedies of social workers when they find there is really nothing there for the people and I think maybe this is one of the reasons why they move them out very rapidly and direct them into the city.

But the Indian Brotherhood and I think maybe the Federation are working on this at the moment and trying to develop programs and courses that will have relevance to the communities and to the people that are in these communities at this time.

The Chairman: Thank you. Well, Mr. Munroe and ladies, we thank you for coming here and making this presentation and answering the questions that were put to you so well and so intelligently. You gave us a great deal of information of which we were

not too well aware. This is all helpful and I hope that something of considerable value will result from this presentation that you made here this morning.

Thank you very much.

We will now hear from the Winnipeg Welfare Rights Movement. This is an organization of citizens receiving relief assistance. Members participating in meetings dealing with welfare problems, prepare briefs for governments and share information on welfare information and services. They do their own funding through their own memberships.

Mrs. Betty Carson, sitting on my right will introduce the delegation and tell us all about their activities.

Mrs. Betty Carson, Member, Winnipeg Welfare Rights Movement: Good morning, Mr. Chairman and senators. Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure this morning to introduce to you on my extreme right Mrs. Hilda Towers, Chairman of the Welfare Rights Movement and on City Welfare. Mrs. Yvonne Putman to my extreme right who will give a case history of examples and receiving supplementary help from the Provincial Government. Mrs. Vivian Hales on low income and myself, Mrs. Betty Carson on Provincial Mother's Allowance.

Mrs. Hilda Towers, Chairman, Winnipeg Welfare Rights Movement: Thank you, Mrs. Carson. On behalf of the Welfare Rights Movement in Winnipeg I would like to present this brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, taking into consideration concerns of the citizens of Winnipeg.

The purpose of this brief is to show the inconsistency in health and welfare programs sponsored by Municipal, Provincial and Federal Governments as they affect all people, who are existing on a poverty or below poverty level.

We would also like to make the public aware, that we, on welfare and in the low income bracket, are human and do not have to accept the status of a "Second-hand Rose".

We feel that the inconsistencies we will mention later on in this brief, and the bad image are unnecessary, unjust and undemocratic and want to make it clear to all that we no longer are prepared to take this lying down. We the "silent minority" are standing up—ready to take action.

Inconsistency:

Below you will find a list of inconsistent areas with which we are most concerned:

1. Municipal Welfare is one of the main concerns of the people. We find that some people applying for Municipal Welfare are pushed around by staff and Social Workers and get a raw deal. The rates of assistance seem to vary from person to person and Municipality to Municipality, unless by chance you are aware of your civil and legal rights you may find yourself eating grass and without a roof over your head. There is a definite lack of information for the people in this particular program, such as what you are entitled to and we would like to know WHY.

This situation has been discussed with many past, present and future recipients. For example, Mrs. B. Carson, Mrs. G. Stubbs, and Mrs. H. Towers have all been on City Public Welfare for three years or more, yet according to the Social Allowance Act all were and/or are eligible for a Provincial Mothers Allowance. The Social Allowance Act of Manitoba states that—"Social Allowance shall be paid only to—a person who—would be likely to lack the basic necessities and—has been deserted by her husband for a period of more than one year". These women should have been, after one year with the City Welfare Department.

2. Provincial Welfare has been discussed by the Welfare Rights Movement with many of the clients and staff of Provincial Department of Health and Social Services. We have found similar inconsistencies in rate, rights and treatment in spite of the fact that the Social Allowance Act, 1963/Manitoba, Section 3 states, "—the Government of Manitoba and each of the several municipalities in the Province may take such measures as are necessary for the purpose of ensuring that no resident of Manitoba, including an Indian as defined in the Indian Act (Canada), lacks

(a) such things, goods and services as are essential to his health and well-being, including food, clothing, shelter, and essential surgical, medical, optical, dental, and other remedial treatment, care and attention; and

(b) an adequate funeral upon his death."

We feel that the same service should be offered to all clients by the Provincial Welfare—equal rights to all. For example:

(1) Madam X and family are allowed to earn \$40.00 per month with no deduction from her allowance. Madam Z at the same time, in the same regional office is only allowed \$20.00 while her family is larger.

INCONSISTENCY.

(ii) The ladies on Provincial Welfare both served by the same office; one lady with 5 children is allowed \$75.00 per month for rent whereas the other with only 2 children is allowed \$100.00 THIS IS INCONSISTENT.

(iii) Mrs. A. on Provincial Welfare with 2 children requests information regarding the Social Assistance Act and Regulations. She was told that such information was not for the public consumption and anyone making available regulations governing amounts of assistance could possibly lose his job. Yet other staff and Regions make this information readily available as a democratic right.

MORE INCONSISTENCY.

(iv) We have had contact with several families who have had marital and other problems and these people have not received counselling or other help. As a result these families have no choice but to break up and at this point the Provincial Government was prepared to spend hundreds of dollars a month to keep the kids in foster homes—away from their natural parents. This money should have been invested in the natural family situation to keep the family together and prevent this criminal situation from happening. We as mothers deplore it.

The Federal Government is paying at least 50% of the total cost of all Welfare programs—yet do not seem concerned about how the public monies are spent or misspent. In paying 50% of the cost, the Federal Government is also inconsistent because they are supporting the inconsistencies previously mentioned.

Legal Aid Services have been reviewed by the Welfare Rights Movement and we find some inconsistencies in them. For example:

(i) Legal Aid (free) is denied many people on welfare and in the low income brackets while it is available to others if they can pull strings.

(ii) Legal services (paid). Many lawyers will not accept a legal case unless the client has a substantial income. Also, for the same type of case, a lawyer will charge one family as much as \$500 more than another family. It is also inconsistent that while the Federal Government has relaxed the laws on divorce, yet it has not made it any easier for the people on assistance or in the low income bracket to bring their case to court.

The public should be made aware of inconsistent treatment towards people on Welfare.

and low income bracket. We the Welfare Rights Movement feel that if we don't have an adequate budget, we don't belong to society. The public, at times, looks down at us, our children and our families and this has serious implications on our pride, dignity and well being. The public seldom judges persons on welfare as an individual. The majority are made to suffer due to unfortunate problems of the few.

We question whether any group of individuals have the right to judge another's social behaviour anyway.

"Judge not lest ye be judged", but people on welfare and low income brackets always seem to be lumped together as cattle and many times are treated as such. WHY? For example:

(i) Mrs. G on Provincial Welfare, going to University, working part-time for a local curling club for the past 3 years and trying to raise 5 children, was introduced to a new manager. At his club Mr. Manager demanded that Mrs. G. address him as Mr. M. after he found out Mrs. G was a welfare recipient. Mrs. G gave no argument, providing he return the same courtesy and refer to her as Mrs. The manager refused to do this and fired Mrs. G. Was Mrs. G not entitled to the same respect? In the past, we have been forced to accept the status of a second class citizen and made to feel we are "charity cases". Are we to be denied the basic respect due to all Canadians? We don't think so.

Public Officials can make it or break it for people on welfare and low income bracket, by simply stating a biased or prejudice remark about the above people. A politician or a senior public servant has in his power to sway public opinion either constructively or in a destructive manner. These people can, by a simple rule or policy change, make life more comfortable or unbearable for a large number of people. For example:

(i) Why are these public officials not giving us the help we need? When we attend public meetings and raise grievances, the public official can rectify the situation the next day, for the individual raising the grievance. Why not all who have similar complaints? Should one man rule the lives of so many?

Public Servants, including hospitals and police, after being reviewed by the Welfare Rights Movement are inconsistent in their treatment of their poverty-poor citizens. They sometimes don't consider it necessary to act with the same speed or efficiency as they do

the upper income? Do these people not require health services and protection, etc., on a consistent basis? Because they are on welfare or have limited income, they have to sit and wait until the police and hospitals are good and ready to serve. For example:

(i) Mrs. S on welfare with 5 children was recently incarcerated for the following reason. The husband of one of her neighbours was involved in a shoplifting offence. Because this woman had a brief superficial contact with this man, she had her house ransacked by the police (without a warrant). She was interrogated, put in a police line-up, only to find they were mistaken. There had been a mistake in identity.

We understand a policeman's job is difficult, but that it is meant to be difficult, to protect the rights of individuals. A policeman's job is only easy in a police state. It shouldn't make any difference what side of the track your home is on. All people deserve the same treatment by the law enforcers hired by them to protect them. On the other hand, we talked to other people on welfare who cannot have a policeman interfere with their fights even if one adult person in the family makes this request directly.

We understand that the police don't make the laws, and that health services are short of funds, but how many children and mothers have to suffer and in some cases die, before some real changes are made.

News media, which includes press, T.V., radio, are inconsistent in their dealings with low income people and people on welfare. Only the negative facts are publicized. These are the "facts" printed in bold ink. The average hard working soul seems to reach the press in three lines, "in the Obituary column". WHY?

Social Workers: All of the people under the Welfare system deal with Social Workers in one way or another. Here is another area that the Welfare Rights Movement finds a great inconsistency. A large majority of these workers don't care about their clients. They are programmed to avoid conflict and do not take any stand nor will they defend their client openly. Although intimately aware of the problems of the poor, they seem to be afraid to lash out and rock the boat of the establishment. Many social workers seem to have sold out on professional values to the status quo, and by their silence, are in effect saying that we live in the best possible world. We only (welfare and low income people)

know that this is not the best possible world and invite Social Workers to join us in the war on poverty in a realistic and consistent basis.

Image (Second-Hand Rose): Why must people on welfare and low income be stuck with the image of a second-hand rose?

One reason the Welfare Rights Movement is involved in writing this brief is to assist people on welfare and low income bracket to rise above the negative image that has been unjustly created around them. In spite of the fact that a person is on welfare, they still maintain a certain amount of pride and dignity. Under this present system the pride and dignity of the individual is being crushed. People on welfare and low income bracket have been denied equality, individuality, choice and the right of choice. They are discriminated against in terms of color, race and creed, and financial and marital status of mothers alone. There is prejudice and discrimination simply because the word "welfare" is tacked on every aspect of daily living. People are not allowed to live individual private lives. We have been forced to accept this situation but cannot condone it. We believe that all men are entitled to equal human, civil, legal and welfare rights. I quote from the Canadian Bill of Human Rights, Statutes of Canada 1960, Chapter 44,

"It is hereby recognized and declared that in Canada there have existed and shall continue to exist without discrimination by reason of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex, the following human rights and fundamental freedoms, namely,

- (a) the right of the individual to life, liberty, security of the person and enjoyment of property, and the right not to be deprived thereof except by due process of law;
- (b) the right of the individual to equality before the law and the protection of the law;
- (c) freedom of religion;
- (d) freedom of speech;
- (e) freedom of assembly and association; and
- (f) freedom of the press."

Because there is a contradiction between reality and the Bill of Human Rights—that all people are supposedly equal but yet are not treated justly—is of prime importance to the Welfare Rights Movement.

People on Welfare and low income bracket are the same as men anywhere, have the

same needs and command the same respect and individuality regardless. Society and the Welfare Rights Movement cannot tolerate injustice.

Solutions: The Welfare Rights Movement is involved in what we feel to be immediate and tentative solutions to the problem we have described. We also have some suggestions as to a long term and permanent solution.

We intend to obtain information and provide a pamphlet on Welfare Rights, this is, rules and regulations concerning the specific welfare programs, their eligibility requirements, their rates, etc., and have this readily available and accessible to people on welfare and low income bracket. Thereby eliminating the fear and oppression of the unknown.

The Welfare Rights Movement also listen to people's grievances as they pertain to welfare rights and will stand behind these people as they deal with agencies, institutions, etc.

We intend to establish two-way communication with policy-makers at all Government levels, so that the consumer of welfare services gets a fair deal.

We are prepared to take whatever action is necessary to enforce the "Bill of Human Rights" and more specifically the welfare legislation of the Province.

We intend to assist people on welfare and low income bracket to obtain the rights to negotiate their annual wage—on a regular consistent basis. Money is an important factor and people have a right to voice their opinion as to how much they need. For people on welfare there is no regular compensation for a yearly cost of living increase and for other necessities of life. For example, winter clothing and appliances. If people have the right to negotiate their annual wage and allowance this would be the first step in eliminating the poverty situation as it is. We shall be approaching people about the following long term solutions;

An insured credit rating: People on welfare and low income bracket are capable of handling credit as anyone if protected from exploitation. Government should be involved in the controlling of this.

The exploiters of human misery: Some landlords, some lousy businessmen, should be black listed. We will be approaching people about dealing with this undemocratic situation.

We shall be approaching the educational system to insure better educational opportunities.

ties and want to be involved in the development of a realistic program for people on welfare and low income bracket and their children. Our children representing our future Canada, should be our prime investment.

We want, in the very near future, a guaranteed annual income on a sliding scale and geared to the size of family for all Canadians. This would insure positive human rights to all and would avoid the very purpose of this brief, that is, to eliminate the inconsistency of the present-day welfare system.

We also feel that this is a democratic country and people should be assisted and encourage to use their democratic rights so they may realistically be involved in the events that shape their future.

A quote from Tom Eagle's presentation to the Premier and Cabinet of the Province of Manitoba on August 14, 1968, is very descriptive of our feelings: "(People) without hope, resigned to despair and oppression, do not make revolutions. It is when expectations replace submissions, when despair is touched with the awareness of possibility, that the forces of human desire and the passion for justice are unloosed." Thank you.

Mrs. Yvonne Putman, Secretary, Winnipeg Welfare Rights Movement: This is my own representation to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, attention of Mr. Michael Lague.

I would like to express my own family's experience on some of the major problems that have confronted us as a family. The first being against my children being called legitimate. Of this I feel very strongly, for these children are truly wanted, so how can we call or label them in society as legitimate.

The second problem is that of abuse in being shifted through city and provincial welfare offices from one place to another. Do you now what it feels like to walk in, sign a paper and you are put on the road and then they assume no more responsibility to you or our children? I have had this happen, gentlemen. I have even been threatened in a Provincial Welfare office. And thirdly there is this Canada Man-power Relocation Grants. You see I have experienced depression, loss of belonging in one province or the other and no place to turn in a time of desperate need. I came to Winnipeg August 31, 1967 to 1005

Burrows Avenue looking for two things for our family; one security and the second a chance to settle down and belong first as a Canadian citizen and second as a mother with two small children.

We ran into difficulty at the worst time of the year in the early part of February. My husband was out of work after only five months. We did not have residence. Where do you turn at times like these?

We were told that we didn't belong in Winnipeg and why should they help us. We called on one Stanley Knowles N.D.P., Winnipeg North. We had one letter. How can you wait for months on end.

Manpower only looked after you until your Grant was complete, after that no help morally.

My husband was told in a welfare office to go looking for work so he left to go to Prince Rupert, British Columbia. Columbia Cellulose. How did he get back? Well, the Manpower wouldn't help him. You see he had 21 years in a paper mill. I felt that this is his potential to bring his income to a point where he could make a decent living. Well the Salvation Army sent him to Edmonton and again the Salvation Army paid his way home to his family in Winnipeg.

If there are not social injustices and a good example that we need special focus on these problems, then I do not know why I am writing this down on paper. I have faced small problems since I was 17 but after twenty years I feel I must speak out and what better place than here.

Violence will not achieve what people are after. It will have to be the people speaking out against all injustices whether they are big or small.

General Outline on Poverty

In preparing this brief and the guidelines on poverty I have reached these conclusions:

1. It definitely depends on where you live. In living in Winnipeg I have found that most poor people live in Ghettos with very little help to do something about it. They have no hope except to wait for changes.

2. Secondly I find that some Provinces are better off than others either through power or finances.

3. Thirdly there are two kinds of poor people; (a) there are people who live on the border of poverty either because of a low

income or debts or both (b) then there are the really poor people such as some of our citizens in our fair city who look to lanes with garbage cans to find a soup bone to take home and have something to eat.

People who are on welfare are definitely looked down upon in their community. As soon as they find out you are on welfare they don't even know you. I would say origin has nothing to do with it. If you are poor it doesn't matter because something is definitely wrong in Canada.

I think a good long look at the different provinces and how each Province treats its poor would be needed before we could clarify this situation.

I would like to see incentive given to the provinces most needing it and more backing by the Federal level so that the Province would work much closer with the poor and help to give these human beings the chance to really live in this Canada that we all call home. I have seen children in Winnipeg with barely enough clothing to get through the winter and it's cold here which means it costs more for winter clothing.

I have given my dinner to someone who had less than I have in a restaurant and, gentlemen, I am poor. It is my reasoning that as long as people lack the essentials of life there will be ignorance and poverty growing to such an extent that there will be no controlling it and God help us all then.

We must do something now while there is time to change this ugly state of poverty.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, I wonder if the witness would turn to page 11. I am quite sympathetic with this section on education personally. You say

We shall be approaching the education system to insure better educational opportunities and want to be involved in the development of a realistic program for people on welfare and low income bracket and their children.

I do not think there is a more glaring example where we must attack poverty than in education. I think personally it is the greatest contributor to poverty and I am in complete sympathy with this.

I would like to ask you when you say "you are going to develop a realistic program", what do you envisage in a realistic program?

Mrs. Towers: I would like to ensure our children are eligible and that they have a

knowledge, that they will be able to attend university and get a good education. I do not want to see my children go on welfare when they get older.

Senator Hastings: You are not criticizing the curriculum. You want the opportunity?

Mrs. Towers: Right. We feel we have the same rights to the same opportunities as you or anybody else in this room and just because we are on welfare, we are not entitled to this.

Senator Hastings: After the last war the Government of Canada invested a great deal of money in the veterans to complete their education and I think it has been proven beyond a doubt that this money was returned to the people of Canada by increased earning power of these veterans.

Now personally I would like to see an incentive to a student on welfare or from a poor area to stay in school. I am not thinking of \$10 a month. I am thinking of a weekly allowance of say \$18 a week provided he stays in school and obtains his mark and that would be enough money so he could clothe himself and have a little spending money to maintain his standard with other student and give him a sense of participation.

What would be your thoughts on that?

Mrs. Towers: Senator, we would like to see it too, because I know for one I would like to see my children as well dressed as the next and not have to feel humiliated because happen to be on welfare because we are there because we have no other choice. It would either go to welfare or starve.

Senator Hastings: Would that incentive of meaningful weekly allowance be enough?

Mrs. Towers: Well, in terms of clothing they are quite expensive. That would have to be based on the yearly rise.

Senator Hastings: I am not thinking of the amount. I am thinking of the principle.

Mrs. Towers: It would be a start. It would be a start, I feel. How do you girls feel about it?

Mrs. Carson: I think I feel most children leave school because they are embarrassed at the clothing they have to wear and also they feel they are a burden to their parents so they want to get away from the home and go out and work and by getting work and by getting money they are going to help the

parents. This would be keeping them in school.

Senator Hastings: Do they leave school to help their parents or do they leave school because of the rejection of society?

Mrs. Carson: I think it is a little bit of both.

Senator Fergusson: There was one question I was interested in on page 11 under paragraph 6.9. "We want, in the very near future, a guaranteed annual income on a sliding scale and geared to the size of family for all Canadians."

This assumption I found a little puzzling because I thought we really accepted it in Canada that people should be paid at the rate for their job. You know, women have been requesting equal pay. It is based on that. They should be paid according to the job they do.

In this case you are recommending that the guaranteed income is on a sliding scale.

Mrs. Carson: I think the sliding scale here meant, Senator, due to the fact of the increase of food, the cost of living. That is what we mean by the sliding scale, I think.

Senator Fergusson: It says here "Geared to the size of the family".

Mrs. Towers: Yes, geared to the size of the family.

Senator Fergusson: I see. I see. I guess I misunderstood it.

Mrs. Towers: You see, every year food goes up, clothing goes up and our cheques stay where they are. In fact we are due for a raise now.

Senator Fergusson: On page 4 you mention that three women, Mrs. Carson, Mrs. Stubbs and Mrs. Towers have all been on City Public Welfare for three years, yet—"if you wanted to say, that they apparently would have been entitled to get the Provincial Allowance. Would that have been a higher rate if they had gotten the Provincial Allowance?"

Mrs. Towers: Yes, ma'am and it's not apparent. They are entitled.

Senator Fergusson: They are entitled?

Mrs. Towers: Right.

Senator Fergusson: Well, I see. If they were getting it, they would be getting more than they were getting under the social allowance?

Mrs. Carson: Yes.

The Chairman: Were they given a choice?

Mrs. Towers: No, sir. I was never given a choice. I am on City Welfare and have been there for three years and I should have been on Provincial Welfare two and a half years ago.

The Chairman: Did they say to you: "Take one or the other"?

Mrs. Towers: I never heard a word. I asked the question. I never heard. Nobody offered to even stick me on there.

Mrs. Carson: Senator, I was on City Welfare and in order to get on the Provincial Welfare program I have to go down and apply for it myself. I think we should be automatically taken over by the Provincial Government without us having to go down to apply for it ourselves.

Senator Belisle: Mr. Chairman, I got by-passed but I have a few questions.

The Chairman: Yes. Mrs. Towers, in connection with this welfare, are you aware that there is such a thing as an appeal procedure?

Mrs. Towers: Yes, we are.

The Chairman: Tell us how it works.

Mrs. Towers: I wish I knew.

The Chairman: If you are aware—

Mrs. Towers: We are aware that it exists but to my knowledge there is only one case that has gone before the Provincial Welfare and that was—before any welfare I should say—and that was some time last week when one of our group members made an appeal to the Board in the St. Boniface Welfare Department and that is the first known case I have ever heard of, that somebody has appealed.

Mrs. Carson: The point is, Senator, while we are appealing, where do you get your money from while a case is going through? It takes two or three months. Who is going to pay you in the meantime?

The Chairman: They do not come off their assistance?

Mrs. Carson: Yes, they do. In some cases they do.

The Chairman: You mean if you appeal they take you off your allowance on welfare?

Mrs. Towers: It depends on the circumstances. This woman here—the welfare worker accused her of living with her husband—which she wasn't doing and they cut her off of welfare. For three months this woman received no welfare so she decided she was going to fight this thing rather than sit in a corner and be a mouse and so she did. She appealed. She has won her case. She is now back on welfare.

The Chairman: It is all right to leave your husband?

Mrs. Towers: No, no. What I am saying is she won her case. Regardless of that she was put back on welfare and these facts that were mentioned and stated against her were not so at all. She was not living with him.

The Chairman: And now that the door has been opened in that the only appeal that has been taken has been won by you (and you are very knowledgeable on what is going on from the brief you have put in and so are your girls who are here) does that not leave an avenue for you to correct some of the immediate evils?

Mrs. Towers: We hope so, Senator, but a lot of people are not aware of their rights and people are not aware that there is such a thing as an appeal board or a Welfare Rights Movement.

Mrs. Carson: I think you must realize too that people on welfare have a fear of being cut off their allowance immediately so therefore they just sit back and take whatever is given to them without mentioning anything.

The Chairman: We have heard that too.

Senator Everett: I wonder if I could ask a question from a member of the audience? I would like to ask a question of a member of the audience.

The Chairman: Certainly.

Senator Everett: I would like to address my question to Mr. Glassco.

I understand, sir, that from your introduction on the previous brief that you are a social worker. I notice that in this brief and in so many briefs we have received, the people who are on welfare complained that they cannot get proper information. They do not know what is going on. They do not know what to do about it.

Certainly that is a terrible indictment of the professional social worker and the way in which social agencies are doing their job.

Mr. Glassco: I do not know why you called me down here to answer this question. I think the answer is obvious. Yes, I think it is a terrible indictment in terms of the commitment we have made in our profession.

I think that—I cannot answer that question. I think the answer is obvious. Of course, it is a terrible indictment.

Senator Everett: What do you believe should be done about it?

Mr. Glassco: I believe that we should be doing some of the things that we are doing about it now. I think that we do bring people together, that we do try to inform them of the regulations and rules under Social Allowance Act. I think there are more answers but I think also you have to recognize that the professional and social worker does work in the system. He works in a system that limits his knowledge and his techniques and his skills and somehow there has to be a way in which a social worker can practise which allows him greater latitude to apply his knowledge and skills for which he has been trained.

In other words by working within the social allowance system or the child welfare system then my knowledge and my skills are prescribed by that particular legislation and so in order for me to really get into the whole system or to have a broader scope for my professional practice, I have to have the kind of conditions that will allow me to do this.

Senator Everett: What sort of conditions do you think are necessary?

Mr. Glassco: I think the whole idea we earlier suggested of the information centre where, if you had lawyers and social worker working there, and somehow the financial arrangements were more flexible where the social worker could say "All right, I will help this person with counselling," but in order to help them achieve a certain goal I also need funds and somehow funds have to be available and the accountability has to be there too.

To some extent it has to be divorced from the present kind of welfare system we have.

Senator Everett: In other words there has got to be more judgment exercised at the firing line, so to speak—

Mr. Glassco: That is right.

Senator Everett: And less at the legislative level?

Mr. Glassco: Yes.

Senator Everett: And the bureaucratic level.

Mr. Glassco: Exactly. If you want to bring the people and the professional practitioners together, this is what should happen.

Senator Everett: Thank you, Mr. Glassco.

Mr. Glassco: You are welcome.

Senator Belisle: May I be permitted to say this is a very good brief and there is a lot of meat in it but I am inclined to think there is some political connotation in it as well.

My question will be: on page 6, which is referring to divorce, you say,

It is also inconsistent that while the Federal Government has relaxed the laws on divorce, yet it has not made it any easier for the people on assistance or in the low income bracket to bring their case to court.

I was a member of the Senate Special Committee on Divorce that studied and brought this legislation about which I call a very liberal piece of legislation.

My question is this: I am informed that in Ontario you can get a divorce for approximately \$100. I am not a lawyer but I would like to have a licence to practice. But, is that too much?

Mrs. Towers: Approximately for how much?

Senator Belisle: \$100.

Mrs. Towers: \$90?

Senator Hastings: \$100.

Senator Belisle: Less than \$100.

Mrs. Towers: Where?

Senator Belisle: In Ontario?

Mrs. Towers: In Ontario?

Mrs. Carson: May I interject here?

Senator Belisle: The reason I am asking this is that you want everybody to raise the rates to assist the poor so the poor can have a raise. We must assist also in thinking that

others should have some too. I think that lawyers who charge less than \$100.

Mrs. Putman: May I please interject here. I have just received a divorce decree from Ontario in April of this year and I was sent by the Welfare Department in London, Ontario to apply for legal aid, free legal aid.

Now, all I had to do was fill out a paper with my income for the month. I was passed through to the free legal aid society. I was given a choice of lawyers to go to so I could obtain my divorce.

I was sent from the Welfare. They do not do that in Manitoba. Why is it not statutory across the country? Why from province to province?

Mrs. Towers: This is our biggest beef, Senator, is the fact that you go down to what is called free legal aid and they tell you in so many words "Get lost. You are on welfare. We do not want nothing to do with you." Welfare will not pay for your divorce. What are you supposed to do?

Senator Belisle: Evidently you do not agree with me because she got one through legal aid.

Mrs. Towers: Yes, but that was through Ontario. This is Manitoba.

Mrs. Putman: This is what my point is. Why is it good for Ontario and it is not good for Manitoba. Why should it not be the same across the country?

Senator Belisle: I only live in Quebec.

Mrs. Putman: My divorce never cost me one red cent.

Mrs. Towers: There is no such thing as free legal aid here in Manitoba for people on Welfare.

Senator Everett: I am most interested in that because I think from each brief that has been presented we have been given a different view of legal aid. As a matter of fact I have been asking questions on the subject. I would like to know what you understand the legal aid system in Manitoba to be.

Mrs. Towers: Well, as far as I understand about free legal aid it is for people that have a limited income or are on welfare can come down and get legal advice or get a separation through a given lawyer because this has happened to me to get a separation. This is all it has covered.

Now why should I after three and a half years of separation have to live alone or else live common law, which is very distasteful to me. Why cannot I go to free legal aid and say "Look I have got reasons. My husband deserted me. I would like to have a divorce so that maybe—just maybe—I might be able to find somebody else rather than go out and live common law".

Senator Everett: Have you gone and asked them those questions?

Mrs. Towers: Well, certainly, but they don't give divorces.

Mrs. Carson: I have also applied for a divorce there. They said they just will not accept a divorce through free legal aid because the first time the divorce laws came there they found there was about fifty million people down there the first day trying to apply for a divorce through legal aid.

Senator Belisle: May I make a comment on this? It is my information and Senator Croll is also so informed, that you do not need a lawyer in Ontario to have a divorce. You can go through the District Court, the County Court or the District Court clerk and get a divorce.

Senator Everett: You do not have to have a lawyer in any court.

The Chairman: Let us get this thing settled here now. Senator Everett and I have been making some inquiries about this very business of divorce because we have heard evidence here yesterday and today about it. We are informed by a very intelligent and a very capable woman who gave evidence here this morning—and we questioned her—that they do provide divorces for people on Welfare here through the legal department or do give them legal aid free of charge. I do not know for whom or for why. She told us that is what they did.

Mrs. Towers: More inconsistency.

Senator Everett: I would suggest this, Mr. Chairman, that the legal aid in this province should make a clear public statement as to what they will and will not do and that statement should be carried by all the news media and by the various social agencies so that at least people do understand what they have in mind because if nothing else is clear, nobody in this province appears to understand what their rights are under the legal aid system.

I think until we understand that, it is very difficult to rectify the wrongs. I would strongly suggest that that be done.

The Chairman: It seems to me, Senator Everett, from the evidence we have had before us,—despite the fact we saw that lady ourselves—the evidence appears to be it is not available in the ordinary course of application.

That is the evidence and if the Law Society are prepared to accept that and the lawyers are prepared to accept that, it is then up to them but that is all we can do for the moment.

I am sure that somebody will hear about it very quickly and it will probably be you because you live in Winnipeg and you will convey it to us.

Senator Everett: I will indeed. I suspect they may make a statement.

Senator Belisle: I would like to ask another question.

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Belisle: And it is a pleasure for me to ask this one. On page 3.8 "News media which includes press, T.V. and radio are being inconsistent—". In other words, not only the Government but they are also inconsistent. "—in their dealings with low income people and people on Welfare. Only the negative facts are publicized. These are the 'facts' printed in bold ink. The average hard working soul seems to reach the press in three lines, 'in the Obituary Column'. WHY?"

Well, could you elaborate on that? That is quite a crude statement.

Mrs. Towers: I beg your pardon?

Senator Belisle: Could you elaborate on that?

Mrs. Towers: Well, Senator, we have held meetings and we have invited a lot of people in government and we have invited the press and T.V. You want to know who gets the coverage; the big shots! They get columns and columns. We get about three or four lines.

You know what I mean like. You know, we feel this is not right. We are entitled to a column, you know, the same as you.

The Chairman: You have got company Vice-President Agnew is complaining too.

Mrs. Towers: Yes, but this is not only the point too. I mean, when it comes down to the bare facts people on low income—. If you are, you know, a bit shot walking down the street and he has had it up to here already and the man in the low income bracket, he is not doing any too bad either—it is always the people in the low income bracket that are slandered for being a little tipsy, you know and this is where they come down. They say three-quarters of the per cent of alcoholism is in the low income bracket. What about the boys up in the higher one? Don't tell me they are all teetotalers.

The Chairman: If you are in the low income bracket you are drunk. If you are in the high income bracket you are inebriated.

Mrs. Towers: Right.

Senator Belisle: In other words the well-to-do man if he is locked up here he is an alcoholic and the other man is a drunk.

Senator Hastings: Can I ask you, Mrs. Putman, one question. You say, Mrs. Putman, that "Thirdly there is this Canada Manpower Relocation Grant".

I gather you have had some experience. Can you tell me what that is?

Mrs. Putman: Well, I was buying a little house in Fort William, Ontario and unfortunately there is not much industry there any more, except two paper mills and Canada Car so my husband couldn't find steady work there. Welfare told him to take his unemployment cheque and look for a job. So he came to Winnipeg which I didn't want to do in the first place. He found a job two hours after he got off the bus and three weeks later the children and I came out.

We signed off our property because we couldn't keep it then. We were here exactly five months and he was laid off. This was a bad winter, you know, the place he was working, so we had to go and apply for Welfare.

We were told by a certain alderman we did not qualify in the City of Winnipeg. We were not residents. Now, where do you go at a time like this? You do not have money to go back to where you came from and you must fall back on these people.

Senator Hastings: You say "Thirdly is this Canada Manpower Relocation Grant." From the way I am reading it...

Mrs. Putman: I am not against the grant itself provided there was a stipulation there that a job is permanent, at least for a year, to give you a chance to settle down in one place.

Senator Hastings: You did get a Relocation Grant?

Mrs. Putman: Yes.

Senator Hastings: And you moved to Winnipeg?

Mrs. Putman: Yes. As soon as that was finished the trouble started. You know, it was fine till the grant was finished and then we had absolutely nothing to fall back on except his pay that was coming in because we had bought furniture to help us get started here and this is the only time—

I think there should be a stipulation in these grants that unless there is a guarantee of a year's work that you leave people where they are. I do not think it is fair to the family.

Senator Hastings: I would think one of the regulations would be permanent employment.

Mrs. Putman: This is what we thought at the time.

Senator Hastings: I would not think they would move a family for a temporary employment. I would think that would be one of the basic requirements. A man must have permanent employment when you relocate him.

The Chairman: They were helped to move but it just happened to be bad luck all around.

Mrs. Putman: Yes.

The Chairman: What sort of job was it?

Mrs. Putman: Well, it was supposed to be permanent employment.

The Chairman: Yes, but what kind of job was it?

Mrs. Putman: It was at Sheermac Industries.

The Chairman: Did something happen to the industry?

Mrs. Putman: No, it was just a slack winter.

The Chairman: They were trying to help.

Well, we have got about five or seven minutes left.

Senator Everett: On page 11 of your brief, Item 6, you talk about an insured credit rating. Can you tell me what you have in mind more specifically.

Mrs. Towers: Well, sir, I figure I am just as good as anybody else, but when I go to Eaton's and ask for credit, they say, "Fine, what is your name? Where do you work?" "I am on Welfare". Forget it.

Why can I not get credit because I am on Welfare. I ask you. I pay my bills. Why can't I get it.

Senator Everett: I do not know why you cannot get it.

Mrs. Towers: I do not know either.

Senator Everett: What I am interested in knowing is what you are specifically suggesting to overcome this problem.

Mrs. Towers: Anybody any suggestions?

Mrs. Carson: Did you ask why?

Senator Everett: No, I did not ask why. I can understand why. Especially if you pay your bills I can understand why. What I want to know is if you have any ideas on how you can achieve an insured credit rating.

You say you should have an insured credit rating. People on Welfare should have an insured credit rating and the Government should be involved in the controlling of this. All I am asking you is: have you any suggestions?

Mrs. Carson: Yes. I would suggest maybe our Provincial Welfare Department back us up because I think we have got a better credit rating than anybody because they know it is going to come off our cheque if we do not pay our bills.

Senator Hastings: You are saying the Welfare Department should give a guarantee...

Mrs. Carson: Right.

Senator Everett: ...to credit granting agencies?

Mrs. Carson: Yes. This was also, you know, help us to buy our clothing when it goes on sale because we do not always have money when the sale is on.

Senator Everett: I am sure that would be very important.

Mrs. Towers: Yes.

The Chairman: Actually there are two stores in New York, large stores, that do provide some credit rating for people on Welfare and have an arrangement with the Welfare Department in order, as Mrs. Carson suggests, these ladies will be able to buy on sale and at other times. I do not know the exact details of what is involved.

Senator Everett: Presumably that is the sort of arrangement you are talking about between the Welfare Department and the major departmental stores?

Mrs. Towers: That is right.

The Chairman: I would just hate to be the Welfare Department that had to take something from one of their cheques because that is part of their pay.

Mrs. Carson: May I ask you something?

I can appreciate the research you people do. I can appreciate the hearings that you have allowed us to attend. I would like to know why you have not taken some of the government officials and given them one of our substandard houses, and given them the income (we have had to live on) and since this will not be finished until 1970, how about starting the people in 1970 and let them live in our circumstances for one year.

The Chairman: Well, of course, we are trying to change your circumstances as quickly as we can.

Now, we have got a few minutes. We have got a very tight schedule. Are there any questions from the audience?

Mrs. Altemeyer: Yes, senator. I have been at the hearing this morning and last night and for part of the time yesterday afternoon. I have also had some contact with your people beforehand. We are faced with this contradiction. We had a meeting with your liaison officers and we suggested to them that many people that will be appearing before you can give you individual instances of poverty and individual reasons for their particular case but that you yourself are already in a good position. You have indicated in your speech in the Senate you have a fair idea of the nature of the problem and on a much broader scale.

A quote that is almost directly what you said early last year in the Debates on the creation of this Committee was that "We have had 20 years of continuous economic upsurge and yet we still have this poverty".

We suggest the reasons for poverty are not really the sums of individual reasons why this particular person is poor but there are structural reasons. We suggested that there should be some sort of dialogue between you and the poor people.

You are trying to explain to us why we have this 20 years of continuous economic upsurge and why we are continuing to have all these sort of problems and why we have resources, human resources, industrial resources, all sorts of resources going idle; why our economic priorities are decided the way they are; why this economic structure creates these problems and your liaison officer suggested: "Yes, indeed, perhaps there could be some sort of exchange".

We know full well that you have a broad idea of poverty in this country. We know full well there are structural reasons. Perhaps your studies of it would give you some idea just exactly what these are. I think we have hit upon the reason for this Committee from your earlier speeches on the Senate Committee.

You said "A great struggle is beginning and that those people who have been using power for their economic benefits had better watch it".

You even admitted the people who have a rising—or combining together the poor and minority groups and you included students that they would have a good cause. I assure you they will and I do not think that going around letting people think that they are engaged in participatory democracy when you are not willing to engage in any kind of dialogue, a two-way thing, and you are going around trying to explain why you have these 20 years of continuous economic upsurge and yet we have these immense problems.

I do not think you are going to succeed in fooling the people for too long.

The Chairman: Well, I would just like to say that certainly we can see the poor people here yesterday and today and we are carrying on a dialogue with them. We are trying to find out some of the reasons for poverty, what suggestions they make as to how it can be alleviated or how it can be eradicated.

Mr. Altmeyster: May I ask you a supplementary question. Why C is on poverty?

Do you think those reasons all combined are the reasons or do you believe the reasons are that we have to avoid inflation and that

means we have got to have our unemployment rate at 5% or 6%? Which are the reasons? Because individual people are poor together or because we have an economic system that has to have unemployment?

The Chairman: Well, poverty has many causes, many climes. We are not at all too sure what those causes are and that is one of the reasons that we are a fact finding committee and we are trying to find out.

The people that tell us that you ought to know all about poverty, why do you come and ask us are mistaken. We do not know all there is to know about poverty so we are bringing in people who come here on their own volition.

They say "We are part of the system that is not benefiting from the wealth of this country", and we have carried on a dialogue with them.

Now, it is rather difficult, you know, for even senators to try and carry on a dialogue with a million people who are, at the present in one way or the other, within the welfare system. There are approximately that number. We have not the exact figures so we try and what we have done is to go out in the country and try to see if we cannot find a formula for approaching these people.

Actually in Vancouver, we are trying out a different formula than we have tried here and when we have tried them all out we will sit down and decide which is the best way for us to make an approach to the poor people particularly. We know how to meet these other people.

Mr. Altmeyster: You can begin by telling us why there is so much unemployment.

The Chairman: I cannot hear you.

Mr. Altmeyster: You can begin by telling us why our economic system requires an awful lot of unemployment.

The Chairman: If I knew that I wouldn't be here. I can assure you of that. If I could tell you that—and I can't get the answer from anybody else so do not ask me—it is not that easy, but, of course, if anybody has the answer I will be glad to listen.

Mr. Altmeyster: It is a capitalistic system.

The Chairman: Are there any more questions from the audience?

From the Floor: I would like to address my question to Mrs. Towers. I wonder if she

would have any suggestions according to her brief—I do not know it word by word—but it is something about the government is ready to spend hundreds and hundreds of dollars after the children have scattered from their natural homes.

Mrs. Towers: Yes.

From the Floor: Do you have any suggestions to keep the family together and persuade the government to spend money on that family?

Mrs. Towers: We would suggest a guaranteed annual income for the natural family. This would keep children out of foster homes. A lot of these children are placed in foster homes for the simple reason there just is not enough money; which causes conflict and drinking and a lot of other things; but if they had enough money these things could possibly if not all be eliminated—a good portion of them could be and the family would be helped and kept together.

We feel the family kept together is more important.

From the Floor: I agree with you and I wish further to encourage you to write perhaps a letter to Prime Minister Trudeau and state your brief to him.

Mrs. Towers: Do you think he would understand? He hasn't got any kids.

Mrs. Greenlace: Senator Croll, I am a mother living on the Mothers Allowance. There is one point I wish these women had brought out more clearly. Once our children are all in school and we are able to work part-time, we are discouraged from doing it. We are encouraged to remain at home on welfare instead of helping ourselves.

Why cannot we be urged to help ourselves or allowed to help ourselves.

Mrs. Carson: We are only allowed a guaranteed income of \$20.

Mrs. Towers: We are only allowed to make \$20 a month.

Mrs. Greenlace: Why cannot we make \$100.

Mrs. Towers: Right. Anything over that comes off our cheque.

The Chairman: Mrs. Greenlace you were not before the Committee in the other room were you?

Mrs. Greenlace: No, I was not.

The Chairman: Well, of course, that question has been raised on many occasions particularly from the welfare group, that they are not permitted to go out and earn money up to a certain amount, a very small amount. I think they said \$20 is free and then there are deductions.

Mrs. Greenlace: Yes.

The Chairman: Some more inconsistencies. Under other laws they do permit 50-50 up to a point. That point has been made and we think it is quite unfair.

Mrs. Greenlace: I think this would reflect on the children. Any extra money that a mother earned would keep these children in school.

The Chairman: I will tell you what is likely to help a woman with children. There are a great number of them in this country. If you have noticed the possibility of the White Paper makes a possible allowance for a woman of up to four children of \$500 each for day care or some other sort of care so she can get out to work. Well that may be helpful and come in quite handy.

Mrs. Greenlace: It might for the ones who wanted to go to work initially. For those who want to work and who are on welfare we are discouraged all the time.

The Chairman: You have a point on that matter, madam. We will take note of it.

From the Floor: As a follow-up to the lady's suggestion about putting some of the Senators on the welfare allowance, I would be interested in knowing where you have stayed while you have been in Winnipeg and was it ever contemplated that maybe you should be lodged—I understand there are two hotels here in Winnipeg that are being used to house people who are on welfare and have been unable to find other housing in the city.

It seems to me as though it would have been an invaluable experience for the Senators to also live in these hotels with these people and it may be a suggestion that you can use in your travels across the country rather than staying—I do not know where you have been staying but it might be valuable to stay with people who are on low income.

Senator Belisle: Knowing that the C.N.R. is costing the government and the tax payer considerable amount of money each year w

felt we should encourage our own enterprise, the C.N.R.

Mrs. Putman: May I ask you something, Senator Croll?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Putman: You said the welfare system is 42 years old and it was not a complete failure, just a failure. What did you mean by that?

The Chairman: That is exactly what I said.

Mrs. Putman: Do you not think we have too many welfare officers?

The Chairman: What I said was it was not a complete failure. I had in mind some parts of it that are really worthwhile and can be saved.

For instance, family allowances; if they are brought within meaningful amounts is a very valuable measure that can go on. What has happened is that we brought it in originally and we have hardly changed it at all and it is not kept up with the economy or the cost of living and to that extent it has fallen behind. But it is an excellent measure, in my opinion.

Now, the Old Age Security is one of the real jewels in our crown and it may be that it could be made very meaningful.

These are the types of things that I had in mind that are worth saving. However, that is another matter, and that is about it.

Now, ladies you have presented a good brief, well drawn and you were in good voice, Mrs. Towers, and you made an impression upon the Committee, all of the ladies have not only visually but otherwise and we thank you for coming here.

We thank you for another reason. We do not like to ask people to come here and submit themselves for examination in this way publicly. Your privacy is as important as my privacy but you came here on your own and you gave us your views and it is very helpful to us and for that we are most thankful.

Before we finish, Senator Inman and Senator Sparrow heard two briefs this morning. I would like to have their report to the Committee.

Senator Inman: It is only short.

Senator Sparrow and I have heard two very interesting and nice briefs this morning; one of them on behalf of the Mothers Allowance Committee and one on behalf of the Senior Citizens.

Welfare has many problems. We learned that. We know that but it would appear from both briefs that the greatest need is for better and for more housing and some control over rents. The actual money allowance is about one-third lower than is necessary for actual needs. Now, this applies to both the Mothers Allowance and the Senior Citizens.

From the Mothers Allowance Committee we heard that more social workers are needed and also more social workers that are interested in counselling, regarding up-grading and family problems. Social workers now have not time enough to spend with those who need help and there is too much red tape in dealing with welfare problems.

We heard from one lady who gave us a breakdown of the amounts of money that a mother gets with children. The mother gets \$28.60. Each person from 15 to 19 gets \$33 per month, from 12 to 14, \$29.70 a month, from 7 to 11, \$24.20 and from 4 to 6, \$19.80 a month and from birth to 3 years, \$17.60, a month.

Now, for one or more she certainly would need at least \$190.40, she tells us and I would repeat again that housing is the biggest problem they have and it is discrimination. Those are the things they would like to see rectified.

Now, perhaps Senator Sparrow has something to add to that.

Senator Sparrow: Thank you, Senator. You made a very good report and they were good hearings and I have nothing to add.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Mr. Alfred Walker of the Labour Council approached us yesterday. He had a brief ready and I told him that I did not think we could possibly deal with it because of our very tight schedule. He understands that. He is in the audience. We will have the brief passed around and we will acknowledge it

and see that it is part of the record. But in view of the fact that the Canadian Labour Congress will be coming before us, he will be able to get his views to them so they will be recorded in their brief. I am sure he understands our present situation.

Thank you very much. This meeting is adjourned.

Mrs. Carson: Senator Croll, on behalf of our committee I would like to thank you very much for the hearing.

The hearing adjourned.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 8

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1969

WITNESSES:

Group of Community Workers: Mrs. Margaret Mitchell, Director; Mrs. Darlene Marzari; Mr. Herb Barbolet; *Vancouver Inner-City Services Project:* Mr. Max Beck, Director; Mr. Michael Harcourt; *The Association to Tackle Adverse Conditions:* Mr. J. Minicaieloe, Chairman; Miss Kie Yagi, Secretary; Mr. Joe Farrera; *The Vancouver Housing Inter-Project Council:* Mrs. Dorothy Thomas, President; Mr. William Johnston, Chairman of the Brief Committee.

APPENDICES:

- A.—Brief submitted by the Group of Community Workers.
- B.—Brief submitted by the Vancouver Inter-City Services Project.
- C.—Brief submitted by the Association to Tackle Adverse Conditions.
- D.—Supplementary information from the Brief submitted by the Vancouver Housing Inter-Project Council.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators

Bélisle	Everett	Lefrançois
Carter	Fergusson	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Fournier (<i>Madawaska- Restigouche, Deputy Chairman</i>)	McGrand
Cook		Pearson
Croll	Hastings	Quart
Eudes	Inman	Roebuck
		Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract of the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969.

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban; rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract of the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

The the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Vancouver, British Columbia,
WEDNESDAY, November 19, 1969.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Belisle, Connolly (*Halifax North*), Croll (*Chairman*), Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Hastings, Inman, McGrand and Sparrow. (10)

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

GROUP OF COMMUNITY WORKERS:

Mrs. Margaret Mitchell, Director

Mrs. Darlene Marzari

Mr. Herb Barbolet

The Chairman thanked the above witnesses for their interesting brief and valuable presentation.

At 12.00 noon the Committee adjourned until 2.00 p.m.

At 2.00 p.m. the Committee resumed its hearings.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

VANCOUVER INNER-CITY SERVICES PROJECT:

Mr. Max Beck, Director

Mr. Michael Harcourt

Mr. Beck and his associates were thanked by the Chairman.

At 4.05 p.m. the Committee then adjourned until 7.30 p.m.

At 7.55 p.m. the Committee resumed its hearings.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

THE ASSOCIATION TO TACKLE ADVERSE CONDITIONS:

Mr. J. Minicaieloe, Chairman.

Miss Kie Yagi, Secretary

Mr. Joe Farrera

THE VANCOUVER HOUSING INTER-PROJECT COUNCIL:

Mrs. Dorothy Thomas, President

Mr. William Johnston, Chairman of the Brief Committee

In attendance: Mrs. Shirley Cord, Secretary.

Briefs submitted by the Group of Community Workers, the Vancouver Inner-City Services Project, the Association to Tackle Adverse Conditions, and supplementary information from the brief submitted by the Vancouver Housing Inter-Project Council, are printed as Appendices "A", "B", "C" and "D", respectively, to these proceedings.

At 9.05 p.m. the Committee adjourned until Thursday, November 19th, at 9.30 a.m.

ATTEST:

*Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.*

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Vancouver, British Columbia,

November 19, 1969.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I will call the meeting to order. I will ask the Reverend Glen Baker to appropriately open the proceedings with a prayer.

—Reverend Baker recites prayer.

The Chairman: In opening these proceedings I think I should say that the program we have ahead of us for the next two days just didn't happen; it took a great deal of work and much effort and much putting together.

Mrs. Margaret Mitchell, the Director of Community Development and the Neighbourhood Services Association, is sitting alongside of me and is very much responsible for a great deal of the work in putting this program together. The Committee wishes to express its appreciation.

We have some very good briefs and we will be hearing them as we go along. I should indicate to you that the reference made to this Committee was to examine, report, and recommend on the state of poverty in Canada, and we are a fact-finding board.

We accepted the definition of poverty as it appears in the report of the Economic Council for the time-being, and we also accepted the statistics of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, which in its last report indicated that there are 840,000 families, involving three-and-a-half-million people who are in or below the poverty line.

Now, poverty takes many faces. We have the extreme poverty, the destitution reservation poverty; we have poverty as defined by the Economic Council, which is economic and humanitarian, very widespread, and we have rural poverty, which is a softer kind of poverty—as poverty can be soft—and we have the large city and small city, which is a harsh

kind of poverty. And we have the suburban poverty, which is a new kind of poverty. All have a different face, and we can only pinpoint part of them, and this is the purpose of this project.

Of course, the purpose is to try and do just that. You can appreciate almost a million people receiving assistance of one kind or another and we can't possibly reach them. Now one of the things we can do—well, I think I should tell you that we made a statement of policy and it appears in Senate *Hansard*, and I quote:

In order to contact the poor in every province, two members of our community liaison staff have been across the country twice to meet and visit with them. We think their involvement is essential because the poor have a role to play and must have a voice in their own destiny. A place must be carved out for them around the decision table. Once and for all, if we are going to succeed, they must enter the 'in' group.

In the short while we've been on the road I think it's a fair assumption that the poor are ahead of us. We find them uneasy and unsatisfied but they are organizing and they are being activated. One of the good things that is appearing on the scene is that we now have activists within the community, and there are two kinds. The activists who point out the rights and obligations, and they are for you, the poor.

Then there's the agitator, who points out the rights and forgets the obligations. He is not for the poor. It's for the poor to distinguish between the two because it's difficult for us to lay down any particular definition, but it's well that they should.

When we see the poor doing something for themselves to help themselves in many ways we are heartened. We feel that they are emerging from a long sleep to rightfully take their place in society.

I don't think it's unfair to say that poorness is more circumstance than failure. Two things

we set out to do were, first identify the poor and then to contact the poor. I have indicated to you that we have attempted to contact the poor, and we have been able to identify them. And during the course of the hearings you will see how we do this.

In contacting the poor we try to do it through public and private agencies, social workers, and where they have organizations, but too many of the poor aren't organized. They don't write briefs because they don't have the time, and being poor seems like a full-time job for everybody, but there are some things that are very important to the poor, and in our endeavour to contact them we must not lose sight of the fact that the most prized possession of private citizens is their right to privacy.

We must not invade, in our course of sittings and hearings, upon the poor. One way to bring them back to the fold is to treat them as citizens like any other citizen and restore dignity to them.

What I am saying to you is that we are trying to open the lines of communication and begin a meaningful dialogue with the poor and the people who are concerned for the poor.

After we finish the trip in Vancouver we will assess our situation as to how successful we have been in the light of the hearings we have already had.

Now, don't misunderstand us. We carry no patent medicines; we have no magic formula. We come in goodwill and high hopes, with a sense of dedication, depending upon experience. For us it's the work we want to do. The members wanted to be on this Committee. It's not going to be an exercise in futility, but on the other hand we can't solve these problems unless we face up to it.

One of our tasks is to have the Canadian people face up to this problem, to examine and change things, and how they should be changed, and so we are trying to start a dialogue, a debate, and we are ready for an argument as to how things can be improved.

One thing is certain, when our hearings are finished, and long before every Canadian has a great deal more knowledge about the forgotten Canadians than he ever has before, one of the things that has come out clear, the more we hear, the more hearings we have, is that they are not poor because they are lazy or lack initiative or that they prefer to live on welfare. It's not true and it's being said by

all people at all levels, including the Economic Council.

They are poor because our social structure guarantees poverty for many, intentionally or unintentionally; low minimum wages, unfair taxation at lower levels; inadequate delivery of the services that we have available, and good services they are. And the general consensus is that with all the goodwill that the country has, that our welfare system overall has failed.

It's a little too late now to scotch-tape it or band-aid it. It was built in another day for different people. We have to meet other conditions, other times, and other circumstances. How we are to do it and what will replace it is something that we have to recommend, and we come to you people for help.

You see, what emerges is this: our social conscience has made considerable progress. The basic right of food, clothing, and shelter was recognized in the middle thirties. It wasn't easy, but it came about. The basic right for essential needs got recognition under the Canada Assistance Act in 1966 when we did away with the means test.

The right, narrowly applied, of minimum income first came into recognition in 1966. We have asked ourselves now, are we ready—are the Canadian people ready for a new beginning?

If we ever reach the state where our social development is such that we can extend this more widely, if it is thought wise by the Committee to recognize as a right the maintenance income, or what people call a guaranteed income with supplements, or if we don't do that what do we do?

We have to present it to the Canadian people as a challenge. We have had in all our hearings massive support for a guaranteed annual income. The experts have been cautious and a bit careful about it. It is complicated. It's not just as easy as people say. Let me say, because there are social workers in the group, that if you think that this problem can be solved with money alone you are mistaken. I will give you the best examples of that.

The Americans have shovelled the money in and their problems are there and they are well-meaning people, knowledgeable people as clever as we are and as desirous of finding a solution. There is more to it than that but that is a beginning. It is a necessary beginning.

ning for anyone. We will try and pull out from it.

Sometimes the people in the country say, "Why the Senate Committee?" Well, the Senate Committee has background, experience, and a little more time on their hands than the House of Commons has, and we are not without our achievements, and I am not the kind who is going to try and hide it under the table.

If you don't know what we are doing I am going to tell you. The idea for the guaranteed income originated in the Senate on a report of the aging, and those people who haven't read that report ought to.

We recommended that anyone 65 years or over should receive a guaranteed income, and the government approved it by putting supplements on. It's the only one of its kind in the democratic world today. Those of you who are in touch with the aged realize it. It may be spartan but it's something. It's better than anyone else has under similar circumstances, and it will be improved from time to time.

So we have some credentials for coming but we just haven't got all the answers that are required, so we come to you for ideas; imaginative and realistic ideas, a new concept and new approaches which are so needed today. We are listening and we are hoping that we will be able to reach some conclusions that are beneficial to our country and such that the country can put into effect.

Now, the formula to be used is that those who present briefs will be asked to come up here and speak for ten or fifteen minutes and give us the highlights of the brief and then there will be questions from the senators, and if we have time we will give the audience a chance to ask questions. That's the way it will go for the next two days.

The first brief we have is from the Community Workers, and Mrs. Margaret Mitchell, who is sitting beside me, and Mrs. Darlene Marzari and Mr. Herb Barbolet are here, and I will ask Mrs. Mitchell to introduce them.

Mrs. Margaret Mitchell, Director, Community Workers: Thank you very much, Senator Croll. I know that the senators have had a very strenuous week and arrived in Vancouver only last night, and I am sure you haven't had much time or inclination, probably, to pore through—what I would call a background paper; therefore, Senator Croll

asked if we would comment a little bit more on this brief.

I should say that the group who prepared this—it's really not a group, as it were, but sort of an ad hoc combination of people who came together because we had been dealing with Michael Clague, the Community Liaison Officer for the Committee, and he felt, in addition to the system whom we feel we would certainly not be willing to speak for, it would be useful to have some of us who perhaps are more activists, or be it agitators, Senator Croll, but certainly our front-line workers are very anxious to see changes in our whole social system, particularly in the welfare system, and certainly are very concerned that so many of our Canadian citizens are trapped in what we commonly call the cycle of poverty.

I will just briefly try and skim some of the basic points in the brief and then I have asked Mrs. Marzari, who is with the Department of Social Planning in our city, to give you some idea of the Vancouver scene, and we thought perhaps this was something we should have included in our brief, and Mr. Herb Barbolet, who has also been very active in helping with the brief.

We have a group down in front who are other community workers who have been working along with us, and we felt that they may have other comments to make. Really, our group of community workers, most of whom are working directly with people in front-line jobs, have no great solutions to poverty, and I am sure that the Senate Committee themselves have no simple solutions to poverty.

We do feel, as Senator Croll has said, most strongly that the general public looked at poverty in the 1960's and 1970's and 1980's in quite a different way than they have in the past. I was delighted to hear Senator Croll reiterate again that poverty is no longer based on individual inadequacies. For long it's been the general attitude of the general public that it has been based on individual inadequacies. Most of our points will be limited to our own area of competence and experience. We see ourselves as advocates. We are not experts. We expect to have much greater background of experts from sociology and research fields.

We do urge, however, that the Senate Committee would give major priority to the broad social scene. Our comments will probably be to things that we have direct contact with,

and we therefore would like you to begin by stressing very forcefully the principles which we believe are very basic in the Canadian war on poverty.

These are not in the brief, but we felt that we would be doing a disservice if we looked at them only from a narrow point of view.

The five major principles which we have stated are, first of all, economic development of the community and the extension of a great variety of employment opportunities—these must be the major emphasis in programs to eliminate poverty; to develop our human resources and to extend opportunity in Canada.

We feel that, as social workers, we are really dealing with the aftermath of what is really a social and economic problem. Secondly, every citizen has the right to family security and a decent standard of living. Where this is not possible through inadequate income from employment, the government must ensure that there is through an adequate guaranteed income or guaranteed jobs.

Business firms, we feel, should be required to work with government to provide some of these jobs. It's not only the role of government. Three, business, industry and unions have a major responsibility to co-operate with the government to develop jobs and retraining programs, and must be required by the government to do so. We feel that Canada's manpower should be re-organized to this end to create new job opportunities, which is its main function.

Four, major reform of social policy, and particularly of social institutions and agencies, and also our educational system. This is needed to provide much greater opportunity for the education of our young children, for support of young families, for community development and citizen involvement for what we would call a new approach to education for the living in a very broad and creative sense.

To achieve more opportunity for personal fulfilment and for creative pursuits.

Five, we feel that citizens have a right to opportunities and that all citizens must have a greater say in the decisions that affect their lives. Our cities are becoming so complex and our social systems are so centralized, not only metropolitan but provincially and federally, and you just can't find out where decisions are made, and you will find throughout our whole proposal a plea, really, to decentralize

and to consider the fourth level of government in local communities where people must have a much greater say in the decisions that are going to affect their lives.

We would agree with Senator Croll also that in this we must constantly be enforcing a principle that the rights of citizens, and particularly the right of low-income citizens, and the people affected by society the way it is, should have a basic right to express their concern, to dissent and to organize and to demonstrate and press for change.

If we don't do this, and we don't really recognize and open up channels for this, then I think we are going to have some of the sort of negative attitude if ways of doing this is not found, as Senator Croll was referring to.

We have a section on some of the policies that we felt, in talking together, might help to alleviate some of the situations that exist for people who are on social assistance, for the so-called working poor people who are working and don't earn much, but I would like to suggest, though, that we leave these till later because we think that this is a little more specific, and we have some case examples which might help to bring them to light.

The need for change in the social welfare system: we feel that for too long social services have been remedial and have been very limited in their capacity to do more than just provide maintenance. We are tired ourselves of a kind of band-aid service. None of us as social workers I think ever wanted to do this, and we are also tired of being the scapegoat, as the poor are also tired of being the scapegoat for some of the things that are much bigger in our social system than our economic situation in Canada today.

We want to have much greater emphasis on citizen involvement and citizen self-help projects, and I feel badly that we are presenting first. We would have preferred to present last and have heard the citizen groups first, so I hope you realize we are not presuming at any time to talk on behalf of the citizens. They are going to be quite capable of talking to you themselves.

We favour participation in support of service deliveries, support of neighbourhood services, other than the old idea of centralized institutionalized, agency services. We feel there is a great need for a change in restrictive practices and policies, and particularly we feel that the big public services, the welfare department, the manpower department, the housing authority, several of these are

federal departments and there must be a real attempt to decentralize and to make these more available to people in local communities. We favour creative, innovative programs and we also plead that there be more emphasis on enrichment services in low-income communities. Four things that will help children in low-income families to have a normal chance for growth and development, and for young parents, so people would call this prevention. I think we have to be more specific about what we call means prevention, but we do feel that there should be a much greater weight in local communities towards opportunity for children and young families to develop in a healthy way.

These are some of the things, and I think Mrs. Marzari will be a little more specific about our Vancouver scene. We also have developed a section in our report specifically on citizen participation in community development, and a number of us are community development workers.

In Vancouver there have been increasing emphases in the last couple of years to experiment with community development services in local areas. You may wish to question us more about this.

Many of the citizen groups that will be presenting to you are groups that we have had some contact with, and in several cases we have been involved in helping to organize such groups. We have been specific there, but I think I will give the specifics and perhaps just jump along to our recommendations. These are recommendations that are related probably to the community development side of our presentation.

First, we recommend that public and private funds should be much more available, or if necessary be re-assigned from agencies' services to provide a local development fund in local communities where citizens themselves will be in control of this and will have a much greater opportunity to say what kind of services they want.

We feel such a development fund in those areas will give them a chance to employ their own people. We have a great example in Vancouver now of the tremendous contribution local people can make and people on social welfare or low-income groups can make providing their own programs and their own services. We feel along with this they need the funds to allow them to do these things in an autonomous way.

We feel that the group that is probably the most non-public now, certainly in Vancouver, are the low-income people who are not on social assistance and we now have a considerable allowance for people who are on welfare for community service training, but we have no way of offering this to people who are not on welfare but have a great contribution to make, and who need to be paid for their community services.

Fourth, we feel there should be financial support for government for community development services and that community development workers again should be trained from the community. We feel also that the history across Canada would indicate that community development services should be funded by government and by other groups—should be detached some way from government. There is a history of failure right across Canada in the community development services, and somehow they have to be set up in a way that will protect the need for advocacy and social reform so that community development people can speak freely in constructive ways about change without feeling that their department is going to go out of existence.

Five, financial encouragement should be given to the formation of consumer co-operatives for low-income people. Perhaps through credit unions with special subsidies.

Six, we feel that Central Mortgage and Housing, again a federal organization—we are a little tired about hearing about the partnership every time we ask where the decision is made, the partnership involving the three levels of government, but there is really no way that the decision responsibility is in any way from any one level.

We feel—again, the tenants themselves will be speaking about this—that there must be more decentralization of Central Mortgage and Housing and these kind of things, and there must be an integration at provincial level and there must be a decentralization so that tenants themselves in public housing projects would have a much bigger say in running their own projects, even in purchasing public housing.

They should also certainly have a say in the management of these projects.

Seven, there is a need for major change in Canada Manpower—and we are actually getting this right across Canada...

The Chairman: And we got the ones you just finished on, too.

Mrs. Mitchell: Now, perhaps you will want me to come back to this, so I will just leave that. We debated a lot about the educational system, and we can't—the educational system is a big thing, and it is our area of competence. It is the area of competence of every citizen in Canada, but we feel most strongly that education must be viewed in a much larger picture. It must be education for living, and if we are ever going to have full employment for every citizen in Canada, it's even more important that there should be education for creative thinking in the community for self-fulfilment and for parenthood, and particularly for young people.

We have to look in a much different way for education for young people.

I am sure that you will hear again of how inadequate the system is, really, for low-income families, and for young people who are growing up in communities where they don't have money to pay for most things that other children have.

Nine, we could not mention the fact that the Senate Committee, I believe, chose not to hear from Cool-Aid and middle-class young people. These people have chosen to drop out and to choose poverty. This is probably even more significant as a trend in Canada than the people who have no choice.

If we look towards the 1970's we wonder just what this new type of poverty is. We wonder what kind of values in our system are that are changing when young people deliberately choose poverty rather than affluence, and when they deliberately choose independence and moving away from home rather than accepting their parent's values.

We think it is most important to get the young to cop in. We think it's very important to hear from these young people because we think that they have important things to say and we think it's important to hear from them.

The Chairman: One or two senators on Thursday afternoon will be going to visit Cool Aid to see exactly what they are doing. It is new to them and it is new to me, too.

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, we are delighted to hear that.

Our final point, then, is (we mention this again because it is a federal program), but most of us would feel that the Canada Assistance Plan is of relatively little use in local communities. This is a federal plan which for

a while was good, and probably in principle was good, but it came only in a narrow concept from the welfare department and it requires the approval of two levels of government for it to get into the federal level, and there is such a great need for the Canada Assistance Plan monies—welfare department themselves or community innovative programs—to assist these groups themselves. This really has not been available and we feel there should be a major review of the Canada Assistance Plan and bring out some new kind of plan, a welfare plan, welfare grants are probably a little bit more creative, if only in a demonstration kind of way, but we do feel that this is needed. Otherwise, we might never get beyond the traditional approach.

Would you like to hear some questions from the floor?

The Chairman: No, we will do that later.

Mrs. Marzari: Senator Croll, senators and audience, I thought perhaps I would try to bridge the gap between what ought to be and what actually is. I think I will start and I will try and tell you some of the trends in Vancouver, and I hope the trends are trends, and not just aberrations. This will depend largely on our own commitment and a number of other representatives to see that there are trends for change.

I think that there are—working as I do with administration and social workers and educators and recreational personnel, and rather indirectly with citizens who are faced with two major problems. The first being the multiplicity of services now offered under the name of helping services to people in the community and the lack of sufficient business technique overlapping administration.

Very often services operate in separate frameworks of goals and roles, often ignorant of what each other is doing; often acting in contradiction with each other, as they just go on in an ad hoc manner to meet specific need for specific periods of time.

The other main problem is the effectiveness, of course, and it's a natural one. We can't expect services to really be effective and reach people if entrapped, because they have no common denominator.

The other thing for us is the big fear that we'll be putting new wine into old bottles when we do change the system. This seems to be what happened in England in 1948 when the National Assistance Act came into being. Three things are happening in Vancouver.

now, and I will take a few minutes to explain them very briefly.

At the first level, or I should say the third level, we have the Welfare Congress at the present time. It is composed of fifteen to sixteen lay members of the community, including two people who have been and are poor. They will be looking over the next little while at about sixty service organizations providing about a hundred services, including welfare, recreation, and we hope that they will expand to include education, which certainly should be included.

They will be operating at the administration level, they will be making recommendations about how administration should be cleaned up, about how services can clean up the mess in their own back yards. This is very much needed, and it would be very much appreciated for people to link to instead of piddling around at the bottom.

At the middle level we have coordination of local area services. The Social Planning and Community Development Department at the city level has broken the city down in the community services into 21 local areas. The senators have copies of these. In three of these areas there are now co-ordinators working with teams of direct service representatives from the field of health, education and welfare and recreation.

These people are coming together on an inter-disciplinarian and inter-agency level to discuss programs that they feel should be more efficient, more effective, and more relative to the local communities. We are attempting to produce changes by chipping away at some of the existing institutions, and they are attempting to get more residual services—in other words, they are attempting to do more than simply add more to the existing services patterns.

We are trying to abolish irrelevant services and bring in good ones. They are also trying to determine how to absorb these by the public sector where necessary.

At the third level, and this is the one which I consider the first level, where the nitty-gritty is, this is the core, the centre of the circle, of course, are citizens' groups, because without this kind of influence from people, the guy on the street, all the plans that are drawn, all the institutions that are pulled together, and all the meetings that are held, will be held in a vacuum.

The citizens' groups in the city are developing quickly over the past three years since I have been here. There is a new breed of social worker I think going out and a new breed of educator and new breed of health personnel that are going out and encouraging people to become involved in matters that affect them. You will be hearing from these people and hearing what they have to say.

We have these three things happening, and these three trends, and I think that the implications of these are pretty clear to all of us. The professionals themselves I think have twofold responsibilities. The first, to try and clean up the mess in their own service backyard, and, second, to do everything they can to knock down some of these brick walls or barbed wire that seem to surround the poor in the central core.

If they can do this they can reach the people who are hired to respond to them.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Mr. Barbolet: My name is Herb Barbolet, and I am a community development worker working in high-density areas of the City of Vancouver. I would like to present an alternative to the existing welfare program. Any suggestions that have been made and are going to be made—and this in no way dictates from what has been said in the brief—but if we decide that we want to take the totally new approach to poverty, to cities, to our social problems, then I think this proposal may be something we should consider.

The proposal is a multi-million-dollar fund to develop the northern part of Canada. This proposal would be to go into the north with all its wealth—and I understand Canada is essentially one of the wealthiest countries in the world—and this wealth is untouched presently. This plan would envisage going into the north on a large scale to set up primary and secondary industries using the natural resources that are there.

To build new towns across Canada. I think most of you have heard suggestions regarding the northern corridor, and these towns could be set up using modern technology with prefabricated buildings which could be done quite within modern technology. The relevance of this poverty is that all of the developments, including the roads for the development of the north, could be done by people who are now seemingly not relevant to the modern urban technology. It could be done with incentive programs to bring in the tech-

nocrats who will be necessary to guide the program and a profit-sharing for anybody that goes into these programs. The job-training programs to be tied into the entire overall scheme and industries be built with the profits of these industries going to the workers and also back into the coffers of the Canadian Government.

The funds—obviously, this is the most touchy part of it—the funds could be developed through monies that the Canada Pension Plan is now using. It seems to me of course this needs more research, this cannot be a money-losing proposition. Monies going into research generally throughout Canada would go into this project because the project would encompass everything from pure science all the way to the social sciences to our areas, social planning and community development.

There could be bond issues. People would be sold on the idea of buying a future in Canada.

The underlying factor to all of this is that Canada's problems are not necessarily similar to that in the United States and their solutions are not similar. The United States closed their frontier more than 50 years ago and Canada still has open frontiers. The whole mentality of the frontier is that people who cannot adjust to urban society were the ones who did open up the frontiers in the United States and in Canada. They can be the ones who will develop this part of the north.

The results, as we see it, would be firstly probably the greatest economic boom that the world has ever seen.

Secondly, the development of billions of dollars of untouched resources, and, thirdly, there is much talk about what can be done about the cities, and many sociologists have said that cities like New York are quite literally dying and near death. One of the solutions just in the latest issue of Saturday Review suggests a much more massive program of new town development and we could build cities with our modern technology which wouldn't have the problems of air pollution and water pollution and the problems of over-crowding.

We can make the cities that we now have more viable because we would be reducing the tax burden on the people who are now there and bring new cities that exist. The cities that are built could be built in counter-ing such things as domes, and I believe that

one of the Alaskan cities is considering building a city with a dome over the entire city.

There are new transportation schemes that could then be brought back to the southern part of the country and implemented there and tried and tested. Mostly this would be creating a new frontier for the people now who don't have any option in the society, and don't see any future for themselves and no alternative.

The plan sounds Utopian and would take a tremendous amount of creative work and technique, and an enormous amount of commitment on the part of the government and the people in Canada, but it appears this could be successful. Thank you.

The Chairman: Any questions?

Senator Connolly: Mrs. Mitchell, several points among your recommendations, and I am wondering how you define community.

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, I think we would agree that the old concept of community is no more because it's sort of a natural community. In Vancouver we are really trying to almost create community. You will see the boundaries that are on the map as one method of doing it, and there's been service delivery kind of boundaries as one of the factors that is taken into that, but we feel that community is much more than geography. It's also primary communications between people.

I think most of us in neighbourhood work, we feel that community in today's cities around elementary schools; to a larger extent around high schools.

Senator Connolly: Then communities would be neighbourhoods?

Mrs. Mitchell: We should use the term "neighbourhood" for that.

Senator Connolly: These monies that you would have government give to them, they would of course have a check available to them and they would have to report to somebody for the use of these public funds?

Mrs. Mitchell: Yes. In Vancouver, in each of the local areas, or in quite a number of the local areas—we use the terms "area"; it would probably encompass several neighbourhoods. There are a number of citizens' councils being formed, area councils, which are bodies which are attempting to represent the communities, and involve a cross-section of people, and we would see that these groups

might eventually have some power and sanctions for development funds.

Senator Connolly: I am interested in your consumer co-operatives because I have seen what became known as the Antigonish movement. There was a tremendous joint effort in Nova Scotia and elsewhere; as you know, it's a self-help organization operating in communities where people lack administration, and nobody cares very much whether they had an opportunity or are able to cash in on such opportunities as were available to them because of intelligent leadership and because of material aid; in many cases they were able to lift themselves up with a great many rungs of the ladder, and revolutionize their communities.

These were not neighbourhoods but actual villages, sections of the shore and farming communities and so on. If I may presume to say so I think your organization would be well to further that thought because it's one of the better ones that I find among your recommendations.

In respect to housing, I am one of the people who take a dim view of high-rise housing, especially for the poor, because to me they are the beginning of the creation of new types of tenements.

Now, I recognize that costs of individual homes may be considered by some to be prohibitive but on the other hand it also seems to me that if you can install the average person in his own little castle which is his home, even though it costs more money for the taxpayers of this country, it would establish for that man an independence which he or the most part will cherish and which he will work hard to preserve.

Now, what are your views on that subject? On the subject of housing you only generalize here. What are your specific views?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, I would invite the senator to field that question to someone who is living in public housing, because I think they should be the ones that should answer it.

I know many of us have worked in and around public housing and projects here in Vancouver, and we don't like the ghetto-ism and the location that is chosen often for the building of these projects. We certainly do not like the stigma that is attached to them, and I think people feel, even though the rent is much lower, they feel that there are many negative aspects to project living. Certainly I think the people in row houses are happier

than the people in the high-rises, but on the other hand for single people and senior citizens there is some justification for this type of building.

Mr. Barbolet, who works in the west end of Vancouver, where it appears to be a very affluent kind of community, but it is a high-density, high-rise community, and I wonder if he would like to comment on this.

Mr. Barbolet: My comments would be mostly personal. The one thing in the high-rises—a lot of people are put into high-rises or find themselves in high-rises and don't particularly want to but because of their needs they have to. We find in the west end of Vancouver a particular development where half the families there are single families and very often there is a mother with one or two children, and the apartments become quite crowded and noise becomes a problem, and the children have to be quieted, and we find that the children really don't have problems and they don't know how to play, so they get into very large groups. It is very frightening.

Right now the level of violence is a little above what might be expected in an area of that density. Part of it may be due to the poverty people taking it out on themselves and some day it is going to blow up.

The Chairman: Did you say above or below?

Mr. Barbolet: Below.

The Chairman: What do you mean?

Mr. Barbolet: For an area of density like the west end the amount of crime and delinquency is below that of other communities in other cities of America of that density.

The Chairman: Well, what is wrong with that?

Mr. Barbolet: Nothing is wrong with that except that it's an anomaly. The only way it seems to be mental—just because people are taking it out on themselves rather than taking the violence out on other people, and one day they will stop taking it out on themselves.

The Chairman: Well, it just strikes me odd where something goes bad we analyze it as something good.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, I would like the witness to enlarge a bit on Section 5:

Citizens have a right to opportunities and all citizens must have a much greater say

in decisions that affect their lives. This includes rights of citizens to express concerns, to dissent, and to press for change.

Well, I am thinking of election campaigns to start with. People who don't have a very good idea of what they are going to vote for in voting for a government, and government affects their lives. How do you go about educating them to teach them how to express themselves and how to think of what they do want?

Mrs. Mitchell: Our experience would indicate that you have to start right in the front doorstep of people. They have to start by becoming involved with something that is going to affect their families themselves. From there, as they gain experience from contact with other people in their communities, they might see things to the point of view of a community and from there we have found in Vancouver the different communities come together to different kinds of councils, and so on. After that it is possible to look at city-wide problems, but my own personal feeling is, so often we accuse the general public of being apathetic because there is something way up here which really doesn't have very much meaning, and they feel the they can't affect it anyway. If they start in their own communities—there are very definitely civic schemes they can get involved in.

Senator Inman: Would you suggest it is a method of counselling?

Mrs. Mitchell: No, I wouldn't. I have been a social worker for 20 years or more. I have been a counsellor and I have been a group worker, and I have been a community worker, and I think the least of these methods that have worked—and my colleagues will probably challenge me on this; counselling is needed but I think it's an opportunity for people to do things for themselves, and if they have the opportunity to do things for themselves they know, they feel and express the potential that is there.

One thing that we have seen in community development is that the people who go over in welfare line-ups—the way they feel about themselves—and I have gone in the line-ups with them—is so different. The whole system makes them feel that they are committing a crime. It's so different—you know, the same people feel when they get out in their own communities and are given leadership and running their own show and are showing their kids that they have something good to

look forward to, and I haven't probably answered your question but...

The Chairman: No, you are right on the nose.

Senator Belisle: Before asking a question of Mrs. Mitchell may I be permitted to express our sincere appreciation to the officials of this church for the grand hospitality they are offering to us by using their facilities. Knowing that the church has made some tremendous contributions to the poor in the past, may I say this: where would the poor be without the church? I hope that this discussion makes us more aware of their needs and teaches us to be more humane in meeting their requests.

My question to you, Mrs. Mitchell, is, on page 2 you say:

Those with economic and political power have not taken responsibility to plan for and deal with the negative effects brought about by our computer age. Can you tell us where we have failed? Can you tell us what can be done to be more effective with the poor bearing in mind all the time that you cannot overlook the municipal or provincial rights?

Mrs. Mitchell: I am sorry; I don't quite understand.

Senator Belisle: Well, I notice on page 2 you say:

CAP must be revised; meanwhile, federal welfare grants for special community programs and services in low-income areas should be greatly increased and made more accessible to citizen group and private agencies.

In other words, if we were to change our system and direct more money to private agencies instead of the municipal or provincial agencies do you feel that we could get more use for our money? Could we be more communicative with the poor?

Mrs. Mitchell: Straight answer: I would say no. It's not that I don't agree; I work for a private agency, and I think private agencies in many ways should be more flexible and creative in their approach. When I said no—I think if we are going to talk about money for the local communities I think it should go for projects and programs that are designed to have some impact on the social problems. You have to pay for them in some way so you could contact these private agencies perhaps

and have the people available to do these things, but the old idea of giving money to an agency or an institution to support the institution, even though they are all well-meaning institutions, it hasn't completely worked in my way of thinking.

It's the programs that are going to combat the problems that I think we should be thinking about. However, I think the point that we were trying to make there was much, much larger than this. I don't think there is any simple answer.

What we are trying to say is that we feel that this is the effect of poverty; that people are the victims of poverty. But the solutions mustn't be seen from this point of view. The solutions in our group are big and they are economic and our society has changed so much in what we might call the post-industrial age that the old solutions just aren't relative any more.

Now, I don't know; if you take a lot of sociologists, politicians, and so on, to get at these, but we don't presume to be experts in this field at all. All we are doing is making a strong plea to get the effort at the Senate because it might be more fruitful at that level instead of at the kind of "band-aid" level.

Senator Belisle: Knowing that you are a social worker, can I ask you this question? We have heard this all across the country, that it is possible that we may have placed too much emphasis on the educational status or standard or degree of social worker. Would they be more communicative, if I can use the word, with the poor in their communities if they were one of them, and probably did not have a university degree?

Mrs. Mitchell: Yes. Again, I am going to ask you to repeat that question to the group that is presenting a brief from the Opportunity Committee, because there is a very exciting development just started in Vancouver whereby local people, and particularly people on welfare are getting into community service and doing the front-line things. We haven't as yet convinced our closed profession that this is important but we feel very strongly as community workers that community people is the front-line people—I think often they would need some support behind the scenes or more serious kinds of problems but we do feel that the front-line people should be community people for the greatest degree possible and should be perhaps assisted with training courses as well.

I know the people who are presenting their brief on Thursday morning will want to tell you more about that.

Senator Belisle: Mr. Chairman, this lady is so interesting and intelligent, could I ask another question?

The Chairman: Go right ahead.

Senator Belisle: I notice on page 4 it says:

Financing of divorce and continuation of child support for separated mothers on low income who wish to re-marry.

I was a member of the Committee on Divorce and we brought what I think was very little legislation into being—it's merely my thinking—would you say money to assist them to get divorces or money to assist them after they have a divorce?

Mrs. Mitchell: I think again you are going to have some mothers here on Thursday and tonight as well that can answer that from personal experience. Our experience has been that middle-class people can pay for their own divorce if that is what they decide they need, they want, and they also have fathers—the middle-class families—and they continue to support their children of their first family and new families can be formed and the woman, if she wants to, she can re-marry so that the family unit can be re-established.

In a low-income family everything seems to defeat the people and break up families. First of all, the fathers—the reason the fathers are not around... I wish we could hear from more of the fathers, but I would certainly guess that most of the fathers have left not just because there has been a family disagreement—that's probably just a symptom—but because the husband has been defeated since the first day he was married. He has had no employment, very little education, lacks employment skills, can't keep a job, and as he gets older he is completely defeated and his wife starts to complain, his children start to complain; why wouldn't he leave home? It's an intolerable situation, but I think again it's our society that is probably defeating him.

Now, if the mother has left them, the children don't have any father, most of the children are living in communities with very few men in them and are growing up with no identification with the men, but every time she tries to re-establish a family unit she can't go on welfare; she marries. But the man is expected to support the family. The new prospective husband can't support the family

because he is probably a truck-driver, and all he could possibly do would be support the man and wife.

Some families are living in common-law relationships, which is fine, but on the other hand they might like to marry but they can't get divorces, they can't afford a divorce.

Now, I am rambling along, but there are so many things, and the thing I feel personally, and my colleagues may like to dispute some of these points, is that a mother who has been on welfare, who wants to re-marry, and where there is a chance for the children to have a father and a home, should be given every encouragement to do this, and if necessary support should be continued for the children, so that she could re-marry.

Also, in the same way, so the mother could go out and work as single people in low-paying jobs do. Mothers can't always go out to work because they have to stay home and support five, six children.

Senator Belisle: In other words, counselling service should be a must right after divorce?

Mrs. Mitchell: I didn't say that. You will be hearing about Legal Aid this afternoon.

Senator McGrand: Now, British Columbia is the most rapidly growing province in Canada in wealth and population and they are crowded here. Vancouver is bulging with industry and new population. Are the numbers of those below the poverty line growing faster than the growth of population and industry, and just what is the poverty line in Vancouver?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, I would like to say that you didn't mention that Vancouver, I believe—perhaps someone will correct me on this—has the highest incidence of almost every social problem that you would not wish to have: addiction, alcoholism, delinquency.

Senator McGrand: I am aware of that. Those people are not here because they came looking for jobs or they came because of the climate and the atmosphere, but what I mean is in the work force, in the people who are working, is the number of those below the poverty line increasing in proportion to the total investment of capital, jobs, and industry?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, I am not competent to answer that in a general way, but I could give you one or two examples of individuals that are certainly working, but are much worse off than people on welfare.

As you know, people who are working on low incomes have to work so they don't have the luxury of coming to senate hearings, but we did try to contact two or three that might be contrasting examples, and I would like to mention one.

This is a man of 58 years of age who is a skilled technician. He is self-educated, came from China 17 years ago, and is extremely intelligent. He is very, very proud and refuses to take expensive help from the Canadian Government. He supports his mother and his yearly salary varies from \$3,000 in 1965 to about \$5,000 in 1955.

His monthly income varies from \$100 in July—no money at all in August, up to five hundred in January, which is the TV season. This person eats on a food budget of a dollar-fifty a day, and his meals are usually just a potato, onion, and a chunk of meat, and sometimes he has a can of beans. He keeps a carton of beans at work and most of his money has to go into his car expenses in order to work.

He has had one suit since he came to Canada 17 years ago, and you know what rents are. I don't want to go into a lot of individual cases, but very few of these people could be here to hear this brief this morning.

Senator McGrand: Well, for example, have been told that people earn \$6,000 in certain cities and are below the poverty line. Have been told that \$4,000 in certain other places in Canada is also below the poverty line. What is the poverty line in Vancouver? Is it six thousand, seven thousand, eight thousand?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, again, I am afraid I don't feel competent to answer that. We tend to say three thousand, but you have to look at individual cases. Three thousand for a person who is working—most of it is deducted at the source.

The Chairman: When you say three thousand you have to say how big a family that represents. You just can't say \$3,000.

Mrs. Mitchell: That's right.

The Chairman: I think the question Senator McGrand asked you was in regard to the war on poverty.

In the war on poverty in Vancouver are you winning or losing?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, I would say we are losing.

The Chairman: Are you losing badly?

Mrs. Mitchell: Yes. How many of the new industries—I think we need to talk about unions to some degree, too. How many of the industrial resources are available to low-income people with minimal skills?

Senator McGrand: My next question deals with that. On page 3 you say:

Business, industry and unions have a major responsibility to co-operate.

Now, usually most of the speeches we hear are critical of industry. I have never heard anyone criticize the activities of unions. What responsibilities do unions have in the revamping of our problems?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, I am very, very much a layman in this, so I can only comment very briefly. I think if a person has been on social assistance for a while—a man has been on social assistance for a while and a union job comes up, how can he possibly be eligible for it? He is not a member of the union, he can't support the union fees, he doesn't have seniority if he gets into the union. You should again be speaking to some of the men who are looking for jobs in this respect.

We do feel very strongly about this, and we know the unions do have a history of feeling pretty strong about this, and we would certainly like to see them have the same concern for the non-working man.

The Chairman: The non-union working man?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, no, I mean the man who can't find an opportunity to work and the woman who is working on very minimal wages. I know they are concerned about it but it seems to me that there has to be a team approach. I am certainly not criticizing the unions because they probably have more than any other group to fight for.

We do feel that they need to be opening up more opportunities as well.

Senator Everett: Mrs. Mitchell, on page 2 of your presentation dealing with the basic principles, just dealing with this point for a moment, you say that business firms should be required to provide some of these jobs.

Now, the Americans have the alliances for obs. Will you enlarge on that? Can you tell us what you have in mind, more specifically?

Mr. Barbolet: Well, in our discussions our feelings were that there were many corpora-

tions in Canada who were earning enormous profits; they were earning these profits as part of our social and economic system. As part of their right to do business in Canada they ought to be providing on-the-job training for workers, and this is again where the unions would come in. You would have to bring up their procedures to encourage this alliance.

Senator Everett: Excuse me, Mr. Barbolet, I think the idea is a good one. What I would like to know is, what ideas you have? What specific ideas do you have?

Mr. Barbolet: Well, we think the government should require that industries set up on-the-job training programs and help people who are on the outside.

Mrs. Mitchell: In Vancouver there is an alliance for businessmen. This was started by our present Minister of Welfare, and I think this is an individual kind of thing where some businessmen might try and make a special effort to try and open up a special job for a certain person who is unemployed. I think we feel there must be a much broader approach to it than that.

There must be really planned arrangements for employment possibilities and on-the-job training opportunities. Some of the Newstart things—(again, this is a Canadian program)—might be a beginning. I am not too familiar with the details of that but my impression was that it was a stop-gap measure, and if it could go from training into job development it would be a good idea.

Another thing, maybe we should have mentioned there, is the importance of the many more kind of sheltered workshop type of communities. There may be some subsidized co-ops which is another form of half-way programs, where people working part-time and could be on call for jobs but still be assured of an adequate income for their families.

Senator Everett: In Item 5 of your basic principles you talk about the right of citizens to express concerns, to dissent, and to press for change. This of course is political action and probably the essence of what the argument on poverty is all about.

Are there any parameters to that political action? How far should it go? To make it effective probably it's going to involve opposition to elected officials. Opposition to the ideas of elected officials. So is there any limit to this? Is there anything that should be imposed on it?

Mrs. Mitchell: The only imposition is legality, in my view. I would call it social action rather than political action, and I think—it is my understanding that elected officials are elected to represent people and to represent ourselves as citizens, particularly low-income citizens who don't have the same opportunities, who don't have the same voice as the more sophisticated established groups in our communities, and it is particularly important that they organize, that they gain confidence and skills, and maybe sometimes that they are doing it in their way, and if they are rude and pressured, too, in order to say what they mean, now they should be prepared for the back-lash according to how they do it, but it seems to me in Vancouver today it's exciting that we have so many citizen action groups, and you need many different kinds.

You need these different kinds to bring about changes, and many of us for years have tried to bring about changes in our system and they just don't come. Let's face it, you can be quietly working along within the established organizations, and I don't know how many changes we have achieved. When clients can storm over to a welfare department and create a fuss and demand what is the right of a welfare client there they are getting some response.

I think the whole system should be changed so that they don't have to demand but the reality of it is that they are not a group with the same kind of rights that the rest of us have; nor do they usually have the same kind of voice or spokesman to ask for and demand their rights, and nor do they have the feeling of accomplishment to demand their rights.

Senator Everett: Well, as far as the community development work is concerned then you feel there is no limits other than those imposed by the law itself?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, community development work, there are different schools of thought on it. My personal feeling would be that our job is to help citizens to become active and concerned. All citizens; not only low-income citizens. And to help them focus on what their needs are, their desires, and to work in a variety of different ways in developing programs for their communities: planning for their communities, taking action on certain problems. And sometimes really being advocates for change, in pressuring for change.

Our role as community development workers is not to speak for them but to help them

to speak for themselves, and to be consulted people about how to do it.

I think you could use the word "activators," too, and I think citizens should be activated. We are activators on their behalf.

Senator Everett: Well, the idea surely is to activate, and there is bound to come a time which you have to cause them to take partisan political action.

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, they make the choice. If they want a new political panel that is their choice. I personally would not recommend any political action.

Senator Everett: Why not?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, I think it's government we are talking about, elected representatives; not political parties. There is some change to be made, and I would think they would go to their elected representatives. If they as private citizens are to do it by political parties well, then, that is their choice.

Senator Everett: Well, often for more effective change we have to throw the rascals out of office. We have to take that sort of political action.

Mrs. Mitchell: Yes.

Senator Everett: Now, you are talking about a political action that goes so far and then when it gets to a certain point you take a hands-off attitude. You may be right. Maybe that's the right thing to do.

All I am wondering is, if you stop at the point does the reaction become ineffective and if the action becomes ineffective do the groups that you have been trying to activate say, "Well, this is all a game"? When we came down to the real crux of the matter the community development worker backed out.

Mrs. Mitchell: Yes. Well, this is a new point and I think we have to—the community development worker might have to be a professional person who know their way of work with tradition perhaps, and they have to be subject to use their own judgment. They have to be subject to use their own judgment of the essential framework but—this is becoming quite an abstract discussion—but the basic essential is that you have to organize, give them the technical support that they need, and they should make the decision as to what they want to do.

If they should decide to go through a particular political channel, rather than through

government, my own view would be that they might do this as citizens, or you might decide to go with them. You have to have a specific reference.

As community development workers I don't think any of us would support something that was illegal.

Mr. Barbolet: I personally agree with political action. I believe it is necessary. And I think, as far as political action is concerned, I think under the present circumstances the possibility is to stop at violence, but there are certain circumstances—after all, the laws are made by the middle class and upper middle class and imposed upon everyone.

Quite often the laws are inappropriate for some of the people and we have just gone through a case here where the city's Social Service Department—where one of the groups will be holding a free coffee program, and the only thing they are challenged on when they set this up in the hallway of the Social Service Department was that they didn't have facilities to wash the coffee urn, and therefore they couldn't have the program.

We were breaking the by-laws by continuing the program, but I would never encourage them to stop the program, because the health by-law was being broken.

Senator Fergusson: Well, the thing that I wanted to enquire about is rather down to earth I am afraid. Mrs. Mitchell, in your references to day-care centres—I am really impressed with their value, and I think we would all like to know how many day-care centres you have in this area and by whom they operated, and who has been eligible to make use of them?

Mrs. Mitchell: There are some people in the audience I would like to call on to answer this question. I think we have seven or eight day-care centres in Vancouver.

From the Floor: Mr. Elmer Helms, Executive Director, Neighbourhood Services Association of Greater Vancouver. We for instance are one association that provides day-care centres in the city. We have three full day-care operations and half-day-care programs for special needs. Children with special needs, culturally and socially deprived children, and to them this is very important. There are the family service centres, which is the day-care operation, and also an enrichment program.

We also handle the foster day-care homes in the city. There are also a number that are operated through the churches, and we have helped churches to develop their day-care programs. There are private operations.

There is a government subsidy now which is helping toward the day-care costs and maintenance in the city and has been a relatively new development over the past few years.

Senator Fergusson: Do the churches get this subsidy, too?

Mr. Helms: Yes. It is a non-profit organization coming within the standards set down by the provincial government.

Senator Fergusson: Who is eligible to make use of them?

Mr. Helms: The provincial government provides a subsidy and, interestingly enough, Senator Croll said the means test was thrown out. The means tests still apply in regards to day-care centres coming under the Canada Assistance Act, and I think this is the reason why it is applied in order to share it with the federal government.

The federal government also shares in the cost of this. Of those families who are unable to pay, the low-income families, there is a subsidy that is provided by the provincial government that is shared fifty per cent by the federal government. This pretty well makes it eligible now for any child to attend day-care services in the city, and if you have a day-care operation this is provided.

One of the big problems at this point in time is that there is no monies for developing new centres. There are fairly stringent requirements in regards to facilities, and in regards to health regulations and building regulations.

In regards to funding for low-income parts of the city it is possible to develop day-care centres.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, another thing I was interested in is on page 3. Under Item 10 of the revised brief, where it says:

Extension of allowances for children in any low-income family sufficient to enable parents who can find work only in lower paying jobs, to be self-supporting while their children are still dependent.

I wonder how this could be worked out. I would say that the family allowance goes to everyone, but of course there is no means test.

To implement this, I would think you would have to have a means test. I think you would have to have a means test of some kind.

Mrs. Mitchell: Yes. Certainly you would have to have one on the income group that you are talking about, but in that point we were really thinking of mothers working, and someone brought up the point that fathers need just as much.

Certainly there are some mothers now on social assistance who married young, and who haven't had job experience, and maybe they would be lucky if they had Grade 10, that can find work who would be much happier if they could be out of the home. They would be much happier if they could be out of the home working, if they had good day-care centres for their children, but the thing that has happened is that mothers can't afford to take these jobs. They can't afford to go out and be a waitress, or a hairdresser, or even a kindergarten teacher. The jobs usually don't pay enough, and by the time deductions are taken and the cost is considered going to and from the job, they would be much better off on social assistance.

If the children could have support, then that mother could work as a single person, keeping her salary, and this would do two things: it would keep the family going and allow the mother to be employable so that she wouldn't be inclined to go on welfare—and if she doesn't work during these younger years there is no use of her working when she is older.

We would like to see much more done—not to make mothers feel that they are forced to work, but if at any time they would like to work it would be their choice.

Senator Fergusson: Well, can you tell me why mothers wouldn't be eligible for that through a means test?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, many of them are on social assistance right now. I don't know just how this would be done, but maybe an extension on children's allowances would be a way of doing it.

Senator Fergusson: Well, No. 7, of your interim recommendations says:

Full equality should be guaranteed to women, including equal pay for equal work.

You have an Act which provides for equal pay, equal work, have you not?

Mr. Barbolet: It doesn't guarantee it because they changed job categories. For instance, a nurse's aid does the same work in the hospital as an orderly and is paid one dollar an hour less, so they get less according to the job category.

Senator Fergusson: Well, how do you guarantee it?

Mr. Barbolet: Well, in this instance it's quite clear that they are doing the same job.

Mrs. Mitchell: Female hairdressers make a lot less than men; bank clerks, women in banks, make a lot less than men; and they have fewer job opportunities than men.

Senator Fergusson: Well, don't they try to invoke the law?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, I think there is a basic law, but the employment situation and the kinds of jobs would certainly make it more difficult for women than men. I have known many semi-skilled women who have a chance for more jobs in the city, more service-type jobs, and—than men.

Senator Fergusson: Well, in Canada we have these laws for equal pay but they just don't work very well. I was just trying to find out why you feel that women aren't getting this—well, it's guaranteed under the Act, but if not, why, in British Columbia?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, I don't really feel competent to answer that question because it's not my field really to know the legal side of it, but I do know we come across many women that could work and want to work and that simply cannot afford to.

Senator Fergusson: You do feel there are many women who are doing practically the same work as men and are paid lower?

Mrs. Mitchell: I wouldn't like to answer that in a general way.

The Chairman: Mr. Helms, you are the Executive Director, so you know the Canada Assistance Act pretty well.

Mr. Helms: Yes, I know it a bit.

The Chairman: Well, you know it as well as I do, so let's discuss it for a moment. Understood you to say that the provincial government imposed a means test on day-care services; is that correct?

Mr. Helms: That's right.

The Chairman: Under what authority?

Mr. Helms: The Canada Assistance Act states that welfare services or community development services be geared to those people who are on welfare or who may become dependent on welfare; therefore, there has to be some means of determining the economic circumstances of the family.

Because of this, a means test was applied and this has been revised. It's not quite as cruel and degrading sort of an imposition on people as it was in the beginning, as this has been revised now.

I think what happened in this was, when the federal auditor comes around and looks at all the applications and must verify that this family falls into a certain category—for instance, there is a Plan C when they work it out on the basis of a budget. If there is a residual income of \$10 or less for that family for child care, then this family is fully subsidized under the Canada Assistance Plan and 50 per cent of the cost of this is picked up federally.

This is the way it is applied: through a means test in terms of an application.

Now, I think a better method perhaps would be through an income tax—everyone fills out an income tax form; something of his nature would be better than a means test.

The Chairman: That is another matter.

Mr. Helms: Yes.

The Chairman: The main principle in the Canada Assistance Act is need as against means. That was the purpose of the Act. This is not essential in the Act. Goodness knows, we fought for months and months and months to get it in the Act.

Mr. Helms: This is not the way it is applied.

The Chairman: Well, it's applied with respect to other welfare measures on the basis of need.

Mr. Helms: No.

The Chairman: Not at all?

Mr. Helms: No.

Mrs. Mitchell: I might just interject there; that when we say "need" also this depends on somebody having the time and being availa-

ble to a person to establish a need and recommending a certain kind of service, and the kind of contact they have with people on welfare, but working, it's kind of hard to make these things available. It really amounts to the same thing.

The Chairman: It doesn't amount to the same thing. If somebody has the time to devote himself to poor John Smith, who is sick and ill and needs help, we can give it to him, but he just hasn't had the time to go round and do these sort of things.

Mrs. Mitchell: To some extent; but that is over-simplifying it.

The Chairman: All right. We are over-simplifying it. Put it on any basis you like. When a country changes its thinking from a means test to a needs test we think we are doing a great deal.

The thing is thoroughly discussed, then we make a change. Then you come along—and you are not the only one—and we find that they're applying the means test mentality to a real needs test. When I find some lady sitting alongside of me who is a welfare mother I can't get very cross with her. I can't even get upset with her. She has enough problems just looking after the children and what not. Mrs. Mitchell, Mr. Helms is out there seeing the very same thing. I ask myself why aren't they doing something about it? Who else knows the situation better than you two?

You have been a social worker with 20 years' standing, and who else knows the problem better than you two?

Mrs. Mitchell: I think there has been action.

Mr. Helms: There has been action taken through our organization.

Mrs. Mitchell: It's not easy.

The Chairman: You know, I asked a question of the Senate Committee—under similar circumstances they will give an agency X number of dollars. Do you do that here? Do they do that here for carrying on; do they give you X number of dollars?

Mr. Helms: Yes; for particular services.

The Chairman: And the man was doing the very best he could—he was a social worker; he was also cutting down here and cutting down over there, and we got after him after a while and we said, "How much was charged

back to you for some over-payments that you made?"

He kind of hesitated for a while, and finally his assistant, Sister Joan, I asked her, and she was as honest as could be, and that is when I got the real answer.

She told me that about eight or ten dollars over a period of years was the only charge-back. You see, there is nothing at all to it if you boldly take the step, and we have to do that to help people like you.

Senator Belisle: On page 3, recommendation 4, you say:

Major reform of social policy, social institutions and educational systems is needed to provide greater opportunities for development of children, and support for young families.

Well, it seems to me, Mrs. Mitchell—how can we overcome the inability of the poor to take full advantage of our present educational system? What can we do to create a better environment? Can we get better counsellors?

Mrs. Mitchell: What about making the system adapt to the people rather than making the people adapt to the system?

Senator Belisle: Yes, how can you transplant this idea to the professional institutions that educate the people?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, again, I am a complete layman here but one of the things that we felt is that in local schools, certainly in schools in low income areas, there should be quite a number of opportunities for teachers from other communities to be assisting so that the cultural gap is not so great.

I recall one of the youngsters in the Head Start nursery school where I was connected reading stories one day all about fireplaces. This may have had something to do about Christmas, I don't know, but this youngster couldn't grasp at all what we were talking about because they lived in public housing and had never seen a fireplace.

The method of teaching and our odd books all come from a different social environment completely from the low income people who are using them.

Senator Belisle: In other words at the elementary level should we change some aspect of the curriculum to spend more time on household administration instead of having geography or history or geometry?

Mrs. Mitchell: I am sure that maybe people in the audience would be much closer to this, but it is pretty obvious, and I think most of us would agree that one thing is starting early and I think from experience with Head Start nursing schools and working with parents at the same time would be helpful.

Another thing—much smaller classrooms; much higher ratio of adults to children, to types of teaching, where a curriculum is not imposed in the same way and I should think there should be some of our educators and parents really speaking to this point.

Senator Belisle: In your job do you attend what we call educational seminars?

I have attended many and we are told by our best brains that we are doing the best thing but we come across the conditions at this level.

Mrs. Mitchell: Could we have this question answered from the audience? I know Mrs. Drache is in the audience.

From the floor: Mrs. Victor Drache. Senator Drache of Simon Fraser University. I wear many hats.

I recall working with Mrs. Mitchell in the first Head Start programme in Vancouver for a public housing authority. At that time it was quite obvious that the training the teachers received does not prepare them for dealing with the non-status community of deprived and less economic disadvantaged than myself.

So that when a child moves into a nursery school and gets some exposure to things that he does not have at home this does not follow as he moves into the elementary grades.

You may have a teacher in kindergarten who understands, has some knowledge of pre-school training through a child institute of study which we have at U.B.C. for example, but it seems to me one very important need is to examine very closely the training of teachers and the recruitment of teachers; the recruitment of teachers from the economically deprived community which Mrs. Mitchell was referring to.

So that we begin to examine what the needs are as Senator Croll has pointed out. We should do this rather than continually point only at the economic deprivation. There is a great deal involved here besides economics.

I think too that examining the source of problems, it is possible to detect problem

areas through a public health nursing visiting staff contact in the larger community.

When the public health clinic clientele for example are visited by public health nurses, the diagnosis starts there. We find the children who have emotional problems.

We discover when you want to follow this through rationally the service is not adequate to fulfil the need. It seems to me, as you are mentioning sir, we take a look not only at the elementary area, but at the pre-school area, at the pre-natal area that the adult is involved in with community services which there is direct contact, there is a very rich area here of exploration. In this area both economics and services are relevant.

The Chairman: For the audience, Mrs. Drache is of the Senate of Simon Fraser University and she was speaking to a question put by Senator Belisle, the President of Sudbury University of Ontario. There was a very interesting dialogue between the two of them.

Senator Belisle: Would you agree that the main aim of our high schools is to put people through university? Is this the right aim or is this the wrong philosophy? Should we train them to be full-fledged citizens even if they don't go to university?

Mrs. Drache: It seems to me that the aim of any educational system is to produce adults—mature adults. This would be my criteria for developing education.

Senator Belisle: But what about those nine million that are mentioned in this brief?

Mrs. Drache: They don't get a chance at all to get off the ground because by grades 1 or 2 they are already defeated. We have not met the needs of children.

Right from infancy, we do not explore and examine largely how to meet the needs. We have not examined the needs of the growing children or the family and I would rather look at that need than worry about the high school students.

I think by the time the high school student as arrived in grade 12 he has either been damaged or creative or denied or given no opportunities for himself as a whole individual.

Senator Belisle: Do you believe that if there was a very good incentive every week—I believe Senator Hastings the other

day was asking this question—that if there was the incentive of say \$18 or \$20 a week do you believe that many more would take advantage and would go through university or complete high school?

Mrs. Drache: I have no way of guessing at a question like that sir, I am sorry. I think it is one aspect of a much larger problem. I certainly think that an economic floor is imperative if we want people to develop.

Senator Sparrow: In reference made by Senator Belisle as well as in the brief to the nine million Canadians, this is a figure that we certainly are not aware of and we were already frightened at the thought of three and a half million people, and when we arrive in Vancouver it is now nine million people.

The Chairman: It is just a mistake.

Senator Sparrow: Is it a mistake?

The Chairman: Yes. That is the old brief.

Senator Sparrow: It seems to me that wherever we go we find very little understanding of the problem of poverty as such. We notice that in every area we go and particularly in the middle class society there seems to be little sympathy or concern or knowledge by this group of people and it seems to me that even the press as such does not seem to be sympathetic or understanding of the problems of the poor.

Politicians as such don't seem to understand the problem so how can the message of the problem be brought across to the people who are eventually going to pay in an attempt to solve this problem?

Mrs. Mitchell: I really couldn't answer just how. I would agree completely with the point that our group has dwelt so long on and that is that there has to be almost a re-education programme going on to look at poverty in the 1970's in a very different way than we have in the past.

One of the big things is that it can no longer—I don't know whether it ever should have been—but the common view that it was the person who is on welfare that is at fault rather than our economic system.

The first step is to talk very much about things as they are and what is causing them. The bigger causes, the social change that is going on and the economic change.

I think the press and all the media are a major challenge because our little naive group hasn't been able to change anything very much and even the politicians in government, unless there is mass public pressure on them, and a public demand and a voters demand, I would doubt very much whether they could do anything.

I would hope and agree that a very mass education programme of some kind is needed.

Senator Sparrow: With no particular recommendations as to how that mass education programme be formed?

Mrs. Mitchell: It may be forums, it may be much more the kind of thing that you people are doing by going out and talking across the country. People talking for themselves on their own behalf—you know, low income people. That is one aspect. But we have to get at the more broader social aspect changes that are needed and we need some very good speakers from the social and economic field perhaps.

Senator Everett: In item 7 of your recommendations you say "There is need for major change in Canada Manpower" etc. etc.

We have had this suggestion in almost every brief and we would be interested to know what you suggest and what you find wrong with the Canada Manpower. Perhaps you might enlarge on the recommendation itself?

Mrs. Mitchell: I must again say that I am speaking just as a layman and I don't really know the answers.

Senator Everett: Well, is there anyone in this audience who might be able to answer it?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, perhaps I might mention one or two points that we all agree on from the facts that we get from people and from the other people who are going to present the other brief on Thursday morning.

We find that the people who needed the most, particularly people on welfare, are constantly turned away from Manpower offices. Some of them have gone down there and listed that they are on welfare or that they have children and it is almost inevitable—at least in the past anyway—that they won't have an opportunity to go through the Manpower offices.

Now the Manpower offices have reasons for this I know, but the other thing is—I think

you should ask the Manpower Department because I don't think I should speak on their behalf. There is a lack of jobs, and this could be one of the reasons, and very realistically a mother who has several children and has no working experience—I suppose it is unrealistic to retain her for a job if there are no jobs for her or if the job is going to be too much for her. That is one aspect but that is not going quite far enough.

What we feel is, rather than counselling people—having so many counsellors that are counselling people out of opportunities the effort should go into putting the staff of the Manpower centres into developing job opportunities in some way. They are doing a little bit of this but my impression is that it is only within the present inadequate job opportunities in business as it is today.

If they could have a whole department which would develop consumer co-ops for example, and get the people involved to work with this new businessmen's alliance and to work with industry to open up new opportunities and develop new programmes, it seems to me that this would be a better use of Manpower monies.

Now, the other thing that we feel very definite about is that we have beurocracy involved in three levels of government. Whenever there is a meeting in a local community about some of these things it is very difficult to get policies straight between provincial, local and federal bodies.

The Welfare Department will have one policy, the Housing Department will have another policy and the Manpower Department will have another. We feel there should be some way of de-centralizing and making a more flexible kind of opportunity and how policies are implemented on local levels so that they—the groups can work together and some of us who are social workers along with our clients are shifted from one department to another in an endless complex of bureaucracy. This is just the product of today's society.

I know the Manpower people themselves would have things to say in their own defence because they are in an impossible situation too.

Perhaps someone from the audience would comment more specifically on the policies.

The Chairman: Suppose we just finish the questions and then we will get back to the audience.

From the Floor: I am Effie Keays. I have worked in public welfare and worked in co-operation with Manpower in a good many instances and from my experiences some of the difficulties that we come up against are related very closely to the rigidity of certain policies.

Manpower for example does not have provision for training anyone until they have been out of school and in the labour force for one year. At the end of that first year they can make provision for payment of training fees but not for a living allowance. A person is not eligible for a training grant and fee until they have been in the labour force for three years after they leave school.

Now, this applies, as I understand it, to any kind of a training programme. We have a second resource that we can use for people in receipt of social assistance who need training, the Provincial Department of Social Welfare will, under certain circumstances, provide for upgrading training.

It is a tedious and involved process to try and get this in effect and many of the workers working with the people don't have the time to follow through on all the steps that are necessary to get the permission for this.

The resources that we have available for training are not always well integrated.

One programme that has been of particular interest to many of the people that I have worked with is the Welfare Aid programme. I don't think it is difficult to understand why any of the people who have been through social assistance would feel that they have a valid contribution here.

The person with grade 9 education and who wants to take the welfare aid programme has to get upgrading to grade 12 in order to have entry. To get this upgrading they have two possibilities: Manpower will give them vocational upgrading at the Vocational Institute in some cases. If they can get a place, Manpower pays for a certain number of people in training programmes, and every Manpower counsellor as I understand it has the option of referring people for one of these available seats.

The Welfare Aid course has 30 positions in a year. Manpower has 12 of the available seats. Last year the session that is now under way at the Vancouver City College, there were 43 people referred from Manpower of the 12 seats that were available. Each one of them understood from the Manpower counsel-

lor in good faith that they were going to get the Welfare Aid training.

This is the kind of thing where there is inadequate provision, inadequate inter-relationship of programmes and services.

Senator McGrand: Education has always been training people to live and to make use of book knowledge that has been stored up by former generations and they are to use that knowledge to solve their problems in the day in which they live. There is nothing new under the sun; new problems appear to come up.

Now, algebra has been a mental exercise but it doesn't help people to solve their problems and live with other problems. It seems to me in education people should be trained as to how man developed his emotions in the first place. If we do more of that sort of thing people would know more as to how to live with each other in the environment in which they find themselves.

I wonder if anybody agrees with me because I have never found anybody who did.

Mrs. Marzari: Mr. Chairman, if I could just comment. I don't think you can teach that. I think people must experience it and I feel very strongly about the pre-school level and elementary school level particularly, there must be opportunities for people to learn to live together and to learn how to have government together and having enriching experiences that will help them develop as human beings otherwise they are never going to be able to be adaptable to our changing society.

One of the most encouraging things is that there is quite a move in Vancouver now towards more kinds of human relation sort of workshop experiences. You will have one group speaking connected with this opportunities programme where 15 mothers are having a course; not just an ordinary course but a course in helping them to develop as human beings. I think you will get at this there. That should be applied all along the line with young people.

Senator McGrand: A new set of values?

Mrs. Marzari: A new set of experiences, not values. A new set of experiences will help people to learn and to live with other people.

Senator Sparrow: I would agree with your recommendations and many others we have heard of self-improvement project areas, self-

help projects. You refer, not in writing but in speaking, of a fourth level of government as such. You used that expression. Have you thought about that fourth level of government, how it could be organized and such, or have you been just talking about the individual self-help project and how it would come into play?

The reason I ask about this fourth level is that already we are critical of three levels of government and now we are talking about a fourth. Is there some level of government we could replace as it exists? We have three taxing bodies as such, but do you have comment on that fourth level of government?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, I think it is developing in some ways through local involvement as citizen group come into contact with local government bodies in unofficial ways. I think tonight when you hear from the young people in the attack group, they are asking this weekend for a fourth level of government in the Strathcona and Grandview areas.

This group is going to be meeting with Mr. Andras and members from the other two levels of government to talk about how they can get federal grants for the elementary schools. They have already gotten the City and Provincial grants. This is going to be a community school project.

We have also been working with the Strathcona Grandview Tenants Association who are not represented in your hearing, but this is primarily affecting the Chinese homeowners in downtown Vancouver and they have had a number of meetings with other levels of government. They have had numerous meetings about urban renewal and they want to have a say in the development of their community. They want to rehabilitate their homes—they don't want to move, come out of their communities completely.

They have had considerable success now, I think, in really achieving a very strong voice, and federally we are very pleased to hear that the Federal minister will not hear any proposal now unless the fourth level of government is involved in it.

Senator Inman: You speak in your recommendation—number 5—about credit unions, and in some areas of Canada they are quite strong.

Mrs. Mitchell: There are credit unions here—I don't think they have moved into the co-operative field to the same degree and I

think we have a lot to learn from the Maritimes and I would think the whole co-operative movement needs to be adapted in a different way to city living.

It would seem to me that this is another way where there should be funds set up through a co-operative sort of group to explore this situation. I know co-operative housing hasn't been too successful here but surely there must be some way this could be worked out more satisfactory than it has been in the past.

Mr. Barbolet: As far as co-operatives are concerned, we have tried to find out whose responsibility it was. First of all co-operatives are European class oriented, and by that I mean they can't help the low income groups because of the structure, but we tried to set up a co-operative for low income groups and one thing that we wanted to do was to get grain directly from the Prairie provinces and stock it for our own industries such as milling of grain, baking of bread, and selling it in a co-operative manner.

And I spoke to Mr. Basford about whose responsibility it is when it crosses provincial lines—when a group in British Columbia want to get some produce from other provinces and the federal government takes no responsibility for this.

I phoned to the provincial M.L.A.'s and they take no responsibility for it. There is no way that the government will encourage this type of co-operative structure.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, I think perhaps Senator Sparrow could answer that.

Senator Sparrow: Yes, what is your question?

The Chairman: He wants to buy wheat as I understand it.

Senator Sparrow: Well, there is no problem about that. There is no problem concerning the free movement of wheat across the Canadian border and you should apply to the Wheat Board which is a farmers' organization set up to sell wheat, so that is no problem.

Mr. Barbolet: Well, there are no marketing boards in British Columbia and they do limit the amount that can be brought in.

Mrs. Mitchell: I wonder if one of the things that is needed is really some funding for citizen training for jobs in co-operatives. Inasmuch as it is an educational thing and the

low income people and most of us who are working with agencies that are strapped for funds, we have no way of doing this type of thing.

There should be a federal grant of some kind to encourage citizen training workshops and this is one of them that might be encouraged.

Senator Sparrow: Senator Inman, are you asking how co-operatives work as such?

Senator Inman: No, I know how they work but this gentleman was asking about the wheat.

Senator Sparrow: They are very successful in Western Canada and very good. They have had government assistance in the past, taxation-wise. The Province of Saskatchewan has a Department of Co-operatives as such in the government service and I think this would be a very useful thing in areas that may not be covered because co-operatives are beneficial to the people who operate them.

Senator Fergusson: Referring to the development of neighbourhood action centres, you refer to store fronts. What are store fronts?

Mrs. Mitchell: Well in Vancouver over the last two or three years, there has been a number of sort of little kind of off-beat centres have started.

One was the Red Door—the people in the community call it the Red Door and actually it is an old suite behind a corner grocery store near the housing project and it became kind of a stopover and communication place where the people in the community could drop in. It was also a place where the workers could drop in but there is not an agency in the real sense.

This has spread throughout Vancouver and takes different forms. I think you will be visiting some of them probably. These action centres are very important because they are a place where a person can go for information, and go about a problem; can go there with an idea, and where they can meet with other people and where they can meet on equal terms with other community workers. The trend that we are trying to encourage is that they are run by citizens by themselves and by people on welfare as well.

Senator Fergusson: Well, are there all ages that patronize this action centre?

Mrs. Mitchell: Yes. There is a place in the community where people can drop in—have

a cup of coffee, there is a coin box there and the mothers come in with their kids—it is free, and it is warm and friendly and a place that people trust, and they don't see it as an agency in the same way. It is their place and what comes out of it is what they want. It is a new innovation in Vancouver.

Senator Fergusson: Well, it is a wonderful idea.

Mrs. Mitchell: They are very economical as they cost only from \$50 to \$100 a month to run.

Senator Everett: You make a statement in your brief—

Major institutional changes are needed to disband some or combine most social agencies into one integrated comprehensive social delivery system that can de-centralize service and workers into local areas.

In the next brief you will be hearing the Vancouver Inter-City Service project. They make the point that social and public services may be virtues out of practices relating to business because they are unjust to the consumer.

Avoid duplication of service is one way of saying that you are establishing a monopoly. In the absence of competition and challenge our social and public organizations have become sluggish and resistant to change.

The same organizations might find new vigour if they had to face some competition or loss of funds for poor performances.

I would just like to have your comments on that.

Mrs. Mitchell: Well, we had quite a discussion on this point and maybe I could comment on it from a family point of view. This is in the public sector.

The area development project in Vancouver was attempting to form—to provide more effective continuing integrated programmes for families on welfare for a long time. They found to do this that a family worker for a given family had to really bring in the functions of seven different family agencies.

My point was that if—to serve one family effectively you have to use the combined efforts of seven different agencies—why do you need seven different agencies?

If there was some way these could be combined into one agency and making it available to people I think this would be a much better

way of working it. I know this is over-simplifying it but the other thing is that on a voluntary sector—we campaign every year for about 50 Red Feather services—some are for the poor; some are for boys; some are for girls; some are for families; some for one problem and some for another problem. And none of them are really making any attack on poverty.

How can we justify this kind of financial support for administrative staff, supervisors, head offices, and consultants and so on? Surely there must be some way to do this more efficiently and to combine the services into a more efficiently run organization.

This could be made into a delivery system that could be de-centralized from which local communities can contract for local services. It will be quite as costly as the operation we have now and it will put the need right into the front line services.

Senator Everett: Well, it goes on to say that in order to give effect to the contracting of services and to bring the person in poverty into a great degree of control it would be more effective if they could choose.

If only one agency arrived on the scene and operated for six months or a year and didn't do its job it would be fired and a new agency would be put in to replace it.

Presumably the people—the government and private organizations who are funding these agencies would then say because this agency was fired maybe we better not give them any more funds. If it an interesting concept.

Mrs. Marzari: First of all, I don't think you can use social services as they are presently run with clients and workers as you would in a free marketing economy.

Shopping around for service is not the same as shopping around for a chicken. It is not the same as shopping around for a chicken in the supermarket because there are some places where you can get service and there are some places you are turned away from. Shopping for service isn't necessarily one of the delightful acts under the welfare system.

It is a shame that seven agencies have to serve one family and I will give you ten to one that that family isn't effectively served. That is an argument for some change in the system. It is an argument for a major change.

It is not necessarily an argument for a grand march toward the public sector throwing all these services into one beaurocratic

mess. This has been suggested and a lot of people have been talking about it.

We sort of investigated our means and our ends and our ends are to make sure that all services both public and private ought to be planned with, contracted by and accountable to local citizen groups which is to say that the poor have the control of services and they lie with the people. This is where it belongs.

If putting services in the public sector is going to do any good, do it. But I don't think it will do very good. I think it is a problem that a lot of people are still thrashing around in their own minds, but we have to get our means and our ends clear.

The means are to make services accountable to the people and to the community and the ends—and the means of doing this are still not clear. It is sure that there should be some administrative changes to bring about some kind of economic regularity in the existing system.

How to do this, we haven't figured out, but this is what I am hoping will come about.

Mrs. Mitchell: I think we do need creative, innovative services. We have a large example in this Cool-Aid project. We need kind of new things bringing up, but at the same time I would hate to see us waste so much energy in competition with each other—in competition for the funds which is taking too much energy now, that we haven't got time to do the job.

It seems to me that if we always keep in mind that we should be responsive to the local community—that they should have a say in what they want—then contract the services. I really don't see any justification for having so many people in administrative jobs and so few people in our agencies out in the communities working with people in the front lines.

The Chairman: Are there any questions from the audience?

Miss Marjorie Martin: I am a Woodland Family Worker. I think it would be a real shame if we ended the morning on just the note of services.

Poverty is not a problem of some other culture or a problem of having to motivate people trying to change their style of life or having to educate them to use resources. It is a problem of lack of money in the home.

As a family counsellor, when I am with a family with a low income probably 90 pe

cent of my time is spent in getting more money into the home.

I think if we concentrated some effort on raising welfare rates and raising minimum wages—if we got more money into the home we could reduce the amount of service.

The area that I work in, the people that I work with, would be far better off with more money in the home. They would be far better off with more money in the home and far less of me.

I can't help a woman who has \$90 a month and who has to spend \$55 of it on her rent, and the rest on trying to get food, and trying to get out of the house and get a little companionship. She can't afford to repair a T.V. which is broken which is the only companionship she has. She can't afford to buy a decent coat that she could wear down to a church or do anything of the kind of things she wants to do.

She can't afford to have a beer—I suppose when she has her beer—at least she has the guts to do that. The fact is, I can't do anything with this woman. The only thing I can do is try to get her more money and my immediate role as a family worker with poor people is to scrounge around and to try to extract from people who have the money, which they are not using or don't need, and F.V.'s that are—people that have two of them at home—to scrounge around and get extra money and material things for the home.

I am sure that Mrs. Mitchell who also works in this area would support me.

For example—you must excuse me but I have been working up to this. I fully agree that schools need to be changed and there are many schools that are changing and many good programmes are being introduced and teachers are trying to understand poor children.

On the other hand, you can change the schools all you damn well like but you are not going to really give the children a chance to take opportunities in the schools if they don't have a decent coat and 50 cents to wear when the school arranges for a tour visit somewhere.

That is the hang-up when you get to about grade 6 and the school starts arranging enrichment tours or special programmes and very other day the kids come home and say Mom, can I have 50 cents to go to a show, and I have a dollar to buy some material because we are doing this at school."

The schools do try to provide for these children but nobody wants to bend all of the time.

Nobody wants their children to have the opportunity to go to the opera, which they cannot take even though the ticket is reduced by a hundred per cent if you haven't got a decent coat, you feel like a real slob, and you go in with everybody else looking nice.

Now, I think if we don't concentrate on giving more money into the hands of the people, you are not going to solve their problems. This is the basic thing, to get more money into the home and not to get more services into the home.

Mrs. Drache: Yes, I would like to know if there has been any discussion in your trips across Canada regarding the guaranteed annual wage?

The Chairman: Madam, there has been nothing else.

Mrs. Drache: It seems to me that this is one of our problems.

The Chairman: Mrs. Drache, I opened the meeting by telling them about it.

Mrs. Drache: Well great, I hope you do something about it.

Alex Ryan: I am a student of social welfare. There is just one comment I will make in passing. One of the senators over here asked quite specifically how or what we would recommend to be done.

It is always quite difficult to follow anyone presenting a brief or an idea to come out with all the implications and suggestions, and this is one of the problems we have had this morning.

There has not been an expert in every area but it struck me that while we are talking about education, that the question of education goes beyond the formal presentation in the schools.

There is an underlying current in our society that needs eradicating. This comes from practically every level of endeavour including our educators. This business that a man is of a worth when he helps himself and goes out and digs his own garden and produces his own food or pulls himself up by his boot straps—I have observed since I have been in this part of the world that industry and commerce have a way of creating a need and the public's idea of the situation changes.

They do this by assaulting, if I may use that word, the public through the media by telling us this thing is worthwhile or even say that they have made a mistake in the past and now they are going to change it.

For example, the cars in industry. They make a mistake; they say they make a mistake and they say they are going to make a new need and tell you this is desirable.

One of the things in education which perhaps the government needs to do is to assault the public and tell them that their idea of the poor is a wrong one. People are not poor because they are lazy or because they want to be or because they want to stay down there—it is because we have created this in the past and now we are going to change it.

The media—television and newspapers and whatever else—will have to share in this advertising cost and certainly governments can afford some way to advertise and say the poor are not poor because they want to be poor but rather we have done this, we have made a mistake and now help the public to change their opinion. This is one way perhaps you can help.

The Chairman: On behalf of the committee may I say that you have been the source of great information this morning and certainly you have stood up well under some of our questioning. We have spent a very fruitful morning and on behalf of the committee I wish to thank all of you very much.

(Upon resuming at 2 p.m.)

The Chairman: Order, please.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Chairman, I wonder before you proceed this afternoon if it will be possible while we are here for the Senators from Saskatchewan and Alberta to view the grain moving facilities through the Port of Vancouver which has a very direct bearing on poverty in the Prairie Provinces.

I think probably Senator Sparrow and I would like to see this opportunity if you could arrange it through the Port Authority.

The Chairman: Yes, certainly.

Senator Belisle: Mr. Chairman, I am not convinced there is much poverty in Saskatchewan and Alberta but I would like to participate in such a visit with regard to any plans for Thursday afternoon. I will talk to you later when Thursday afternoon is decided about visiting certain places.

Senator Hastings: Probably Friday morning.

Senator Belisle: Well, Friday morning—

The Chairman: All right.

Senator Hastings: I can assure you there is poverty on the Prairies, senator.

The Chairman: I will make the arrangements and find out the times for you.

We have a brief from the Vancouver Inner-City Service Project. Sitting on my right is a director, Mr. Max Beck. He will describe the philosophy and methods of the Project, which is summarized in the brief. Then he has with him some other people who will be heard. He has arranged, just for your information, a tour for us on Thursday afternoon about which I will advise you later. Go ahead, Mr. Beck.

Mr. Max Beck, Director, Vancouver Inner-City Service Project: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Vancouver Inner-City Service Project seeks to promote a unique and innovated method of providing community service—particular to those sectors of the urban community out of the mainstream of life in this “affluent?” and “just?” society.

We note this involves a whole series of programs to create some innovations effecting some changes and what happens in the community in which we live.

We note that the word “just” has two meanings: the first—meaning equitable and fair; the second—meaning nothing more or less as in “There is just enough money for one more meal.” To many Canadians our just society is the latter—a nothing more or less society—not an equitable and fair society. We want to work with the people who are struggling to find justice in the just society. We want to help balance the scales of justice.

We note in reference to poverty that the wealthier sectors of the community have a great deal of choice in buying and choosing the types of service they have available to them; whereas with the poor group in the community, services are simply provided for them. They really do not have a tremendous amount of choice in buying social, environmental, and institutional programs that control so much of their lives.

We are trying to put more choice into the services they have now and hope they will improve them.

We also do not intend to advocate an about face for public services. This has been spoken of many times before. We should encourage

the public to move out into the community and this is more than the people concerned. We feel it is just quite natural that these groups tend to be more concerned about their own situation and not as much about people who are suffering on the streets so we advocate, that the groups in Canadian society look for more ways of strengthening the channels of power in society and strengthening the voice of the disadvantaged groups, those groups out of the mainstream.

In comparison to other societies, Canadian society has a well-developed sense of tolerance and fair play in the roles of the crusading journalist, the prodding public affairs program, the ombudsman—all have gained acceptance, even an aura of romance in Canada, and sometimes even government support.

International experience shows that other governments are not always quite as willing to tolerate dissent as we are. This has led to great problems in the Old Country. We should develop more means of strengthening and preserving the tolerance that we have here.

The specific proposals we would like to make to the Committee today are

(1) that we should develop more consumer influence into the services that we have, which are we should set up more things like risk funds, developmental funds, as a means of giving funds directly to disadvantaged or alienated groups and those organizations that work closely with them.

We should experiment with various methods of maximizing "grass roots" control of these funds.

Groups receiving such funds should always be accountable for how much money they have spent but in retrospect, rather than have to justify before they were spent that these funds would be required from the funding group. We feel this might help equalize the scales of justice.

The specific programs that could be encouraged with public grants would consist of the organizations that we are hearing from here in the next few days and in particular let them fund and hire their own staff.

We feel programs like advocates and ombudsmen, neighbourhood legal services, neighbourhood information, advice and social publicity centres similar to the Citizens' Advice Bureaus of Britain, youth organized and operated programs, self-help programs of all types should be encouraged.

A corollary to that point is the second one is definitely the highest priority setting should be—not abandoned—but we should have a little less emphasis on this and a little bit more funding and evaluation after doing the funding.

Many government organizations are only willing to provide funds to those groups that fit within the priority system they have established rather than subsequently giving the money freely and then evaluating the performance afterwards.

At the same time we have groups that are able to demonstrate their programs fit within the priority illustrated and they come up with very tremendous programs on paper which fail in implementation.

Another point is that we feel there should be more effort to encourage some competition and hustle in the services we have.

Social and public services make a virtue out of practices forbidden to business because they are unjust to the consumer. "Avoid duplication of service" is one way of saying "Establish a monopoly". Without some competition in business, we have higher prices and poorer products. With a limited managerial skills of social and public services, the Canadian public might well wonder if they are being overcharged for a shoddy product.

In the absence of competition and challenge our social and public organizations have become sluggish and resistant to change.

The same organization might feel the challenge if he had to face a little bit of competition, or loss of funds for poor performance.

We also speak of the concept of the social entrepreneur in the absence of market controls upon social and public services, funders should develop more means of being flexible and supporting entrepreneurship in social services.

This means more things like contracts for service, more support for staff who are demonstrating through performance they are really up to what is happening.

Another point we propose to put forward is to involve youth much more in what is happening. This stems from our own work in the community. We endeavour to involve youth as much as possible in seeing new approaches to poverty and injustice. They will never be our hope for tomorrow if they are denied meaningful participation in urban affairs today.

We attempt to ask youth to do more today because they have the education, the idealism

and the visceral strength to do this. They need more experience in action and exposure to the realities of life on the streets, which many of them do not have at this point.

We attempt to provide a practical learning and development experience for university students who will be the professionals in the years to come and wish there were more programs like this in the country.

The final point is the one on information or conviction. We really feel there is a tremendous amount of paper and briefs and proposals and so forth on poverty. We have had it around us for years and this commission and indeed this brief itself are simply adding to the stack of information that is there and what we all in the Canadian public need is much more conviction to act.

We feel some of that conviction might be generated if there is a bit more exposure to what is indeed happening and certainly you cannot get that exposure in a room like this so we have invited the senators—and I am very glad they have accepted—to go out and tour the streets and meet some of the people who are facing these problems day to day. Do not hear from the professional persons like myself who prepare briefs and come before the Commission but get out to some of the groups that are not able to—not at this point—prepared to come forward with a brief.

As we say we are glad the senators are coming.

In keeping with that tone, we ourselves today would like to have a couple of other groups who are associated with us make some comments to the senators so we have a young man, Mr. Harcourt on my extreme right, who is working with us on a program of legal services for the poor.

We have a person here from the dugout, a skid row self-help organization. We have some from the school. They are not all here at this point. They are coming here and I am quite prepared to speak and have opinions they would like to give to the Commission today.

The Chairman: You go ahead and introduce them.

Mr. Beck: I think maybe I would like to ask Mr. Michael Harcourt, who has a legal services programs.

Mr. Harcourt: Sirs, I would like to thank you for this opportunity. I am going to be

speaking on the part of the poor people in the legal system and I hope I am not here as an expert because my definition of an expert is a person who assists the audience in contributing to the confusion as theirs and not his.

Senator Hastings: That is lawyer talk.

Mr. Harcourt: I have been in practice since May of this year. Through the Vancouver Inner-City Service Project and over the last two and a half years through a law school and when I was articling and now practically in the Inner-City Service Project I have been researching the area of poverty law and in particular legal aid.

I am also on the Law Society Legal Aid Committee, which has completed a month's tour of the outbacks seeing how good or bad our legal aid system is.

So with these comments in mind I will go into a brief presentation of my own particular experience in this area.

I think I can summarize it for the legal system for most poor people, from my experience, has not been a service of the people I have come in contact with but an enemy.

I think if you view it from that prospective you must realize what these people are up against. I think the best description I read of this comes from an unfortunate fellow in unfortunate circumstances in the last little while but still this is true.

Mr. Justice Potts who was in the United States Supreme Court. This is when he was addressing the Third Circuit Conference in 1966. I think this is a brilliant statement of the problems these people face. He is speaking with the people in the Ghettos and those in strained circumstances and it still holds true.

He says:

To them the law has been an alien force. To them it has not worked to combat the conditions to which they are parties. It has been a system devised by the establishment, of the establishment, for the establishment. To them the law has been their vengeance. It is a law that has given the policeman security as regard to them. It has provided the arsenal of a probation officer and the juvenile court official.

It has been the powerful weapon of the money-lenders, the landlords and the installment dealer. It is the law that evicts them from their homes; the law

that repossesses their furniture; the law that seizes their children and spirits them away; the law that withholds their social welfare payments.

They do not regard the law as a set of rules in whose benefits they share. On the contrary they regard it as a cold deck; a fixed pack of cards being used in a game that they must play as the victim, as an outsider, not as a party.

Similarly they regard lawyers as the tool of the establishment. The loan shark, the money lender, the furniture dealer, the cop.

He goes on to say that the situation has to be changed if we are going to realize the very deep principle of our system which is a rule of laws throughout society.

He says, "Eventually the legal system is a social tool that must apply to all people if they are going to be fully participating members of society".

I think with that point I will try and describe what we are attempting to do with the legal aid in the Vancouver Inner-City Project, that is essentially what we are trying to get at, to turn the legal system from being one of an enemy to being one of service.

With that comment, our terms of reference are as follows: over the last summer—these are the things we tried to do. We tried to do some community education with citizen groups—unfortunately I found a lot of people that are in social services are quite ignorant of the legal services, city social workers and other agencies.

There is a lack of correlation between the counselling services and the poor.

We have also tried to provide limited legal aid and we have also involved a lot of students in providing some of these services and we are attempting over the long term to provide research material and look at laws which should be changed and procedures which should be changed.

We are hoping in the spring we can make a presentation to the Reform Commission.

Now, our long term program is encouraging and I think it must be realized in Canada—and it has been realized in the States—that poverty law is a specialized area of law. The psychology of the people involved is different and the laws that affect them do not affect people with money and there are certain problems we are introducing all the time.

We are testing out what has been very successful in the United States which are

Neighbourhood Legal Aid Offices, where you go to the neighbourhood people instead of them coming to a building downtown which probably alienates them. We are involving law students in providing these services.

We have also had a number of lawyers who come in and help welfare cases. We have articulated students and lawyers who run the panels and also we have law students preparing juveniles.

Now, the extent of our operation as it stands now, during our first two and a half months of operation we serviced 411 people and these are through some of the neighbourhood offices we have operating on a part-time basis, one on Commercial Drive and one in Kitsilano.

They are interviewed by our students and there is a supervisory lawyer there.

Now, most of those problems have been matrimonial. Thirty-eight per cent have been matrimonial problems, mostly divorce and separation but also such things as custody, maintenance and assault and just a woman who is tired of a man and she has quit.

Now, about nine per cent of them are landlord and tenant and 12 per cent superprotection. The rest of them boiled down to some problems with government agencies and some criminal law problems, so that is one program we have going.

The second program is a very, very badly neglected area and that is the juvenile court. Up until we commenced our program with the encouragement of the juvenile court judges and officials, juveniles were not being defended on transplants. This is a very serious charge which permits most juveniles to be raised to trial before a particular court. This has quite an effect on his life.

The law students stepped in and we handled these cases in the last three months and quite successfully.

So that is the program. Now, I could go into suggestions for reform but I think I have spoken long enough and we will cover that in the questions.

Senator Everett: Can you tell me, sir, what the legal aid system is in B.C. at the present time, if there is such a thing, and what it does and what it purports to do?

Mr. Harcourt: Well, you have to distinguish between criminal and civil legal aid.

Criminal legal aid in Vancouver runs as follows: somebody is arrested, goes to magis-

trate's court in at least 90 per cent of the cases.

If he applies for legal aid or becomes aware of it, the Salvation Army gives him a legal aid form. He fills this out and that goes to the administrator and if he is approved, he is assigned to a legal aid lawyer.

Senator Everett: What administrator does he go to?

Mr. Harcourt: It goes to a lawyer who is reimbursed through the Law Society. He does it on a part-time basis.

Senator Everett: He is at the Magistrate's Court?

Mr. Harcourt: No. He is assigned to the court. The Salvation Army mails the forms from the jail to his administrator.

Now, there are a couple of problems. Because of the lack of funds from the government they had to cut off certain cases. For example, a person who has had a criminal record in the last five years does not get legal aid.

Senator Sparrow: I am sorry, repeat that.

Mr. Harcourt: Anybody who has a criminal record within the last five years is turned down.

Senator McGrand: Why?

Mr. Harcourt: Money, not enough money from the government. Now, this is atrocious. I have handled a lot of these cases myself. I have had about 15 or 16 of these cases I have handled through our offices. One of them quite serious. This man had been charged and if he had lost he would have been declared a habitual criminal. He does not need a legal lawyer of six months experience, definitely. I was fortunate I got him off. He should have had an experienced member of the Bar in this case. He was turned down by legal aid.

Now, lawyers are paid \$30 a day or I should say \$30 to handle this case.

Senator Hastings: By the government?

Mr. Harcourt: Right.

Senator Everett: \$30 for any case?

Mr. Harcourt: Right. That is to say the \$30 is for the court appearance and the trial. They can get another \$30 I think for the trial date and sentencing. So in other words the compensation to lawyers is not adequate. So this is the criminal legal aid.

It works somewhat similarly outside of Vancouver except the forms are mailed to the Vancouver Civil Legal Aid. Now, there is a panel at the courthouse every Wednesday night and people can apply for civil legal aid there.

However, matrimonial matters are excluded. Small debt matters are excluded. Juvenile court matters are excluded. Bankruptcy is excluded.

Senator Hastings: What is included?

Mr. Harcourt: That is the problem. If you have a letter from the social worker that she needs a divorce and is on welfare, she can get a divorce but it is extremely limited. Lawyer get no reimbursement for it. They just get fees—they just get money for service of the petition and disbursement.

Senator Everett: They get no fees at all?

Mr. Harcourt: No. So that is the legal aid in British Columbia.

Senator Everett: How does the government reimburse the Law Society in cases of criminal charges?

Mr. Harcourt: They pay them in a straight grant out of the Attorney General's fund.

Senator Everett: Do you know what the grant is?

Mr. Harcourt: I think it is \$200,000.

Senator Everett: \$200,000?

Mr. Harcourt: \$220,000.

Senator Everett: Well, it would sound me as if you had one of the most backward legal aid systems in the Dominion of Canada.

The Chairman: Senator Everett is a lawyer from Winnipeg.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Harcourt, how many juvenile cases were there? You told me you had 411 of the other?

Mr. Harcourt: I would say since the 1st July we have handled about 70 cases.

Senator Hastings: You keep using the word "we". Is that you personally?

Mr. Harcourt: No, there are about 100 law students involved. I think 30 articled students and about 50 lawyers, all voluntary.

Senator Hastings: Working through the Inner-City Group?

Mr. Harcourt: Right, with the Inner-City group on these various programs we have got going.

Senator Hastings: What is your relationship with the B.C. Bar?

Mr. Harcourt: They have supplied financing for Inner-City and also are working with the legal aid of the B.C. Bar to approach the Attorney General for the legal aid system.

Senator Hastings: We have run across this practically right across Canada from Halifax to here, the lack of legal aid available to the poor. There are two standards of justice, one for the rich and one for the poor.

Mr. Harcourt: A perfect example of that is if you take, whichever way you may, whatever your own preference is, one woman walks into a lawyer's office with \$600 and wants a divorce and she has the grounds. She gets a divorce.

Another woman walks into a lawyer's office and she doesn't have money and wants a divorce. All of a sudden some moral questions are starting to be asked. Do you just want to sack up again? I'm not just saying the lawyer says that but that is the way the system operates.

If you are poor and need legal services, obviously you are going to abuse it.

Senator Hastings: A question I was going to ask you is: what is the Canadian Bar doing about this. Have they accepted this challenge?

The Chairman: It is a particular Bar that deals with divorce. The Canadian Bar Association does not deal with it.

Senator Hastings: This exists right across Canada. Does not the Canadian Bar accept this challenge? Are they just ignoring this condition?

The Chairman: The Canadian Bar Association works through the Provincial Bar Association and each province does whatever they think they ought to do. Some do it well, as you know, and some do it not so well.

That is what they have here. You know what they have in Manitoba. You know what they have in Ontario. You know what they have in Nova Scotia and in other places and that is the way it works.

Senator Hastings: The Canadian Bar Association is not the parent association of the B.C. Bar?

The Chairman: That is right. It is separate organization.

Senator Hastings: It is not the parent?

The Chairman: No.

Senator Hastings: Is it not interested in the administration of justice?

The Chairman: Of course they are interested in the administration of justice. It is not the parent. It is a separate entity and they merely meet under the auspices of the Canadian Bar Association.

Mr. Beck: The majority of the justice is in the Provincial Courts which are under Provincial jurisdiction.

Senator Belisle: Is it not possible in B.C. to have a divorce without going to a lawyer?

Mr. Harcourt: You mean a "do it yourself divorce?"

Senator Belisle: Yes. From the statement you made awhile ago that they are asking all kinds of moral questions. In other words, it is nearly impossible, is it?

Mr. Harcourt: It is possible but not probable. In other words a woman can do it but is not likely to succeed.

Senator Fergusson: I was interested in the fact you are using students that do the interviewing for you. You said you had 141 people interviewed in the first two months with a supervising lawyer. Is the lawyer present when the interviewing is done or do they report to him or how do they work it out?

Mr. Harcourt: Well, it varies. If they run into a problem they do not have a solution for they should consult a lawyer and if they cannot come up with a simple solution right there then they should say "We will phone you back after we have seen him".

Senator Fergusson: Are the law students anxious to do this sort of work? Do they find it interesting or do you have to persuade them to do it?

Mr. Harcourt: We do not have to persuade them because they enjoy any experience.

If you ever attended law school, Senators, it is certainly true any chance you get to get outside the ivory towers and get practical experience is looked forward to because we are like any other professional school. You sit up there and lay ostrich eggs for three years

before you get a chance to handle a person so they look forward to it.

The Chairman: There are four lawyers on this Committee and nobody believes us if we make that statement. I am glad you made it.

Do you have any questions?

Thank you very much, Mr. Harcourt, and for your work with the organization. Believe me, we appreciate it. We know how important it is.

Senator Everett: One last question. We come across the fact that we are often told when people are drawing welfare assistance that they cannot get any legal aid at all. Is that the case here? Is there any discrimination in the system?

Mr. Harcourt: There is no discrimination. It is just that it is so limited and in some ways so inaccessible that it becomes difficult. In other words it is not a conscious thing. It's just that it works so clumsily.

Senator Everett: What I am saying is that the system is completely inadequate.

Mr. Harcourt: Well, that is the reason.

Senator Everett: It is inadequate for everybody who applies.

Mr. Harcourt: That is right.

Senator Everett: There is no differentiation between one group or the other?

Mr. Harcourt: Right.

The Chairman: Now, would any of you like to ask any questions from what is said in the brief by Mr. Beck?

Have you any more questions on that before we get into some other field?

Senator Hastings: Mr. Beck, the essence of your brief is that you are extending an invitation to the comfortable Canadians to become involved. I am asking you: do you want involvement or do you want cash?

Mr. Beck: We would ask for both. The major point, the first point is to provide more funds and cash directly to those groups that are trying to do something. It is their problem and they feel it very strongly and they have more conviction to act on it than even I have.

Senator Hastings: Would they appreciate involvement or would they sooner do it themselves?

Mr. Beck: I do not think they appreciate any sticky-handed involvement as sometimes has been given to them in the past or where there are a number of missions where you have to sing for your supper. I do not think people appreciate that.

I think, you know, programs where there is involvement where it is done in a very sympathetic and helpful way are well appreciated.

However, the important point is that these fellows and people have ideas of their own that they want to push. I think some of the main involving things that are happening are not coming from these pros but are coming from the people who are facing the problems. These are some of the things we hope to show you on Thursday.

Senator Hastings: I am not thinking of maternalistic involvement that seems to have prevailed over the years. I am thinking of commitment by the "haves" to become involved. Is that appreciated?

Mr. Beck: I think it is.

Senator Hastings: Secondly, I wonder if you would explain to me about the Citizens' Advice Bureau of Britain. Would you care to expand on that.

Mr. Beck: That is a long topic. There are some excellent books out on it. I haven't been able to get them but my staff can get them for you on the Citizens' Advice Bureau of both Britain and the United States operation but essentially there are places where in the neighbourhood information, advice and sometimes advocacy is provided; meaning that when the answer does not exist readily somebody goes out and tries to find the answer, tries to find why the service is not being given. There are some programs in the City at the moment which provide information where they can go and give a reply to the people.

Senator Hastings: Perhaps you colleague can answer this one for me. Do you feel you have just touched the surface of this legal aid in B.C.?

Mr. Harcourt: I find it to be the more you get into it the more areas you can see. Little by little we are going to be presently talking to the Attorney General's Department in the next week or so but there is so many other areas.

For example, I am going to be working in two areas in the New Year particularly

welfare legislation and how our agency carries on.

Senator Hastings: Is there a rule of law for the way our welfare agencies carry on?

Mr. Harcourt: My experience is that in a lot of cases there is not and there is not with consumer protection. The more you get into it the more areas you see.

Senator Hastings: So you just started to scratch the surface?

Mr. Harcourt: Yes, just scratch the surface.

Senator Hastings: For the City of Vancouver?

Mr. Harcourt: Right.

Mr. Beck: People are calling us. Our telephone lines are jammed with people wanting information. We are getting calls from Prince George, Campbell River. How they know, I don't know. I have no idea. They are coming in from all over the province, which astounds us.

The Chairman: Mr. Harcourt, the best legal aid legislation and the most effective at the moment is in the Province of Ontario and they have only the very best consumer departments in the Province of Ontario or in the Province of Nova Scotia. It just so happens, not because it is Ontario, our experience has shown that. I know it to be a fact in many cases.

Senator Inman: I would like to ask a question. On page 3, Section 3 they say "In the absence of competition and challenge our social and public organizations have become sluggish and resistant to change".

Are you including all our organizations?

Mr. Beck: Sometimes if the other one doesn't keep up we might threaten them to cut the money off. I am sure as long as we had some competition to provide some challenges and suggestions, and give money directly to some of the people that are facing the problems. As long as the challenges are put in there and there has to be a bit of competition then we may start to see a lot of changes but right now the way we handle the welfare field there are a lot of monopolies in service, jurisdiction and the type of territory which occurs and which makes it easy to be a bit sloppy and not have the incentive to keep everything right up to date, as it should be.

I think we can easily have a little bit of competition less than removing it all as we have to do right now.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to ask a question about that. We have heard in many areas when we are working on these things the statement which you have in quotation marks "Avoid duplication of services". We have been advised this is the thing to do, try not to overlap and not to have duplication. Apparently you think that does away with competition, which is valuable. I find that is a little hard to understand.

Mr. Beck: I don't go as far as to say we should not make some efforts that way, but I think we have to allow some organizations in that are going to provide some challenges and some competition.

We have a bit of it already and we always attempt to remove it as if it was bad in itself. In many cases it is not bad.

What we should be doing is looking at two agencies and see which one is the better. And let us start that way. If a new agency wants to go out and challenge something that is happening and they think they have a better way perhaps they should be allowed to present that challenge rather than not on the basis of what they can do is perhaps better or worse.

That is not the idea. The agencies have been saying on principle we should never have competition. I think if we accept that blindly as a principle you would never improve. It takes time to evaluate and prove which is better. That is what is right now.

If we do not have competition, if we do not have two people seeking to do the same thing one better than the other, we never have to face this question of which one is doing better or how well is the other one doing. Sole jurisdiction for one organization has been permitted over the years and happens all the time.

The Chairman: Senator Everett this morning asked Mrs. Mitchell a very pointed question. Did you hear her answer?

Mr. Beck: Mrs. Mitchell, I thought, was good.

The Chairman: You were here?

Mr. Beck: I was not here at that point but she and I have been involved in some of these things.

Senator Sparrow: Can I ask you, Mr. Harcourt: in the regulation of labour and legal

services what can be done so that these services are not required? Is money the answer to these people?

I am sure this Committee is concerned with looking to the future in seeing what we need to service these people. What is the answer, shortly in the future that we will not require this; that they can buy services on the open market.

Mr. Harcourt: Well, there is no doubt that if they were going to get an average of \$8,000 a year they could meet most lawyers' terms.

Senator Sparrow: Are you using that figure as a guideline?

Mr. Harcourt: No, I am just saying that.

Senator Sparrow: I am asking you seriously is that the figure you would use?

Mr. Harcourt: I am just saying if you gave them a fair amount of money or a fair excess plus the excess of lawyers' fees to pay for it.

I think that in British Columbia what we are going to have to do first of all is to have a realistic legal aid system.

Now the next step might be Legicare like Medicare. This might take care of some of the clean kids.

In a legal system my concern is the fellow who is making \$12,000 a year and is quite comfortable and all of a sudden is charged with murder and there goes his house and his car and, you know, whether he is guilty or innocent there goes his house and car.

So it is not just the poor people that in some cases are treated unfairly by the legal system.

It could be the average—whatever that person is—citizen. So I think the answer to your question as to what we are after in the immediate future is a legal aid system. Then I think we have to start talking about a legal system servicing the whole community more and in a better way because I just look at the legal system as a social tool to service citizens needs. If it is not doing that, why not?

Senator Sparrow: You are advocating Legicare?

Mr. Harcourt: I am advocating legal aid right now but what comes after that we will have to look and see.

Senator Everett: I wonder if I could change direction for a moment. You say: "Rather than an about-face in the establishment, we advocate strengthening the channels and

power of dissent in Canadian Society; strengthen the voice of the disadvantaged and those out of the mainstream."

I think we would agree this is a very indirect part of bringing the poor into the society. What we are interested in knowing is the perimeters. What do we do? How far do we go?

Mr. Beck: I think Perry would probably answer this one well. He was one of the students involved in this this summer working as a law student himself.

The Chairman: Perry who?

Mr. Beck: Perry Linda.

Mr. Linda: Senators, I am sorry. Would you repeat the question. I was taking some notes.

Senator Everett: I am referring to the top of page 2 of your brief and the reference to the fact that we have to strengthen the voice of the disadvantaged and those out of the mainstream. I think the Committee recognizes that this is indirectly a part of the action for the poor in society.

What we wanted to know is I wonder what limitations there should be.

Mr. Linda: Well, I would preface my remarks in answering this by remarking that one of the gentlemen said that you want the public to make a commitment, the comfortable people can make a commitment and in the back of my head I answer that "Yes. You will have to give up some of that comfort" and that is what we are talking about.

I am getting to what you are asking. I wanted to make a few remarks so you will see the type of context I am speaking about.

The dilemma, as I see it, is that in a society which basically is either a monopoly capital or capital we are trying to treat endemic problems in the system not in a free enterprise manner.

For example, if your car breaks down and you take it to a garage, he fixes it or you can take it back again if it breaks down again. You go back once or twice more and you say "That is it" and yet the existing social service agencies I think only holds the line. Things are not getting any better. Things are getting worse.

In all spectrums of society we are now seeing people who for a long time have been regarded as a problem and they are trying to tackle it themselves and in some instances

success starts to come. So that I think it would be tied in with the question you have asked here.

Now, I would say certainly you have to strengthen the powers of dissent but what do you mean by "strengthen".

Until existing funding agencies—I am talking at this point about the fact that new ideas do not get a chance because there is no money—not only should we allow those who are presently operating but any new agency which comes along and looks good and which comes out of the comfortable class, we will give them money, we have got to also be prepared to say any new agency that comes from within the problem area itself should get the money first. Does that help?

Mr. Beck: Maybe I could add to that. You say "What are the perimeters?" I think it is interesting to speculate the other way. If one does not permit this to happen it keeps holding it down and keeps what I call the pressure occurring.

We may under it then start finding that the underground swells are getting bigger and stronger and therefore it may be more comfortable to get involved.

Senator Everett: We are very much aware of that argument. The argument is a good one. But let me give you an example. Suppose a development worker is disadvantaged and you undertake the problem on behalf of a certain segment of the community that is disadvantaged. It involves dealing directly with the private agencies and then with the publicly funded agencies and finally with the Municipal Councils. It is then eventually a power political action program.

From a power political action program it might become a public political action program in order to achieve what he wants to achieve.

It is hard to be anything but abstract but what I want to know is how far you say you are going to go?

We had a witness here this morning who said he thought that the action programs had the right to go as far as ignoring the present law and if the law stood in the way, the law should be ignored.

Now, I violently disagree with that as a lawyer and could not do less. I feel one should never ignore the law but I think all sorts of political pressure can be brought to change the law; what I wanted to get from you is what you people were thinking about

in the way of perimeters. How far are you going to go?

Mr. Beck: Well, what I would like to see is more observation of what is happening than a series of what has happened. There are many groups that currently would not even want to support anything in terms of getting political action. They tend to be associated with organizations which tend to feel you should start with much more militant action, aggressive action, protest demonstrations and things like this, et cetera.

I would not generalize that as the right thing although they are doing that currently. When it starts to get down to violence and hurting and moving outside, I think that is the point.

Mr. Linda: May I add as a student at law like about a year ago we undertook as students to offer our services for just legal advice at the Law School.

We knew right off the bat we were probably going to have to act in an illegal manner, that when we showed up in court on many occasions we were probably going against certain statutes in the province and yet as law students we said "Well, okay. That is the risk. Fine, we will go ahead."

We proceeded along without any permission from anybody—just a group of 10 of us—we proceeded to do this.

Senator Everett: How were you contravening the law?

Mr. Linda: Well the Legal Professions Act. We knew that people could say look, under the Legal Professions Act only lawyers can give legal help and only a lawyer can appear in court unless there is a certain set of circumstances, if there; but the implication was what we were doing in practice was wrong, which is not what students should do.

Now after a month of this we went and got acceptance of this from the various bodies, the Dean and the various people at the Law School and within two months the law students gave \$1,000 of their own to the Inter-City Project for the summer. We asked the Law Society for the same thing, \$1,000 and they were willing under that circumstances, I surmise, to overlook the fact there may have been some moral problem involved in what we were doing.

The Chairman: In Magistrates' Court?

Mr. Linda: In the small debts and Magistrates'. Well now in the summer we had the Family Court and there are very little, if any, counsel that are strictly juveniles.

At one point this summer there was a narcotic's arrest of some 170 people and the Family Court Judge suddenly found himself with the Crown asking to raise numerous individuals and he thought that they at least deserved some defence.

May I say on that he came to us and he asked us, as students, if we would come and help. A year ago if the students had come forth to anybody and said we want to go into the Family Court. We think we can do a good job and not only that but we think we can do a better job than the lawyers, we would have been laughed out flat.

Now, by the public admission of the judges involving the probation officers, involving the prosecutors, the students of the Law School can go down there to defend these cases and are going a better job than the lawyers would. They have a lot more time to do it. The lawyer goes in and just gives a minute to the detail and does not do it too well.

So we have to look at the whole artificial barrier between the general public and the law. That is one of the problems facing our whole society.

Mr. Beck: May I interrupt at this point, Senator Croll, to say we had hoped today to present to you somewhat of a smorgasbord. We hope you do not get indigestion with it. We have asked some other groups who had originally intended to be here this morning, but we didn't find the time available to us to give to all the groups of our society that have come here.

I would like to call on Miss Linda Melita who works with what they call "School Canadianna" and John Palmer and Roy Cobney who work with the Self-Help Organization.

Senator Hastings: I wonder if I could digress for just a minute. There has been quite a debate about the Company of Young Canadians in Ottawa. Have you had any experience with them?

Mr. Beck: That is not a fair question. There are a number of the Company of Young Canadian people sitting in the audience.

Senator Hastings: Do you have any views as to their usefulness?

Mr. Beck: I feel it is a very useful organization because our experience is very similar

to theirs. They are trying to involve young people. I think they have had problems in adjusting and a lot of controversial press at times but locally they are quite an enthusiastic group.

Sometimes I almost wish they would create a lot more controversy, but from day to day around the community they are doing a very effective job.

The Chairman: Miss Melita is a community worker at the First United Church.

Miss Melita: Senators, ladies and gentlemen, use your imagination just for a moment, please. You are an Italian woman who has been here four years. You have no English. You do not know a single Canadian. You have never been outside the Italian community because it is too painful and too humiliating to have these people look at you and hate you simply because you do not understand the language and culture.

Life is so different here from that little village you came from in Italy. In some way it is better, that is true. You have a little more money to buy food but it is so complicated. Your baby is sick. You don't really know where to go because you can't speak English. You need an Italian doctor but you haven't the money to pay for one to come to your house.

On the other hand, the older son is fine. He is in school already. Why he even knows English better than you do. He laughs at you and so does his friends. What if you ever have to talk to his teacher? You are afraid.

You are a young Italian man eager to work with a sister and aged grandparent to support. Your grandparents are Italian but they live here in Canada so they are not eligible for either the Italian or Canadian pension. Your sister lost her job last week at the laundry. She didn't know enough English even if that, so you are responsible for supporting these people now.

You are very lucky to get a job with an Italian contractor. You didn't really need to know English to get that job so it wasn't very important, or was it; because you are getting lower wages than you really ought to. There must be some regulations but you don't really know how things work here in Canada, what is your recourse?

You would really like to train for some kind of trade to improve your situation but to do that you need English. To learn English

you need money. There is not enough when you have all these four mouths to feed.

Besides, you are so tired when you get home at night, where are you going to find the time and energy to do it?

So life goes on and you wonder if you made a better choice to come here to Canada after all. But, on the other hand, here you are and it is too expensive for the rest of you to go back.

Or, you are Chinese. You are an architect from Taiwan who arrived here a few months ago. You know English and yet in several months you have not been able to find a job in your profession. You have got a job but a very low level one. It doesn't pay enough. You are getting very discouraged and depressed because of not being able to contribute as you know you can. Your savings are almost depleted.

Your wife and daughter do not know English but you would like them to learn but you have children to watch. Who will babysit for them while your wife and daughter are in class? You do not want them to go out at night to the school classes, certainly not alone to another part of town. If only there was a class in the daytime in your local neighbourhood, somebody would see they got there.

Now, these are just typical instances of the kinds of extremes that School Canadiana is aiming to reach. This is an organization that grew out of the initiative of one young man with the Inter-City Service Project a year ago, who started a Italian-English Language and Culture Orientation class in the Italian community in this City.

After one year of this program, School Canadiana has grown to reach three major ethnic groups, the Chinese and Japanese as well as the Italian. It is now under the auspices of a Community Committee and directed by joint directorship of the Inter-City Services Project, Central Y.M.C.A. and myself and the First United Church.

We are negotiating to bring this program and its very unique approach to English language orientation under the auspices of the School Board, feeling as we do, this is an improved addition to English language programs in this City and that it should be rightfully financed by this larger group.

Now, in its second year we have 140 students employed and just quickly I would like to run down the distinctive features of School Canadiana which are really innovative and make it possible to reach these ethnic groups

that otherwise divorce themselves or are separated from other English language opportunities.

First of all, the classes are located in the local neighbourhood making it easier accessible to groups and encouraging people, even with their cultural barriers and their inability to go beyond their immediate neighbourhood, to take part in the classes.

The classes are also homogeneous in their makeup so that Chinese people are together. The Italian people are together and the Japanese together. This gives them the encouragement of their fellow countryman. It also enables the teachers who speak their language to put them at ease and to make the class flexible according to these students ethnic background or particular cultural basis learning barriers or an allowance to take in another particular important component of the program, cultural orientation, in which a teacher, speaking the language, answers in the course of the class questions that come up about life in Canada; how to find jobs; where to go for help services and so on.

We are able to bring resource people from the community into the classes such as public health nurses, or lawyers or people from the school and introduce these people to the students, familiarize them without using the teacher as an interpreter.

We feel this is an important component in the program that integrates them and assists them in their integration into the Canadian life.

You saw it just a few minutes ago two of our class boys came in. This is part of their learning about how Canada works, seeing real live Senators and seeing the dialogue of what happens between citizens and their governmental representatives. This will be of benefit to the class the next session then to explain the workings and the structure of government.

Our daytime class offers babysitting facilities so that mothers with children need not be excluded from any learning opportunity but can bring their children here and know that they are well cared for.

We have also been able to use Opportunity Mothers for these particular babysitting jobs, enabling for Opportunity Mothers to begin working their way out of the welfare Ghetto.

Our fees are lower than most English classes in the city but even at that they may be subsidized because we maintain ourselves not only by the fees but more importantly by

grants through foundations. We adjust these fees another \$500 grant today.

The Italian Council is very enthusiastically behind this program realizing how important a role it plays in our Inner-City Problems they have to cope with and in helping generally it has been the Italians here in the City.

And finally advertising or any communication in our class is done quite naturally in the language of the people that we are trying to reach, in Chinese newspapers, through Italian churches and through ethnic stores in the local neighbourhoods.

Why is this important? As a social worker and English language teacher, I feel strongly that English is certainly improving the mobility of these people, not only to their finding of better employment and an effective foundation in the society in which they have chosen to live, but also to communicate at any level they must know English.

Social integration will be facilitated and the gain to Canada will be really inestimable when one realizes that hundreds of immigrants come into Vancouver to settle every single month and that thousands of them in this immediate neighbourhood do not speak English and that 70 per cent of the children in the schools in this neighbourhood and in the adjoining one, where the Italians and Chinese are concentrated, come from these Italian and Asiatic backgrounds and that a quarter of them do not speak English.

Can you imagine the handicap and waste of manpower, the underemployment, the no working of these people in terms of their contributions to Canada? Of course, any social problems, real or potential, will be intensified in situations where this language component is present so that family breakdown or generation gap or school dropouts, the psychological depression of not working at one's full capacity or feeling trapped, all of these factors are present.

Through School Canadiana and programs like it we feel we are going to attempt to reach these people and naturally give an opportunity of breaking out of a self-perpetuating cycle and to prevent themselves from sinking into poverty conditions and help them to an effective life as Canadian citizens.

Senator Belisle: May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Certainly.

Mr. Belisle: Thank you. May I say to you and through you to your association or your

group we appreciate what you have been doing. People such as yourself and your association have assisted others in building this country. I say this with deep sincerity.

I am one of those Canadians who believe that not only English and French have their contribution to make to the Canadian fabric but if the fabric is going to stand the test of time it will only be on the basis that every ethnic group in this country will be contributing to it.

They have done so in the past very generously. I am convinced and hope that our government or governments will see fit to make money available so that it will be permitted to continue.

I was very much impressed when I got my question because when I was looking through a brief I saw that 3,000 residents speak neither English nor French and then in your description of School Canadiana, you say that it is impossible or as you said it is virtually impossible for these people to get underway in the mainstream of our life.

What can we do?

I take it we have social workers who know the city from end to end.

Miss Melita: We have very few of them. We should encourage more people who have language skills to enter the service profession. We should encourage people. We should help them to gain skills in language and then use them in the city where they can be most effectively used.

We should encourage teachers to train for the teaching of English to other people and then use them.

The way it is now, it should not happen as is one case here in Vancouver, that a person who is excellently well trained in teaching Chinese and is Chinese himself and could very well help with all the social and educational problems is not allowed to be a teacher in this community. This is the kind of things that are done.

You need schools and they ought to be looked at in terms of long range programs.

Senator Belisle: You say you have received assistance from foundations. Have you applied to your Provincial Government or to the Federal Government for assistance or have you received any?

Mr. Beck: Our Provincial Government here does not make full use of the funding provisions that are available through citizenship.

We have tried going to the School Board in the first instance to ask the School Board for more help and more involvement. We feel we would like to get them involved in doing this rather than this as a program because they have got the money.

The whole thing operates on something like \$12,000 a year now.

We have to get somebody with more funds. We have also suggested the School Board approach—that they jointly approach the Federal Government to make more use of the funding arrangements that already do exist.

Senator Belisle: But you are going to see that requests are made to the proper place?

Mr. Beck: Yes. As I say a number of students have been undertaking some of these things which have been in existence for several years. They are being used, one as long ago as 1964.

Senator Belisle: We heard yesterday, for example, from a gentleman in Winnipeg who said that he preferred to have these students at the elementary level or even a secondary level being taught in their own community. Do you feel there would be greater participation by these people if they were to come in and be transported to other communities where they could take advantage not only of the educational facilities but also of the language which is spoken there in that vicinity.

Miss Melita: I think there is a transition stage that is necessary in terms of encouraging people to do that. They are naturally fearful of themselves being transported into a total foreign environment. There is a human need to communicate fully, to have a certain amount of security in any situation and until they have basic language skills or a basic knowledge of the larger community, they would be at a disadvantage and could perhaps compound their problem if they were transported immediately outside their environment.

Senator McGrand: We had a statement made yesterday that there are people who live perhaps 100 or 200 miles away from the City of Winnipeg. They are in a small community of 1,000 or 2,000 and the question was: could they have facilities in those small communities or was it better to bring them to Winnipeg?

If you are in Vancouver, you are within a limit of 10 or 15 miles. It is not a question of

having to transport people long distances but then I can imagine that people who are not familiar with the Canadian scene perhaps might be terrified, not of the long distances but just by the size of Vancouver.

Mr. Beck: Yes. I think there are some people who live within a few blocks right here that would probably feel more strongly than if they had been brought from 200 miles away.

Many of these communities are in poverty and are isolated and we are talking about an economic problem of how to disperse and centralize our resources. It is a great gulf and gap even in an urban community like this.

Miss Melita: It is true that a lot of the immigrants to Vancouver or in the Metropolitan areas in Canada are from a rural state. They have a double adjustment to make, not only to the country but to an entirely new type of life and this causes many problems and much fear and confusion for them.

That is why a program of orientation as well as English training is so important.

They must adjust for school, by all means, but any help that the Federal Government can give, for instance, through its Department of Manpower and Immigration, which has centres all over the country, would be very well used; and that the people in these centres assist not only in getting jobs for people but to help them become more effective human beings.

In many cases we see all kinds of immigrants who could produce and who could work at higher levels and be a more substantial person and yet there they are, cleaning floors at night and washing dishes where they may be teaching school or working in an architect's firm.

Mr. Beck: May I add a comment here; that one of our big goals in this program is to separate the gap between the service that should be doing the School Board service and the people. The School Board currently has programs teaching people and those programs are advertised but they are put out in fliers in the local newspapers and the people in the community do not hear the advertisement and they do not know about the programs.

It is hard to understand how the School Board can put advertisements in an English newspaper which do not reach the Chinese and Japanese and Italian communities.

The Chairman: Is there a Chinese newspaper?

Mr. Beck: Yes, there are several Chinese newspapers.

The Chairman: Any Italian?

Mr. Beck: Yes.

Mr. Harcourt: Two Italian newspapers.

The Chairman: One Japanese?

Mr. Beck: About three Chinese.

The Chairman: Now, there is money available for teaching immigrants the English language, you know. All you really have to do is apply for it.

Mr. Beck: One of the problems there is that we approached Manpower and asked them what was available. We were told that first of all the program would have to be approved and after we got it approved, they would then send a new person to get the program down to Manpower and that eventually we would be getting some help from them.

Our suggestion was to have them give us \$500 and we would avoid going through all these steps and unnecessary trouble because the administration costs would be higher than what they would be giving so that type of help isn't too helpful.

Mr. Linda: On the other hand there is money available within an area for that level which is out of reach now because the Provincial Government won't designate it to the Centre and they would not get the federal level.

The Chairman: We have problems in Canada the like of which you never heard.

Senator Fergusson: I wanted to say that I think what you are doing and what School Canadiana is doing is tremendous and I hope you will be able to get around some of these difficulties and get more kinds of assistance and I see you list your goals in this Appendix A.

Mr. Beck: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: You refer there: "To provide New Canadians with the necessary language skills to function economically and socially in their new environment; to integrate the foreign-born Italians and Chinese into Canadian life".

I wonder if you are trying to implement this goal at all or have you perhaps for lack of money been unable to work on this?

Miss Melita: This is included in the concept of trying to help these people to develop their own skills and contribute to Canadian life at the level of their capabilities and of course within their own community benefit from their contribution as individuals.

Now, we hope also through our programs to establish contact. We talk with immigrants and try to put them in touch with people. Let me give you examples. The Czechoslovakian community, some of which have arrived in Vancouver as a result of the Russian invasion in their country, have been trying to get established without us and an effort has been made to put them in touch with the Art Community so they can start using their artistic abilities to the benefit of Canada but they have had a real awkward battle because unfortunately the Federal Government cut off their support saying that it was time they went out and took other jobs so in order to keep the family going at a level, the husband is not able to paint.

Mr. Beck: Maybe we can hear from John Palmer.

The Chairman: Just a minute. Senator Hastings from Alberta, Senator Sparrow from Saskatchewan and Senator Belisle from Ontario are asking to be excused now because they are going down to the United Grain Growers.

Mr. Palmer: I would like to speak both briefly and informally on the Dugout. I worked with the Inner-City Project last summer and was involved in the Dugout on the sort of unofficial basis.

Now, the Dugout is a day centre for men in the heart of Skid Row area. At eight o'clock it opens and coffee is served from eight to 8.30. It is served and made by the men in the Dugout and in the summertime they have approximately between 100 and 200 men going through the Dugout and now approximately between three and 400 cups of coffee is being served between the hours of eight and 8.30 and the remainder of the day it stays open for card playing and watching T.V. and it just is a place to get out of the rain.

Basically it is for the men and it is run by the men. There is also another group that was trying to get going down there and this is basically again Self-Help, particularly in the area of accommodation.

Now, there is a lot of accommodation in the Skid Row area but the men are concerned about and we are trying to get them to go

and try and act together on solving this particular problem. Perhaps I could just say a few words about the Skid Row area in general.

It seems to me that the Skid Row area has long been the most obvious and most evident poverty pocket in Vancouver and across Canada and yet it has been severely neglected in terms of welfare services, in terms of any kind of community development and in terms of the number of people and the amount of money which is available to give a Self-Help program a start.

It has come to a head there with the poor that there is a possibility of some of the men being pushed out into another area. So at this particular moment it is a very hot issue here and that is about all I can say on it.

I think the only way to solve this problem is to get to the public and find out in a hurry why the public doesn't really care and what their attitude is. Let us say he is a rubby, he is on bay rum and he legitimately belongs down there because he really can't do anything about it.

On the other hand he is also kept down there by the attitude of the welfare which has services mainly outside of the area and which still keeps up food lines and rather archaic ways of dealing with these people who are on social welfare.

There is also another problem in the Skid Row area. That is that no one—I say no one—really knows who is down there and no one really knows how many people are down there. In other words no one really knows the fabric of the Skid Row area, and so if some kind of an analysis could be made, it would help.

Mr. Beck: I will ask Mr. Cobney to speak, also of the Dugout.

Mr. Cobney: Let me emphasize on the fact that John brought out, that nobody knows the number of people that are down there. Nobody cries about the number of people that are down there and this is true because nobody gives a damn what happens to the people down there. They just care as long as the person keeps down there. They do not care. They just say "He is down there. I do not want him here. He has got that stigma".

I know a chap who has recently come from Ireland. He had occasion to come into Vancouver, he ends up in the hotel over here. They refused actually to give him a job because the hotel he was at is not in the high

class area. It is not in those areas that people want to associate with. They associate him with strictly welfare, with strictly being on Skid Row. They don't care whether he lives or dies.

This is one of the things I cannot see. Every person whether they get there through their own fault or whether he gets down there through the fault of society—I believe everybody should be cared for; somebody should care whether he dies or not or whether he lives or not.

I am at work most of the day but I put in spare time in the Dugout because I like it. But I don't do too much in the way of work...

The Chairman: When you speak of numbers, can you give us the high and low in each category?

Mr. Cobney: Well there was roughly about 220 there this morning for coffee.

The Chairman: Go ahead; follow it up.

Mr. Cobney: Well, then the rest of the facilities are up there all day. Some of them leave. Some go out. Some come back the next day to get their meal ticket. This is the most obnoxious thing I have ever seen, to put a person on a meal ticket because of circumstances. That is one of the worst things that can happen. I do not think I would ever want to do it myself.

The Chairman: Of course, you know this is not unique?

Mr. Cobney: That is right.

The Chairman: Even the rich city of Toronto has the Victor House and there is another place on Spadina.

Mr. Cobney: That is right. I spent 10 years there so it is not new. I stopped for lunch at the White Spot. I hope you visit it tomorrow because it is a revolting place. Don't wear a white shirt and tie.

Senator Connolly: You are not an old man. You are a reasonably young man.

Mr. Cobney: Yes.

Senator Connolly: You have fairly good health?

Mr. Cobney: Yes.

Senator Connolly: You are not a tradesman, I take it?

Mr. Cobney: No, I am a cook by trade. I work at the Central Street Mission as a cook.

Senator Connolly: You are just unable to get a job?

Mr. Cobney: I have a job.

Senator Connolly: So your concern is for these people?

Mr. Cobney: I am concerned with the people who are down.

Senator Connolly: We need more of this type of compassion.

Mr. Cobney: I was just about a year without a job till this one came up.

Senator Connolly: But because you are employed at the moment, you have enough compassion in your system to be concerned about the people who are not and who are in need. That is the reason you are here?

Mr. Cobney: That is right.

Senator Connolly: Well now, you have lived with poverty and in poverty. You have seen it?

Mr. Cobney: Yes.

Senator Connolly: You have seen what it does to people, how destructive it is.

Mr. Cobney: Yes.

Senator Connolly: Do you have any specific ideas about what can be done about it?

Mr. Cobney: It is pretty hard for me to give you ideas of what can be done about it. I have not got the answer. I do not think any one person has the answer.

Senator Connolly: It is a combination of a lot of things.

Mr. Cobney: That is quite true, but I do not think that any person living on \$37.50 every two weeks is above the poverty level.

Senator Connolly: If it were possible to bring about a situation in which the vast majority, if not all, of men could work, could get a job at a decent rate of pay, would that be a giant step towards eliminating poverty?

Mr. Cobney: This would be, I think, a little better step than the one we have here.

The Chairman: A giant step?

Mr. Cobney: Because I believe that if a person is capable of working he should be

able to work, whether he is man of 40 or 45 or 50.

Senator Connolly: Thank you. I agree with you. On the other hand if a man is unable to work because of a physical or mental or some other reason, then the rest of us have a moral responsibility to look after that man, do we not?

Mr. Cobney: That is right.

Senator Connolly: Thank you very much. I enjoyed listening to you.

Senator Inman: I would like to ask the witness who supports this Dugout; who pays for the meals that they get.

Mr. Cobney: It is just coffee.

Senator Inman: You mentioned they got a meal too.

Mr. Cobney: I am sorry, that is a misinterpretation. The meal tickets are put out by the Welfare Department which is in the back door—next door. This has nothing to do with the Dugout.

The Chairman: He explained that as a single man he would get a certain amount from Welfare.

Mr. Cobney: He gets \$37 if he is able to take care of his money. If he is found drunk once or twice they put him on meal tickets. They are mostly light lunches or coffee.

The Chairman: Did I understand you to say the White Lunch was not White?

Mr. Cobney: Well, it is a nice spot about 10.30 or 11 o'clock at night. It is a beautiful place.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Mr. Beck: The last group I would like to call on is the Coolaid group who is working to help young people in the community. They have chosen a particular group which is not always the most highly regarded socially and who have different problems and they are struggling and they are trying to get along working with some of the young people.

At any rate, in conjunction with Coolaid, Inner-City has worked over the last three years trying to work along with them and help some of the programs that they have.

Two years ago we ran a medical clinic and provided medical services for young people and this year we were involved in working together with them to operate a "Feed-In"

that fed approximately 100 people every day. Again this ran into a fair bit of public opposition.

Mr. Chouminard: I had been working at a place called "Coolaid" for the past two years and when you speak about poverty, this type of poverty we see at Coolaid is one which does not allow people to eat properly, to have a place to stay or to be clothed.

This is not withstanding the fact that there is legislation in this country which demands any person in the country must be provided with a place to stay and food and clothing. These people that we are dealing with are a different franchise lot who tend to be ignored by the existing social agencies and mishandled or handled in such a way they will not approach these existing agencies for help.

In many cases I have seen kids of 18, 19 and 20 suffering from an advanced case of malnutrition up to a point where their hair is falling out coupled with a tremendous loss of weight which means they are susceptible to any disease which happens to come along.

They will not go to welfare for a kind of doling out of \$37.50 every two weeks. If they were given the chance, which they will not be given anyway for a number of technical reasons, usually they are from out of the province and should be back home; that is move their problems back to the home province.

Some social worker doing the interview will recommend a person must receive a haircut or a shave before he is to receive his cheque. If a person happens to be one who has long hair, then he will go without food.

I say at this time that without some means being made available in the near future, that there is no way they can get adequate medical facilities or adequate shelter or adequate food. This is on a large scale, although we do not see the large majority of youth in this community. What we see will be classified as any group of longhairs.

Many of them can survive for themselves living 10 to 15 in a two to three room house not, I am sure you will agree, adequate living facilities.

Whether this is poverty or whether it is not poverty, this has been inflicted upon them by society. There they are and they have no money.

Senator McGrand: You just mentioned a fellow whom you said turned down food because some social worker said to him "You have got to get a haircut".

Do you think anybody would really go hungry and go without food, refuse food, because he refused to have a haircut? He thinks he is losing his dignity by having to have a haircut?

Mr. Chouminard: Yes.

Senator McGrand: You really think that happens?

Mr. Chouminard: I know it happens.

Senator McGrand: What sort of antagonism is that?

Mr. Chouminard: I mean, on whose part?

Senator McGrand: ...that they will refuse to get a haircut and would rather go hungry? I would think that there is an antagonism there somewhere.

Mr. Chouminard: I do not think he is being as antagonistic as the social worker. I think it is the other way. He is being antagonized by the social worker. I do not think he need necessarily be put under any kind of obligation. He is simply being asked to do something which the social worker has no legal authority or right to ask him to do so he has satisfied his right to refuse.

Senator McGrand: Anybody going downtown when a bus is going to pass him will run and if they miss the bus they don't say, "I will stay here. The bus refused me the privilege of taking me downtown". There is antagonism somewhere but I do not know what it is.

There is another question. Do you find many of these young people who are away from home who are the children of wealthy people whose parents have said, "I am ashamed of you and the way you behave. I will give you money to put you into the Ghetto".

Do you find many instances like that?

Mr. Chouminard: I do find a number of children or young people who have come from backgrounds where the parents are reasonably well-off. But rather than the parent saying "I am ashamed of you" is the children saying "I am ashamed of you" to their parents and leaving.

Senator Inman: Oh, I wouldn't say that.

Senator McGrand: Why are they ashamed of their parents?

Mr. Chouminard: Usually for some moral reason. They feel that their parents have not lived up to their expectations.

Senator McGrand: To go back for a moment to that antagonism. There is a rule of law which says "You must not walk on the grass" or "You must not walk on the flower bed." Most people observe that.

Mr. Chouminard: Yes.

Senator McGrand: They do not think they are being denied a privilege when you say "I will observe the law and I will not walk on the flower beds."

But when a person says "No, it is my privilege to walk on the flower bed" you say this is called an antagonism that is forced upon him just because the rule says the public should not walk on the flower beds.

Mr. Chouminard: There is a statue in Stanley Park that says "This park is dedicated to the use of people of all races, colours, and customs and creeds, and yet when we attempted to meet some of these young people on a public park, the Parks Board called the police and they appeared to push us off the park even though all last summer they allowed us to use the park because they don't like to have these undesirable people at the park.

So I think there is the reason. This is the type of thing that some of the young people are reacting to.

You know, we may make a judgment that is wrong to many young people and make this reaction. They do not like many of the things they are seeing in society.

As you said, they may not get their hair cut to get food. We were aware when we were feeding these kids that someday they would be as they were, in a free food line.

They were talking "How could they get \$5 to go to the Rock Festival?" Or "How could they get \$5 to buy some drugs?"

We may not like the fact they make that choice but the fact is that a lot of them are pretty upset young children.

They make that choice and they are not taking proper care of themselves and someone should be doing or starting to get involved in helping them take better care of themselves.

Senator McGrand: I still do not know where the animosity comes from. We will leave it at that. I am prepared to go without the information.

Mr. Chouminard: I feel there is a considerable amount of animosity. I feel this time it reciprocated by the young people. I feel that for quite a few years the animosity was on the part of the powers that be, that is the establishment—if I may use that term—toward or against these young people.

We witnessed a tremendous witch hunt of Hippies. I know for a fact in Vancouver 17 Hippies were arrested at the court house and the animosity of the overall society towards this cult is now being reciprocated, yes.

Senator Everett: We received a brief this morning from a group of community social workers and Item 9 said the trends of young people from all income groups to reject values of parent generations, and to deliberately choose poverty with independence rather than conformity is surely of concern to this Senate Committee. We are concerned but cannot deal here with the effects of drugs, police methods, teen-age parenthood and many con-comitant social problems that may result in a whole new dimension of poverty in the 1970s. We urge that senators hear from Coolaid and similar groups.

So we are indeed hearing from Coolaid.

Mr. Chouminard: Did you want to visit Coolaid and see what goes on down there?

Senator Everett: One of the things on behalf of the society we have got to do is to attempt to understand or attempt to indicate to society what the ethic is. You said at the conclusion of your presentation you did not want to go into the problem of whether these kids were in a state of poverty or ill-health because of circumstances or because of choice, but to society that makes a lot of difference.

Society cannot possibly understand and we are trying to convince society in this Committee by giving all sorts of disadvantages groups a voice. We hope to add our own voices to them. There are an awful lot of people in this affluent society of ours who, no matter how hard they try, live in poverty. Their children are going to live in poverty. We would like to understand it. We have men and women here for the purpose of understanding it.

One of the things you have got to understand is that you have to make a case as to why society should care for the person who chooses to live in poverty.

I say that in the context—I do not think there is a closeline here.

I also think that even if you cannot convince us that they are in trouble there are enough people in society who would like to help but I think the help would be a great deal more effective if we understood.

It seems to me one of the functions that you have here now or tomorrow when we go to visit the places, you should refuse to take the attitude that if I do not understand what is going on and this Committee does not understand what is going on and society does not understand what is going on then we just do not understand, to heck with you.

As I say sincerely I think society would like to understand. I think and I would hope he would recognize an obligation or at least he would make an effort to try and let us understand. That is all.

Senator Inman: Could I just say something. Does anyone care why?

Mr. Chouminard: I believe the question was: "Why should society be responsible for these numbers of young people who have chosen, rather than to lead a life which is not satisfactory to themselves personally—indeed what responsibility they have towards this group."

I would say if you have large mass of young people who are unable to find a position which they find acceptable and which is acceptable in the eyes of society and they choose to leave that society and then cohabit in some area not operating in society, then the government has an obligation to see to it that they receive some benefits as do the poor who are still striving within that society to make a go of it.

You mentioned to me there were, I believe, people are poor now whose parents were poor before them and whose children will be poor after them. I say there are people now who are doing things whose parents did the same things. They don't like doing it but maybe they think they are nothings.

Their children, if they continue to carry on this game, this make-work, feather bedding type; the danger is that their children will also carry on in our technical society and do more than that and do better than that.

If you offered these kids a variable alternative in society, they would grab on it and run with it, but if it is not offered there is nothing there for them. They either opt out of it or they destroy it.

Senator Everett: What is this variable alternative?

Mr. Chouminard: Yes. A society that will allow them to exist and do their own thing; exercise their imagination and give them facilities. Once they have exercised their imagination to carry on there with their thing...

Senator Everett: Of course, you must realize we do not possess unlimited resources. If we did, I would buy that. We do not. We possess limited resources.

Mr. Beck: You may switch priorities with your spending. For example, there is a group we hope you will meet tomorrow and this is a group of young people who have been operating and planning and working to get a creative playground developed at their park. They even went so far as to even get their own lumber from a scrapyard.

They were told it was not clean enough or nice enough lumber.

There are a lot of young people who have marvelous ideas at times but they are getting very little or no support from the organizations that really could extend this help; so it is possible to draw blueprints of what all the variable alternatives would be.

I do not think there are many places where a young person can turn to, who has come up with a good idea, and get any real support or help. They could provide the programs that young people could help in.

I think you are going to hear from another marvelous group, the ATTAC Group.

Senator McGrand: Now, I am very much interested in this group of people that we call "Hippies". I am very much interested in them. I would like to know—if we assume that they are fed up with society or the values of society and everybody around them. It is possible they are fed up with certain values in society. Everybody is.

Now, a few centuries ago there were certain people who were fed up with the values of the existing society and they went out to the bare fringes and they formed a new order of monks in a monastery and they lived outside of the society which they left.

Is there any connection in the philosophy of some of these young people who are objecting and the people who formed a monastery two or three centuries ago?

They are both rejecting something. Do you see any connection? I may say these monks fed themselves though.

Mr. Chouminard: Well, perhaps the only connection I could see personally is that they were both fed up with their existing orders and there ends the similarity.

Senator Connolly: May I suggest that the witness be allowed to answer questions directed to him without the benefit of counsel?

After all, he is a voluntary witness and he came in here of his own volition. He is a quiet, modest, mild-mannered type of man and is enunciating his own philosophy, hopefully.

I submit he is quite competent to answer the questions that have been directed to him. I do not think we need counsel on the platform.

Mr. Harcourt: I think that remark was uncalled for.

The Chairman: You must have a sense of humour... Senator Connolly was just fooling.

Mr. Chouminard: I was simply reminded to mention that we have a great number of these young people that were referred to earlier as the children of the very poor who have a different attitude than most people who have come from say the rather affluent middle class background.

A lot of them are only 14 or 15, some are 18 and 19 and they have given up hope and they are already beaten.

That is the difference between these kids and the kids that come from a middle class family. The kids from the middle class will opt out and refuse and stand on principle and are fighting. The other kids have not got that in them yet so are still waiting.

Senator McGrand: The children from the underprivileged?

Mr. Chouminard: That is right.

The Chairman: You are going to have Senator Everett with you for two or three hours tomorrow and you will have a lot of time to think up a lot of answers.

There are a lot of questions he is going to ask you. You have heard some of them now. So for the time being we are very appreciative and there are no more questions at the moment.

Senator Everett: No, except that I think that he has made a very good presentation.

The Chairman: I want him to be getting ready for you tomorrow morning.

Senator Fergusson: I certainly would agree that he has made a wonderful presentation and I think these witnesses realize that everybody here is interested and we would like to help find the solution to these problems of the underprivileged but we ourselves have been quite confused as to what the solution may be.

Maybe after Senator Everett has been with you for two or three hours he will come to some conclusion.

The Chairman: I warn you; do not forget Senator Everett.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to direct a question to Mr. Harcourt. I might say I have been very disappointed in the presentation of things that have been going on in the city. Nothing has been said about our old people who are existing in poverty from the Inner-City where, I know, the climate is so exuberant. There are many older people who live here and you must have some of them who are in poverty and need special attention.

At the beginning of your brief you say,

"The Vancouver Inner-City Service Project seeks to promote unique and innovative methods of providing community services—particularly to those sectors of the urban community out of the mainstream of life in this 'affluent?' and 'just' society."

I do not know who is more out of the mainstream than some of our older poorer citizens.

I wonder if there is any place in your thinking to do things for them?

Mr. Beck: You might, I think, be pleased to learn the first sum of our program we did take quite a role in helping to set up the "Wheels on Wheels" program. We have a form of "Wheels on Wheels Program", bringing people to the various places. We have not excluded the older people.

However, I must say, our organization is largely young people, university students working themselves. They tend to be—it is not a bias—more orientated towards helping young people.

I think we also are afraid that the young people are not getting a good shake right now in society. There are a few things they can do. They cannot fight. They cannot lobby.

They are doing a bit more to look after this group than other people are.

Senator Fergusson: In your presentation could not find much about the older citizens.

Mr. Beck: We do have the "Wheels to Wheels Program". Some of them are open to broader operation.

The Chairman: I am afraid our time is up. Are there any questions from the audience?

Mr. Linda: May I make one remark? There are two comments I would like to make. There was a suggestion by the Senator here that the young man that went in to pick up his social welfare, because he has long hair, was refused.

There was some suggestion—where is the antagonism in that statement? My answer to that statement is when he went in to get his money they said, "You will have to get your hair cut first" and he refused to get his hair cut. He had as much right to suffer with his hunger as they had to suggest he should get a haircut. I say there must be antagonism from the social worker. There certainly must and asking a fellow to get his hair cut is just like saying "Kiss my...". It is the same thing.

The antagonism is on the part of the social worker who says you have to get a haircut.

The second point is the Premier of this province said if these kids want to move in, send them up North. Then he turns around and prepares a bill to go through legislature and then in the law enforcement standards of this province to permit due procedure and pick people up. They did these things which the Premier just said he was going to see they did.

Senator McGrand: If I go in my car on the wrong side of the road and there is a double line I can be fined. If I was violating something that was in controvention of the law, should I be hostile because a policeman says to me "You cannot drive on that side of the road".

Mr. Linda: No, no. There is no law here yet.

Senator Connolly: On the other hand there is a law against driving on the wrong side of he road.

Mr. Linda: That is a different thing.

Senator McGrand: Yes, but I shouldn't be hostile. Where is the beginning of this hostility? Where does it start?

Mr. Linda: Probably on both sides. Maybe on the policeman's side.

Mr. O'Donnell: I would like to ask a question of the Commission. I wonder if you are

clear as to the purpose of these sort of rules? You have made some sort of a suggestion that "Yes, these people are doing good work, the legal aid people are doing good work. The School Canadiana is doing good work."

I believe these people who have come here to make a representation today did not come here to be patted on the back. They did not come to be told they were doing nice work. They came to make the suggestion that they, as citizens are doing the work with which the government should concern itself.

The government should provide legal aid and provide education.

The people of these sort of areas are legitimate public concerns who, because of the callousness of the government agencies depend of agencies such as Coolaid or Inner-City Service Project.

The point is that there is a necessity for things like these private agencies to fulfill the needs of the community.

The Chairman: We have heard from the various witnesses who have added to our knowledge on these various subjects.

Well, I think that concludes our hearing of this particular brief. You know, Mr. Beck, you are a new breed of social activist that we have not seen before and although I did not meet you earlier today, I have spoken to people like you who, not only activate for rights, activate for responsibility. You did both here today. You have many people doing a job of work that you are doing on behalf of the poor people.

The group of people you brought to give evidence impressed us too.

I must say we did not solve the generation gap but I did not think we would do it in so short a time. However, it has been a very helpful brief and the members are looking forward to Thursday, which you have arranged, for them to visit certain homes and places, and so on behalf of the Committee I express my appreciation to you and to the people who came to speak to us and to those who are assisting in the brief.

Thank you very much.

The meeting is adjourned. We will resume at seven o'clock.

(Upon resuming at 7 p.m.)

The Chairman: I will call the meeting to order. We have presenting a brief The Association To Tackle Adverse Conditions. On my right is Miss Kie Yagi who is Secre-

tary, Mr. J. Minicaeloe who is Chairman, and Mr. Joe Farrera.

Now, A.T.T.A.C. is a multi-ethnic organization composed primarily of students from high schools in the community and from universities. In the eastend of Vancouver there are problems of community services and facilities ranging from recreation to libraries to help projects. The residents are informed of their rights and in their mother tongue concerning urban renewal schemes, residential tenant relations and Sunday School memberships, and I will ask Miss Kie Yagi to say a few words.

Mr. Joe Farrera: May I start off, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Yes, go ahead.

Mr. Farrera: When we started off, it was basically with young people. We thought that there were many adversities existing in the Woodland Grandview Strathcona area. We thought that we should form an organization to help ourselves and the people that are affected by this rather than getting professional people coming down to lend their service to us. The main thing is that we wanted to help ourselves.

A.T.T.A.C. Association was formed to promote better development of the people living in the Woodland, Grandview, Strathcona area. Many people were not aware of the lack of recreational facilities, the underdeveloped parts, the non-existing community centres, and limited health services.

Now, some trends indicate that people will continue to neglect these areas, we thought perhaps because people did not demand enough because they did not understand what they could and should have. There was a language problem which led to a lack of communication.

People are unfamiliar with the mechanics of complaints and they do not know what is available to them. There was no contact to decide a policy for the area when people were leaving the area.

The Association to Tackle Adverse Conditions was attempted to establish an organization to inform the people of what is planned in a way that they will understand, support plans for proper recreational facilities, reassess the value of large-scale low rental housing, attempt to arrive on a consensus on the freeway development, to provide a form for the expression of opinion on the problem of this area, take immediate action to alleviate

problems within the immediate grasp by sponsoring dances, supporting events and other recreational activities, set up communications with those making decisions on the development of this area with the ultimate objective being to make this a desirable area in which to live.

Now, for our brief to the Poverty Commission Miss Kie Yagi, our Secretary, has a special brief to submit.

Miss Kie Yagi: The following report will reveal the studies of poverty made from the areas of Strathcona, Woodland, and Grandview of Vancouver City.

Poverty as we found relative to the above mentioned areas, is dependent on how the individual himself defines poverty. Rather than an economic division of income, less than a certain amount, the division is a personal one subject to the background of the person, his environment, the impact of his education, and how he relates to the system of the society.

A recent immigrant, for example, from Asia or Europe may earn less than the minimal required income as compared to the average family, and may be considered "poor" in those terms. However, they themselves will not believe that they are poor. Although, they are lacking in conveniences such as television, automobiles, etcetera, their ease of existence will be comparatively better than their previous life. Thus, they should be categorized as such and provided with facilities which the Canadian society can offer.

In the areas designated as "slums", there are evidences of extreme social problems such as family breakdowns, desertion, alcoholism and others, usually associated with the slum structure, but also living in the area are low income earning families without any immediate social problems other than the fact of low income. There is an obvious distinction between the two, especially in ethnic communities where the family structure is recognized and remains stable. Lack of understanding in this regard will result in a sense of mistreatment, alienation, and degradation. This is of deepest concern to the families from many housing projects.

With the current standard of living, it is difficult to distinguish the welfare recipients from the income earners. Visibly, they will be just as well dressed. However, the exterior factor does not erase the disadvantages that these people obviously possess, the disadvantages which stifle their incentive to improve their conditions.

One factor restraining this incentive is the welfare payments. Although we recognize that some temporary revalues in the welfare payments, they tend to degrade an individual, make one lose self respect and the will to earn for livelihood.

There is a lack of opportunities provided in the field of education, culture, and recreation. Especially in the poorer districts, these facilities are enormously overtaxed, most frequently inadequate, and often non-existent to suffice the greater need. It is to be noted that within the boundaries of the waterfront, Nanaimo Street, Broadway, and Main Street, there exists no libraries for public use, unsatisfactory libraries for school use, no community recreation centres, no headquarters for health clinics and no day care centres.

The present low rental housing projects supposedly constructed to eliminate slum conditions have crowded together all the underprivileged and isolated them from the average community. The concentration of these groups induces an environment where the general atmosphere will be depressive and forlorn. This is definitely the stifling of the incentive. How is one individual going to feel the urge to achieve if all around him there are evidences of defeat and apathy.

Furthermore, the number of social workers able to advise and counsel regarding economic as well as emotional problems are crucially deficient to assist in any way to the individuals requirement.

In order to alleviate the poor, the poor themselves must have the incentive to achieve which they do not have. This incentive, we feel is the solution to poverty at the individual level, and thus this motivation must be cultured and encouraged as a vehicle to solving the whole problem. Understanding these factors which discourage this incentive, A.T.T.A.C. presents the following recommendations to improve the facilities and opportunities designed to produce personal pride for achievement.

Besides the relief system offered by the present welfare system, we suggest more funds to be directed to providing the programmes as mentioned below.

Construction of adequate school facilities, more specifically, more favourable libraries and equipment for physical education programmes.

Construction of libraries for public use equipped with educational programmes encouraging reading and learning.

Construction of a community services complex which involves the full utilization of the school, health, recreational, and cultural facilities. The convenience and reduction of cost by such a project proves to be extremely beneficial and appropriate for the underprivileged areas.

Introduction of a programme to inform the public the advantages and opportunities available from the community to assist them.

Concentrated low rental housing projects should be abandoned for compromise for smaller scale projects dispersed within an average community so that an isolated "poor" districts do not occur.

All these recommendations propose to enlighten the individuals who are depressed and lack initiative to solve his various problems relating directly or indirectly to poverty. This is the method to alleviate poverty through full understanding and enormous effort, time and funds for a more concrete and permanent solution to poverty.

Mr. Farrera: Now, if there are any questions regarding our brief we will be more than happy to answer them.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Farrera, I think you are doing a very worthwhile job and you have prepared a very informative brief. I would like to know a little bit more about A.T.T.A.C. if I could. How long have you been in existence?

Mr. Farrera: We started on January the 16th of this year.

Senator Hastings: Just a year old?

Mr. Farrera: Yes.

Senator Hastings: How many people do you have in your organization?

Mr. Farrera: Right now, we are in the process of conducting a massive membership programme and I couldn't tell you the exact number but there are approximately 20 people on our board of directors. There are about 200 others.

Senator Hastings: And this was just a sort of spontaneous movement within the community?

Mr. Farrera: Well, spontaneous movement within a group of people who lived in the area and were spreading out.

Senator Hastings: But your membership is all from within this area?

Mr. Farrera: Yes.

Senator Hastings: I was going to ask you about the Raymur Housing Project. Is this a public housing project?

Mr. Farrera: Yes, it is.

Senator Hastings: How big a project is it?

Mr. Farrera: I think it has 504 units.

Senator Hastings: But it is a gigantic multi-purpose project?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Yes. It has high rises as well as lower kinds of developments for families and as well as that there are two other housing projects. None quite as large but one is the Plain Project just two blocks away from the Church and another one at Grandview Terrace. So within the areas you are referring to there are three such low rental housing projects. They have been developed within the last two or three years in an area that was already perhaps not properly serviced. It was not properly serviced with the kind of services that were mentioned in our brief.

Senator Hastings: In your brief you say that there is a lack of opportunity in the field of education. Would you enlighten me on that?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, the high school services of this area is the oldest one in the city and it has the poorest facilities and is largely overcrowded. They have a playing field which is about half the size of an ordinary football field and that is the only playing field within three blocks. At this particular high school they have a population of 1,350 students. There is an elementary school nearby and they have 900 students and their playing field is also inadequate. There was a plan for the overall development of the area which included a development at Britannia which is a secondary school which would have a recreation and community centre and a public library adjacent to the school. Unfortunately this project now seems to be being held up by the Federal Government's policy on urban renewal funds and that these funds have been stopped. It seems to us grossly unfair that half of the project for the people in the area has gone ahead but the other half of these facilities which are necessary have been now stopped. We feel that this is certainly not in the best interest of the community or the people that have been placed in this area.

Senator Hastings: Would you say with respect to education the dropout rate is particularly high in this area?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, I don't think that the dropout rate is particularly high, maybe because of the ethnic makeup. It seems that the oriental population is very keen to have their youngsters educated. From this point of view, as we mentioned again in the brief, this is not a slum area in the sense that there is family disintegration or problems within the families. Most of these families are quite stable though they might not have the value that we might have, but certainly education is one of the values that they do have. They insist on the large part that their children stay in school. I think, we should in this case, see that the facilities that they have are better and I would suggest that we talk about their facilities for education.

What is fair for English speaking areas of the city—certainly those kind of facilities could be unfair for this part of the city. You are going to need better facilities to help assist people to help assist their culture and overcome the problems of language and values and so forth and so on. To give a blanket amount and to say that the schools in this area should get the same amount of money as the schools in the other areas of the city is not the same. The schools in other areas of the city do not have the same problems and it is not fair.

Senator Hastings: You should say at this point the distribution of expenditures is far less in this area of the city than it is in other areas of the city. Therefore you should have more incentives, and better teachers.

Mr. Farrera: Yes.

Senator Hastings: Could you just quickly tell me where the Strathcona Woodland and Grandview area of the city is?

Mr. Minicaieloe: We are in the rear of it here. Main Street is one block to the water front to say Broadway or First Avenue, this would encompass an area of about six block and Nanaimo would be about two miles east.

Senator Hastings: It is the downtown area

Mr. Farrera: Yes.

Senator Hastings: It's the oldest part of the city?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Yes.

Senator Hastings: Thank you very much

Senator McGrand: I think you mentioned that the Orientals don't seem to drop out of school?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Yes.

Senator McGrand: Well, does that apply to Europeans as well?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, that's a little bit hard to assess. Our school—in terms of ethnic groups—we did a poll and the largest number of Orientals would be about 50 per cent and people of the Italian parentage would probably rank next and then Japanese. This is the most central area for Japanese in Vancouver. It seems that the Italians, although perhaps not as keen academically as Orientals, they are quite keen that their children certainly get at least a basic education. They are encouraged to continue to higher education if they have the ability.

The Chairman: Are you an educator?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Yes.

The Chairman: What are you?

Mr. Minicaieloe: A secondary school teacher.

The Chairman: In the area?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Yes.

The Chairman: You speak with knowledge. You said in your brief—you suggested that welfare payments have some temporary value and that they tend to degrade an individual, make one lose self respect. How would you replace that. Have you any idea?

Mr. Farrera: Well, we weren't saying that they should be replaced. We were saying that the welfare payments in their distribution is just like a handout stifling the incentive for productivity and for becoming involved in various things. Perhaps we should spawn some of these things we refer to as handouts that are stifling the incentive of the people. In low rental housing projects the rental that you pay is proportionate to your income. If your income increases hence your rent increases. Now this in turn stifles incentive or elevation.

Senator Sparrow: By only 25 per cent. The rent increase is only by 25 per cent of the dollars you make?

Mr. Farrera: Except that when you reach a certain level you are not allowed to earn at all.

Senator Sparrow: The rent increase is 25 cents for each dollar that you make?

Mr. Farrera: Yes.

The Chairman: That is correct.

Senator Sparrow: You didn't get that point of the total for the dollar?

Mr. Farrera: Okay. This is what we were referring to on the low rental housing. Also in the low rental housing projects the incentive is stifled not only by their income but their seclusion from the rest of the community. Since these facilities are lacking people are not encouraged to become involved in many activities and to participate in the affairs of the community. With the lack of central community centres, the lack of all these facilities the people are alienated from the rest of the community.

Senator Inman: Would you say that is a sort of discrimination?

Mr. Farrera: Well, not a conscious discrimination.

Mr. Minicaieloe: Speaking if I may from the point of view—not only do I live in the area but I do teach the school nearby and it seems that since these housing developments have come to our area and the children from the housing developments have come to our school, in the large part they do not seem to participate in the activities. A number of people—the children from the housing projects come to our school and a percentage of those children participate in normal school activities and extra curricular activities and so forth. It is much less than people from the large communities. We are assuming from this that they feel alienated from the rest of society.

Senator Hastings: What age group is this?

Mr. Minicaieloe: This is a senior high school, grades 8 to 12 so the ages would be say 13 to 19.

Senator Hastings: So that at the age of 12 he has the feeling of rejection by society?

Mr. Minicaieloe: I would think that it starts to show then, yes.

The Chairman: But you told us that 50 % of the children are Oriental.

Mr. Minicaieloe: Yes. The housing project that feeds our school particularly the Braemore and the Grandview Terrace—there are

very few, or relatively few Orientals in that area.

Senator McGrand: Well, you made the statement that you take for granted or you assume...

Mr. Minicaieloe: I would assume.

Senator McGrand: Have you had any pilot investigations to prove the assumption that you made there?

Mr. Minicaieloe: No we haven't. Of course our Association and certainly the school, or school boards, haven't the funds to carry out such an investigation.

Senator McGrand: I would think that would be a very important piece of information to have.

Mr. Minicaieloe: At this time we can only go by what we have heard and what we have seen but you are right we do not have statistical evidence to back this up.

Senator Inman: Do you find that there is much ambition among the students who go on to higher education? Universities for instance?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, it seems a lot less in those from the housing developments. I must admit that our top students last year at our school did attend university but she has since dropped out and one of the reasons that I was given, and this of course—I have not spoken to her directly but I have heard this reason from one of her friends—it seems that she felt that she was out of place.

The Chairman: Are there many that you know of?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Very few that I know of out of the graduating class but they have 804 units there and I can't think of more than two or three at our present institutions of higher learning.

Senator Hastings: Two or three out of 800?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Out of 800 families.

The Chairman: Is the Minister of Housing coming here Sunday to talk to you?

Mr. Farrera: We are meeting with him on Sunday.

The Chairman: In connection with this very project that you are speaking of—the housing aspect of it?

Mr. Farrera: Yes. The urban renewal project.

Senator Fergusson: What is the nationality of the girl who was the top student?

Mr. Minicaieloe: She was a Canadian. I mentioned this particular programme as being closest to us.

Senator Connolly: Is it your opinion that family breakups are more common among the poor than among well to do people?

Mr. Minicaieloe: I think it was mentioned earlier that it depended on how you were to define poor. If you were to define it as strictly monetary values of income—I suspect that among the poor that we are talking about, who do not live in public housing and who are living in this area, and are immigrant families of a particular ethnic group, I would suspect their families are quite stable. However, I suspect that these families in the Braemore Development or other public housing, they are generally unstable for single parent families. As a result they are on welfare and as a result they have to take public housing.

Senator Connolly: You don't think very much of this type of high rise dwelling?

Mr. Minicaieloe: No. I think these are a terrible type of thing. I think Joe was in the middle of explaining some of the disadvantages in the location of these centres. It is our feeling that if you concentrate 800 people all with similar problems in one area they see nothing but other people with their problems similar problems and therefore it is very difficult for them to see their way out of there.

Senator Connolly: Would you go so far as to say that construction of such units were meant to build new problems?

Mr. Minicaieloe: I would you were building slums and even ghettos.

Senator McGrand: How would you recommend that low rentals housing be built?

Mr. Minicaieloe: I would recommend the number of solutions. One possibility, of course this might meet with objections from the residents in the city, rather than build the large scale ones in one area of the city, but smaller pieces of land and build smaller unit sprinkled throughout the city, or the Government could subsidize additional rental unit in already established buildings. For instance there are many apartments—high rise and so forth, where the Government could take the number of the floors and say "We will subsidize the units in floors number six to ten c

six to sixteen." In this way I think you will integrate these people into large communities.

Senator McGrand: Now, in some of these rather poor areas—you use the word slum—I don't mean severe slums—these people live there for generations and there is something that they have built in the community value to support them to some extent. They make them live with their problems a little easier. If you wiped out the slums and put these people out in different parts of the city do you think you have disposed of their problems of poverty? Would you help to destroy the particular culture that they have?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, I think we should distinguish between what appears to be a slum on the surface that is, for example, in this area and the policy was to bulldoze areas of blight in the city centre, this distinction was made to a great extent on what they call a windshield assessment of the homes. I assume from what I gathered from other people, from the City Planning Department, that they would drive down the city streets and say "Well, that house is in a blighted area" and continue on driving down the street and say "Oh well, the slum buildings in this area is over 50 per cent this whole block has to go." They did not talk to the people in these homes and see whether or not they had the characteristics of a slum family such as broken homes, alcoholism or other characteristics that they might associate with it.

Now, I would suggest if you take these people and do as you say tear down their homes and scatter them throughout the city then you are probably going to be creating problems among those families. I would say perhaps a better solution to this kind of problem is to give an incentive to them to improve the exteriors of their homes.

The Chairman: In what way?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, this of course is a civic problem or a civic matter. Presently, as you know, you have a property tax. If you improve your home your taxes go up. Now, if they are already poor, not very well off, this is certainly no incentive to improve the appearance of their homes.

Senator Sparrow: Oh, but not for painting. There has to be a structural change before the taxes can go up.

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, if you improve your plumbing or your wiring, you have to obtain

a permit from the City and your home will be reassessed.

Senator Sparrow: You said the appearance.

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, the wiring would be included in making the conditions much better.

Senator McGrand: Well, if you are dealing with a man that rents a home from a man whom you would call a slum landlord, how do you get the incentive to work that way?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, in this particular area we did do a brief survey on this, when we were looking at the expropriations that would occur to build a building complex. In this area that we surveyed only 40 per cent of the people rented and 50 per cent of the people owned their own homes. The preponderance was not from landlords.

Senator Hastings: With respect to your recommendation number four. "Construction of a community services complex." Does your school not utilize at the present moment the community centre?

Mr. Minicaieloe: It is being utilized now as a community centre but this I am afraid—it helps in a way and yet it doesn't help. Our present facilities are already adequate for our schools but now the community uses them as well. They are using them for certain period of the week and so on and so forth. This curtails the extra curricular programme which you have in any school. Let's say we have a gymnasium suitable for a basketball game and we will say "Well, we will have to cut that out because we can get 50 people from the community using this gymnasium." On the other hand it maybe are they developing a good basketball team who might get at least to our students and give them a little bit of pride in their school and in their performance and also be able to see other parts or other areas of the city and meet other people and so forth. I can see using the present school facilities for the people in the community but if you curtail other activities you are not really getting as much benefit as you should.

Senator Connolly: Do you suppose if there were more library facilities in the districts of this or any other city that the parents could be prevailed upon to encourage their children to use those facilities?

Mr. Minicaieloe: I would say that if they were properly designed this would be the case.

Senator Connolly: Why don't they do it now and get them to know their environment and get them a little farther away from home and see other parts of the city and live in other parts of the world so to speak?

Mr. Farrera: Well, they themselves don't know too much about the other parts of the city. People in this area aren't as mobile as people living in other areas. They don't know where a library is out of their area. They don't know what the other area of the city is like.

Senator Connolly: Well, if they don't know their own libraries they could hardly encourage their children to go to them, could they?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, if you had one nearby it would be much easier for them to attend. I notice that you seem a little skeptical about the fact that they wouldn't know such things as this exist. In our school, if we were to take a poll of Grade 9 students and Grade 10 students and ask them for example, how many of them knew where Markell was, which is not too far away, they would not know where it is. The parents do not own a car and often they don't drive. I have had some association with extra curricular activities and a few years ago I had one little boy with me and we drove from our school—this little boy was from Italy—we drove to the westend of the City. This boy had been in the city for six years—he had come over and started in Grade 3 and now was in Grade 9, and this was the first time he had been away from home since he had arrived from Italy.

Mr. Farrera: You will find that this is prevalent throughout many of the families in the city.

The Chairman: What would be the occupation of most of these families in the survey? What sort of things would they be doing? What kind of trades?

Mr. Farrera: Working in industries.

The Chairman: In industries where?

Mr. Farrera: In industries. The major portion of the industries are located in this area.

The Chairman: What kind of industries?

Mr. Farrera: Dock workers.

Mr. Minicaieloe: Most of the Italians are labourers and many of them work on construction gangs. Many of them work within the Chinese community and often they work

on farms in the Fraser area and they are picked up here—picked up by truck and trucked out and picked up at night and brought back. In fact, they don't walk too much through these areas and they don't take public transportation.

The Chairman: Well, the children that we are talking about are Canadian born?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, if you are living in low rental housing even though you are Canadian born, you probably wouldn't travel through or too far away from your environment.

Senator McGrand: Is that peculiar to Vancouver or is that general say in Toronto?

The Chairman: I wouldn't think so.

Mr. Minicaieloe: I would suspect that it is. From the sociological reports that I have read about conditions in Boston among European families, they seem to be pretty well self-contained in their communities. I don't think you are aware of these problems until you are in this situation.

The Chairman: I must tell you. I am a walker and when I walk I walk. There was an Italian community which started not too far from me but it moved out quite a way now. For an hour or an hour and a half I can walk because it is pretty well spread out. There is a concentration of these people as it is spread out throughout the whole city. I don't know we have a smaller community in Toronto, we just have a couple of spots.

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, the Chinese community is behind the City Hall?

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Hastings: I am inclined to agree with the witness on this point and discussing it with a sociologist in Montreal he said you can grow up in two or three generations within an area and never move out. I think your point is well taken.

Mr. Minicaieloe: I didn't know this but this confirms what I have already seen.

Senator McGrand: Ottawa has a small Italian community.

The Chairman: No it hasn't.

Senator McGrand: Down on Prestor Street...

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator McGrand: And they have a pretty much self-contained section. I have an idea that they do get over the city pretty well and sort of come back there for their little entertainments and so on.

Senator Connolly: I don't know whether we all agree wholeheartedly with the presentations but I think most of us do. But the fact is that these people sitting with us tonight are making an invaluable contribution to a worthwhile cause and they deserve the thanks of this community in which they live as well as our thanks for having appeared here with us.

The Chairman: What do you think your chances are of success?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, I think our first problem is to convince Mr. Andras to further funds.

The Chairman: How much money?

Mr. Minicaieloe: One and a half million dollars.

The Chairman: And how much is already invested?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, the Civic Government and the School Boards and so forth have put up in the neighbourhood of five million dollars. They have committed these five million if the Government were to put in the other million and a half.

The Chairman: Well, did you not read today's papers?

Mr. Minicaieloe: No.

The Chairman: Well, I understand that your Prime Minister has said there is a freeze on. I understand that the building will go on but not for new developments. There was a freeze put on and I am quite clear on that but this won't involve you because—in fact, it may involve you because this is the type of thing that is happening.

Senator Sparrow: Many of these briefs and representations that we have had have said that the people who are in the lower level of society and poverty areas must organize for themselves to better their position. Funds should be given directly to them so that they can bring themselves up as a group. In your brief, in your presentation, you say scatter these people throughout the system, the middle age, and have one house in this area and one over here so you disperse them. You

would be dispersing them within the other areas of the society. If you did that the other representation means that you can't organize. How can you organize one mile away from the other?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, if you put them throughout the system they would be organized and the rest of the community still organized. Not as a separate individual group.

Senator Sparrow: How can you organize this society in an apartment block or in blocks if you put a person that is making on welfare say \$2,800 a year in an area with a group of people who are making \$10,000 a year and ever expect him to integrate in that community? I think that's impossible for him to integrate in one house in a block of 20 houses. He is making \$2,800 and the rest are making \$10,000. First of all he is totally lost there. He can't organize with anybody, he has no place to take his message and his position is lost. I am sure in this society that we have to organize these people to get them as a voice, as a group force to tell the rest of them of their problems. The sooner you take them away their voice is totally lost in the wilderness.

Mr. Farrera: It seems their voice has been lost.

Senator Sparrow: I know.

The Chairman: But what the Senator is saying to you is here is a voice tonight and if they were scattered as you suggest there wouldn't be any voice.

Mr. Minicaieloe: We have for example no specific evidence as to how many of these people who are on welfare are capable of raising themselves to a higher level. I would suggest that there are many who are not. We are much concerned with those who are but do not for lack of incentive and the organizations could give them something. We could say here is the money, organize yourselves. That doesn't make a great deal of sense either because they have no skill in this area and if you say we will organize you—here you have money and I am going to come in and organize you, I would suspect that when you withdraw that organizer that situation will crumble if they remain altogether.

Senator Sparrow: Mr. Chairman, I am not arguing with the witness but I am saying the points of view we have received previously are different and fortunately it's nice to hear this point of view. In another part of the brief

you said that public libraries were lacking within an area. What good are libraries if you can't read and write as some people can't? Nor do they understand the value of being able to read and write. You get a poor area, and there are many poor areas in Canada, and you put the nicest libraries you can possibly build in that area. There is nobody going to go into that library to read unless the incentives and encouragement, and the understanding what is available in the library is brought to them first. The physical facilities of a library is not going to do this.

Mr. Minicaieloe: I made the point myself that the library should be associated with a school and an integrated programme here.

Senator Sparrow: I think it's there except to me it would appear to be a more basic situation. If we build in Canada great schools, great physical facilities, great libraries and we come from the Maritimes where they have great Centennial buildings and they have terrible jails. This is true all over Canada. We build a Centennial centre in Winnipeg and Saskatoon and Regina and the housing is terrible. We build these facilities but the only people that use those facilities are the middle and higher class. We spend 15 million dollars or five million dollars but we don't build a house with this money so it seems to me that if you build a library—why build a library if the people, if you can't get the people interested in them. How do you bring them up to this level? Is it income, is it money plus services but it's basically money. I don't think there is any reference made in this brief about money.

Mr. Minicaieloe: I would suggest in terms of libraries that it may be a difficult problem. I complain about where a library is situated in a city. They are separate from educational facilities. We have a library next to a liquor store but there is a school two blocks away. Why don't we build the library near the school? In our school, the secondary school, and the way the present educational system is, it will encourage people to continue on in school but we feel the library is a crucial thing not only a library that will accommodate the normal public but a library that is suited to the people living in that area. I would suggest that there are books for example of adult content but of simple language that should be put into libraries of this kind. There are books now being brought out to help the remedial reading programme primarily but they do have adult content but

maybe Grades 2 or 3 reading level. There are books that you could put of an ethnic nature that I would think that if you have a large community of Chinese that you could put in some periodicals explaining Canadian problems in their own language. This would be a start so that at least they would go to the library and read about Canadian problems first of all in their own language, get the incentive to read it in English. If you have a library situated close to the school that the teacher is then able to encourage the children to read, projects of this kind it will be kind of an enforcing process in saying that you will have to read this type of material.

The Chairman: Senator Inman?

Senator Inman: I was wondering what opportunities there are in Vancouver for adults to get a bit of education?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, there is quite an extensive night school programme and it is associated with at least three high schools in the city. As a matter of fact, I think they come very close to exceeding the number of day school students but I suspect that a very few from our area can attend these night school classes.

The Chairman: The night school courses?

Mr. Minicaieloe: Yes. Because of the language problems. Now there is a voluntary set up where they do teach English to the Chinese and Italians they are now in our area holding these in Day Care Centres and Church Halls etcetera.

The Chairman: Well, that is the same method that is employed in the east. We have the same type of situation in the east in the high schools. The problems are about the same but none of us have taken the kind of action that you are taking now. It is very interesting—the people themselves are becoming active in doing something about it. That is the main thing.

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, I would suggest that this association is mainly of young people who are educated in our own school system and therefore they are able to translate to their parents. These are the people who have the interest and this will be the—will break the cycle of generation after generation of poverty.

The Chairman: But the incidents of welfare in Chinese communities can't be that great?

Mr. Minicaieloe: No.

The Chairman: It is unknown in the east in Toronto. They are not really in that welfare group and their problem is different. They may not have the same things that some of us have but they are quite happy getting along very well.

Mr. Farrera: What we were getting at—the point that we brought out in the brief was that there was a distinction between monetary poverty and environmental poverty.

The Chairman: We get your point.

Senator Sparrow: Which comes first though?

The Chairman: That is a good question.

Mr. Minicaieloe: Well, it would seem that the immigrant who usually doesn't have any money when he comes, so he will go to a place where rent is cheap and so forth, and usually these places are what you might call culturally and educationally deprived. Now, what we would like to do is to try and raise the level of all areas so there wouldn't be such a level and as a result put more money in and we are likely to be more successful.

Senator Sparrow: So economics comes first.

Mr. Minicaieloe: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: We talked of Oriental people—ethnic people—are these family ties stronger in this group of people, and is this the big factor in them not having a high crime rate for example?

Mr. Minicaieloe: There is no doubt in my mind that this is true. You do have not only a family tie but a community tie. You have a chance to regulate the child as he grows up. Many people have a concern in him and they can distinguish him easily from someone else in the community because of his skin colour and his appearance. This tends to form a stronger bond. In the first place the family ties are a lot stronger and there is a lower crime rate among the Orientals.

The Chairman: Your brief was very interesting. You speak with knowledge and with conviction and you give us a somewhat different view than we previously had. We were not quite as knowledgeable of this as you people are, and you are the people that are living and are part of it, and particularly you as a school teacher living with it almost daily. You see the students and you see both sides of

it. All I can say is that we are very pleased and we thank you for coming. And thank you for giving us the brief and we will pay attention to it. We wish you good luck with Mr. Andras. That is all we can say. Thank you very much.

We have a brief from the Vancouver Housing Inter-Project Council and I understand Mr. William Johnston will be spokesman. I would call the meeting to order.

Mr. William Johnston (Spokesman for the Vancouver Housing Inter-Project Council): On my right is the President for the Vancouver Housing Inter-Project Council, Mrs. Dorothy Thomas, and Mrs. Shirley Cord, the Secretary. My name is Bill Johnston, Chairman of the Brief Committee.

Good Evening Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate. Our brief includes some material we have gathered on the realities of poverty. The financial amounts in this budget are related to families from different circumstances but these families have one thing in common. They live in public housing projects. After you study these statements we will add our views on poverty to the real facts of finance.

Poverty is wanting things you and your family need. Poverty is the stigma one feels as a poor person living in public housing. Poverty is not being allowed to do anything useful. Poverty is being a mother raising her children on welfare with no clothing grant for her own wardrobe. Poverty is a man half killing himself to get a little extra work and having his rent go up immediately so that the profit becomes a loss.

The truth is that the only way you can really find out what living on welfare allowances and living in public housing is is to try and manage your family and affairs within these limits. In spite of this fact, we know you are interested in the solutions which people who do live in this life have come up with.

Our Council has discussed the problem of poverty in Canada in preparation for our meeting today and we suggest that you recommend the following.

"Money for people who need more money—call it a guaranteed adequate income if you like but it should be given as a right to those who need it whether employed or unemployed. We have found that many families on low incomes living in public housing are worse off than families living on welfare."

"Opportunities for those who want to do something worthwhile. We see a need for employment opportunity quarters for many more people. You will be hearing more about this from the Opportunities Committee tomorrow and we urge you to consider financial assistance to programmes such as the incentive allowance programme and the employment orientation courses which this group will be telling you about."

"Recognition for the important work that mothers do caring for children on allowances far below the rate the Children's Aid will allow for their children in someone else's care. Education begins in the home. Schools should include human relations and training to support home training."

The Vancouver Housing Inter-Project Council has been submitting briefs and talking to officials for three years. We have researched and commented and recommended on many topics such as rents, accommodation, management, environment, and opportunities. We have included some of these briefs so that you may study them.

The most recent document is our brief of October 28, 1969, presented to City Council in Vancouver. It presents our point of view that tenant representation from the Vancouver Housing Inter-Project Council on the BC Housing Management Commission is the key to change. The BC Housing Management Commission is a group of five—two staff representatives from CMHC, two staff members from Provincial Government and one staff member from the City of Vancouver—the City Commissioner. This body has the legislative responsibility to develop policies regarding day-to-day living, rules and regulations in public housing projects in Vancouver.

We believe that tenants can make a very valuable contribution to the Commission by helping to form policies which give proper consideration to the needs of people. We are asking the housing partnership—federal, provincial and city government—to assist us to achieve this goal. Tenant representation on the policy making commission which affects our lives. We ask you to support us in our efforts to reach this important objective.

Mrs. Thomas: On the first and second pages we have some figures regarding the budget.

The Chairman: Well, it is obvious that it is the budget and on the second page you have two examples. The mother with two children and then there is the single pensioner.

Mr. Johnston: The Social Assistance rates are set far below the subsistence level. Nevertheless, we are using these figures for food and sundries throughout and showing the variations of rent, just to illustrate the effect of the "rent to income scale" on families in different circumstances.

Rent is based on Gross Income and can be as high as 30 per cent of income. It has been stated that it is designated this way so that people will move out of public housing. In fact, it has the opposite effect because families find they can only just manage and cannot save for a house of their own.

Mrs. Thomas, President of the Vancouver Inter-Project Council: From the previous speaker I sort of gathered the impression that a lot of people—people living in public housing are stuck in a project and won't do much. The Inter-Project Council has done an awful lot of things to get people out of public housing and into the community. While I was sitting there I listed a few things that the Inter-Project Council has had a hand in.

The first one is the study club. This is for children who have learning problems in the school and this was instituted five years and it is still going strong. It is a study club where the children come where there is a one to one relationship, one teacher to one child. The YWCA has started a take a break programme in the Raymur Park area and this has now been taken over by a local group who are on welfare themselves. We were instrumental in getting a nursing school set up and we have a mobile library. We arranged to have a mobile library to come once a week and we also have a library in the project. We have three members from the Little Mountain project on the Board of Directors of the Riley Park Community Association.

We have a course here instrumental in getting children from the project into public swimming pools at a reduced rate. They go for 10 cents, where usually it is 50 cents. We instituted a children's programme after school and we have six members on our Riley Park council from the project. They are all on welfare.

We have from all the projects 30 women who are taking, or have taken the opportunities orientation course to get back into the working field. We have at least ten now who are going—who are on welfare—who are going back to the Vancouver Vocational Institute and Vancouver City College. The Opportunities Committee which you will be hearing

from tomorrow, is also a Committee from the Vancouver Inter-Project Council.

The children in low rental projects instituted by the Youth Enterprises—its a youth employment agency that has been in operation for two years. They find their own jobs.

Each project has a tenant association within the project and these tenant associations are where we get our delegates for the Inter-Project Council. So I hope you don't think that the people in public housing are just sitting back and asking for something that maybe we don't deserve. I think we are working very hard but what we would like is to have things a little easier.

The Chairman: The way you talk, I thought we should be coming to you for help instead of you coming to us.

Mrs. Thomas: I hope you don't have to do that.

The Chairman: You are doing things, you are active and that is the kind of thing that encourages us. One of the things that we recognize in the last couple of days is that we find that people are becoming active on the part of themselves and other people and getting results. That is the way you get results. It's encouraging to hear you talk that way right now.

Mrs. Thomas: And then we find ourselves running out of money.

The Chairman: Well, we understand that too. You see when we were sent out here you were the first one who started a brief without saying "We want money." We appreciate that fact.

Senator Sparrow: Perhaps Mr. Chairman, if I may start off. In the first statement it says "Poverty is wanting things you and your family need."

It is very hard to determine and I am not sure whether or not you have the answer, or whether anybody has but at what point is wanting and needing come together. What do you want and what do you need? It say this because I think in the way we live today we know that families need a telephone. You may want a telephone and in fact not have it, but you need it. You may want a television set and may not have it but I think in today's society, to keep up, you need a television set. It's not only wanting a television set it's needing it. Can you tell us what you really mean by wanting and needing? I want to tell you

that I am assuming by that that people have a roof over their heads and a little bit of food and this type of thing.

Mr. Johnston: Just a little bit of food.

Senator Sparrow: At what point do you break down this wanting and needing?

Mr. Johnston: Well, as far as I am concerned wanting and needing is much the same thing. They both mean the same thing. I think this is why we have a long hair problem today.

The Chairman: Don't you ever want something that you really don't need? Women don't they sometimes, Mrs. Thomas?

Mrs. Thomas: Yes.

The Chairman: Yes, I know, that is their nature.

Mrs. Thomas: But I think we would like to do just a little bit more than exist.

Mr. Johnston: So our children won't have to live on welfare all their lives.

Senator Sparrow: Well, let's just talk about this for a moment. I think it is an important part of this whole problem. You want to participate—you want to participate in society like other people and this is a want. It is a need?

Mr. Johnston: Yes. With regard to my children they need a certain type of clothing in order to get along with the other children. If they haven't got it then they are put into a lower category. They need the clothing in order to survive in school. This is why a lot of them may drop out because they don't get in with the proper groups in school. This is why they drop out and don't get into leadership things and become the class president.

Senator Hastings: They feel rejected?

Mr. Johnston: Exactly.

Mrs. Thomas: I don't think the question is the difference between the things we want and the things we need, the question is we want the things we need. This is the way it is. There is a lot of things that we may want and we know we can't have but there are other things we know we need and these things we want.

The Chairman: Very well put.

Senator Sparrow: Well, I am very impressed with these people who are here tonight and the comments they have made. I am very impressed with the brief they have presented and I think this is the type of people that we want to hear from because it gets us as close to it as we might ever get. I just want them to talk this way.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, might I ask how they started these things.

Mrs. Thomas: Well, that is kind of hard to say. When I first moved into public housing there was already a tenants association and I went to a meeting one night because there wasn't anything else to do. I hadn't been active in the community at all before this and I just went there one night and there happened to be an election going on that night and I was busy talking as usual and somebody nominated me for Secretary while I was talking, and I was elected.

Senator Everett: That is how Senator Croll got into politics.

Mrs. Thomas: This is how it started out. Mind you there is a lot of people that sit back and even if they don't do anything at all they like what is happening.

Senator Inman: There was a human spirit?

Mrs. Thomas: Yes. I am sorry to say that there are an awful lot of women in these organizations. We need more men. In public housing there is a lack of men. There is a lot of single parent families in public housing.

Senator McGrand: Why don't you elect more women to the legislature in Ottawa?

Mrs. Thomas: Well, we have been to Ottawa.

Senator McGrand: Poverty is the stigma one feels as "poor person living in public housing." Is there any more stigma attached to a woman living in public housing as there is to living in a basement apartment or attic?

Mrs. Thomas: Yes.

Senator McGrand: You think there is?

Mrs. Thomas: Yes. If you have never been on welfare in public housing you can't imagine because even if you are not on welfare and living in public housing and somebody asks you where do you live and you say "Oh, the project" they say "Oh, you are one of those." This is just the way it is. The Inter-

Project Council is trying to improve the image and I think we are improving by getting out into the community rather than concentrating in public type housing.

The Chairman: Mrs. Thomas, you are here and you sat in the audience when these three people sitting up here tonight asked us for more public housing. They had in mind a million and a half dollars in welfare.

Mrs. Thomas: I just happened to have...

The Chairman: Well, you heard their views.

Mrs. Thomas: I think we probably need more housing too but I don't think it should be built the way it is. They should be much smaller.

The Chairman: Yes, variety in public housing.

Mrs. Thomas: Or variety in the community not just set out in the corner somewhere between the railway tracks and a garbage dump.

Senator Everett: You have a section here entitled "What is an Ideal Housing Project." Its part of your brief and just to start the questioning are the public housing projects in Vancouver located in one or two specific areas?

Mrs. Thomas: Well, they are scattered around a bit.

Senator Everett: So they are not confined to any particular type of area?

Mrs. Thomas: No, not really.

Senator Everett: Are they in all the different areas of the city?

Mr. Johnston: More towards the east.

Mrs. Thomas: East of Main Street.

Senator Everett: One of your criticisms is that that they are too big?

Mr. Johnston: Yes, there are too many families living in one area. There are too few facilities for children and for the adults to work with.

Senator Everett: You made the point that in some parts of the city that old houses should be bought and converted to help the scattering process. How do you feel about that?

Mrs. Thomas: I think its a good idea. They have done it in Victoria but I don't know how

far they have gone with this but they started a couple of years ago and they have done the same here.

I think it is a good idea.

Mr. Johnston: It would be better than the way it is now because you could say that you live on such and such a street and you wouldn't have to say "I live on a project."

Senator Everett: So really, it's the size of the project that makes it difficult rather than the location?

Mrs. Thomas: Yes, the size and the policy to run them.

Senator Everett: I am talking about the physical location and the entity itself.

Mrs. Thomas: I think they are really too large.

Mr. Johnston: There is a rather large one right behind us. It is getting so large it is getting out of hand. It was too big to start with. In a crowded type area it's like a prison. My wife and I were driving down Rockheed Highway when we were living over here on Columbia and my wife said "My God that looks like a jail." She said "I couldn't want to live there." Well, that is where we are living now. We just didn't realize it at the time. It is better than what we had before, we are warmer.

Mrs. Thomas: Even the people in McLean Park before it was added to felt it was the real size.

The Chairman: We don't know what McLean Park is. Would you please tell us?

Mrs. Thomas: Well, McLean Park is in the Rathcona area and I don't know the name of the streets there.

The Chairman: What sort of development?

Mrs. Thomas: Its a low rental housing project with 85 family units plus a high rise for senior citizens and we felt that this was an average size but then they came along and added—just across the alleyway—I believe 10 more units.

Senator Everett: You may have enlarged on it before and I apologize for coming in late, but you are talking here about the neighbourhood assistance. Could you enlarge on that?

Mrs. Thomas: This was one of the things, S.

Senator Everett: You say here we are asking your help to try and establish a neighbourhood assistance job category in our city education, welfare and recreational departments and through private agencies.

Mrs. Thomas: Yes, we want this.

Senator Everett: Could you enlarge on this please?

Mrs. Thomas: Well, this will be in the brief presented tomorrow but our idea was that there should be neighbourhood assistance to assist in the park recreation, in the schools, in the libraries and it would be a job. I know the opportunities programme will give you more details on this tomorrow. Its just another job category a little bit below the professional level. It would serve a useful purpose and also create work.

The Chairman: Haven't you already got that in some parts of Vancouver where these women could take part-time work?

Mrs. Thomas: Do you mean opportunity programmes?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Thomas: Yes.

The Chairman: And all you want is an extension?

Mrs. Thomas: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: In the brief to us, Mrs. Thomas, you have on the first page number 3, you suggest that we recommend recognition for the important work that mothers do caring for children on allowances far below the rate the Children's Aid will allow for their children in someone else's care. What recognition would you suggest that we give to mothers?

Mrs. Thomas: Well, a guaranteed annual income. No, we feel that the work of a mother raising a family is important. We don't think that a mother should be given a little bit of money to raise her family that is just not enough. I know the Children's Aid, I think, give \$75 a month. They give this to foster mothers who look after children plus they get an allowance, a spending allowance. Mothers on assistance get only \$33 for each child.

Senator Fergusson: You think they should get more?

Mrs. Thomas: Yes, it would be nice.

Senator Fergusson: You say you would like us to give a recognition. What kind of recognition?

Mrs. Thomas: Well, we feel its an important job and the kids need their mothers at home. The kids need their mothers at home especially when they are young. I am going to school myself but only because my youngster is in Kindergarten and I am away when he is away so he doesn't miss me all that much. But for a woman who wants to stay home looking after her children I think she should be paid for it. I think its a job just like driving a truck is a job.

Senator Fergusson: You mean financial recognition?

Mrs. Thomas: Partly, yes.

Senator Fergusson: We all appreciate the fact that mothers are doing an important job but we were just wondering what kind of recognition you meant?

Mrs. Thomas: I meant monetary recognition.

Senator Hastings: In these projects, these low rental projects, the rent is based on the gross income?

Mrs. Thomas: Yes.

Senator Hastings: And if a man goes out and earns \$40 his rent will go up 10?

Mrs. Thomas: Yes.

Senator Hastings: By 25 per cent.

Mrs. Thomas: Yes.

Senator Hastings: Twenty-five percent.

Mr. Johnston: It goes up 20 percent—actually if you are making \$40 it goes up 50 percent—just a moment please. Basic welfare is \$323 a month for me.

The Chairman: Two people?

Mr. Johnston: Eight people. I have six children. There is an allowance of \$323 a month. If I go out and make an extra \$50, they charge me \$74 a month which is 23 percent of that.

Senator Hastings: Seventy-four is 23 percent of 323.

Mr. Johnston: That's right. Now, if I go out and make an extra \$50 that month they will turn around and charge me 40 percent of that 50 to bring it up to 25 percent of the total.

Senator Hastings: Its not 25 percent then its 40 percent?

Mr. Johnston: Forty percent of that \$50.

The Chairman: Twenty-three percent plus 2 percent.

Senator Hastings: Well, it's still 25 percent.

Mr. Johnston: Yes. That is just an illustration of an extra \$50 that comes into the house. If they charge just the 23 percent of the total income what would you have left?

Senator Hastings: Well, that was what I was trying to get at. My next question was then this is an incentive not to work?

Mr. Johnston: That's a fact.

Senator Hastings: Would you say 25 percent is reasonable?

Mr. Johnston: Well, one of the people of the housing project said 23 per cent right across the board is very reasonable. No raising it. He said something about an income of \$550 a month. This doesn't give a man a chance to save money. It doesn't give him a chance to save money to buy a house because first of all when you are living in a low rental housing project you want to buy furniture so the other kids can at least feel like the kids out of the project. I figure if a man is bringing in 600 then you can go up to your 30 percent. Below that level, you should only have to pay this 23 per cent.

The Chairman: Would I be asking you too much of a personal question if I asked you what you earned above the basic welfare allowance last year? If you don't wish to answer you don't have to.

Mr. Johnston: I didn't.

The Chairman: So all you had was the \$38 a month which was \$3,875 for the year?

Mr. Johnston: Yes.

The Chairman: For the whole year?

Mr. Johnston: That's right.

The Chairman: Do you know what the Economic Council says that a family of four should have?

Mrs. Thomas: Thirteen thousand dollars

The Chairman: No, no, no.

Mrs. Thomas: I read that somewhere.

The Chairman: That was one of the Labour Unions having a little fun. The Economic Council said for a family of five they give a figure of \$4,800. You got along on \$3,800.

Mr. Johnston: Well, actually, I wasn't on welfare last year, I was working.

The Chairman: Do you have a trade?

Mr. Johnston: No, I have no trade.

Senator Hastings: I have just one more question. Let's assume the basic annual income of \$3,600 a year, \$300 a month. As an incentive to work, and as we understand it, if you earn two your pension would go down one. If you earn \$20 this month your pension would go down to 290. Your income would go down to 290 but your incentive would increase 10. Would that be an incentive to go to work or would it not?

Mrs. Thomas: I think I understand what you mean but you still have the problem of the rents going up.

Well, the answer would obviously be no. Right now, we are trying to negotiate with the housing managers and the CMAC and the powers that be, and we are trying to find out why they can't charge rent on the net income rather than gross...

The Chairman: What do you mean by net income?

Mr. Johnston: Take home pay.

The Chairman: Well it is on take home pay isn't it?

Mrs. Thomas: No, it's on gross income. There is at least 16 per cent of a man's wages that we never see. He is charged rent on it anyhow.

The Chairman: I am in a little trouble here but my economics have gone a little off. Mrs. Thomas you and I will discuss this for a moment.

You have \$323 a month is that right?

Mr. Johnston: That's right.

The Chairman: And you are paid 23 per cent of it?

Mr. Johnston: Yes.

The Chairman: If you earn \$100 extra they take, you say, of that \$40?

Mrs. Thomas: First of all, the welfare takes 10.

The Chairman: All right. You have \$50 and out of that \$50 they take 20?

Mr. Johnston: That's right.

Mrs. Thomas: They take 16.

The Chairman: Well, you have \$34 there? But what bothers me is that there is \$34 in the kitty and he says no I won't bother with this because some of it goes to Central Mortgage and Housing.

Mr. Johnston: No, I am saying the biggest percentage of it goes to the Housing mortgage.

The Chairman: Well, you get 34 and they get 20.

Mr. Johnston: Well, I have to pay to get to that job and I probably have to go out and buy a new suit or something. I only paid \$10 for the suit I am wearing tonight.

The Chairman: Well, when the new provisions come into effect they will allow the three per cent.

Mr. Johnston: Well, there is just no incentive that's all.

The Chairman: Well, I can't understand the deductions in view of what the Economic Council of Canada has said a figure of \$4,800 you are \$2,000 below their figures for a family of 7.

Senator Hastings: Did you have a reply to your brief asking for representation on housing?

Mrs. Thomas: Well, first of all we took it to City Hall and they tabled a motion and made another one the BC Housing Commission—and we met with them once and we are meeting again with them on the 28th of November.

Senator Hastings: To settle grievances?

Mrs. Thomas: Well, what we want is representation, because if we had representations maybe we could find out why these things happen. We could find out why there may not be a different way of running things because it is difficult to know internally. They told us that we wouldn't be interested in what the BC Housing Commission was doing because there were very important things like land and new projects, and we wouldn't understand. We really don't want to understand that, we just want to have a say in the projects after they have been built.

(Off the record discussion.)

Senator Sparrow: The point was the brief that was presented was asking for a fourth level of government. Federal, provincial, municipal and down to the other area, the areas of poverty, and that a fourth level of government must represent people as such. The comment that one senator made was that we already had three levels of government and now we are trying to superimpose another level of government and it would appear to us that the most important level of government probably was this fourth level. I believe that is what Senator Croll meant when he was talking to you earlier tonight. Is that what you meant Senator?

The Chairman: Yes. Well, of course, the history of this sort of development is a meeting together of ratepayers or tenants association, or whatever, and the Government makes sure that their views are considered. The Government makes sure their views are considered and seriously considered before anything is done. That is what we are talking about and, of course, that is what you are doing.

Senator Sparrow: You are concerned about being discriminated against for living in low rental housing. You are shunned so to speak. You were saying that if you spread it out further—are you making now as a group, and I am asking this so that the rest of the groups rights across Canada—are you putting the emphasis in the wrong place. Why in fact are you even asking for subsidized housing? You tell us you don't want it but you are asking Canada for more only in different areas. Why? Why don't you ask for rather than subsidized rent, higher incomes so that you can compete with the rest of us in the affluent society with the houses we have? We are always perpetuating public housing and the stigma will always be there if that is the case. Why don't you take the other approach and say "Give us the income so that we can compete with the rest of society" or ask the Canadian society for everybody to live in Government houses, I don't like that idea but it's an approach. Why don't you take away your request for subsidized housing and ask for the income level to be raised.

Mrs. Thomas: May we have an income level raise?

Senator Sparrow: I am just asking in which area you want it. You stress here subsidized housing. Is this what you want or do you

want the income level raised? We would like the answer to that question tonight.

Mrs. Thomas: Well, we can't see beyond the public housing. How do we see beyond it. Some people are living on \$3,800 a year, some people are living on \$5,800 a year and it costs \$10,000 down payment for a house. We don't see that in five years some of us. Who wouldn't like to have more money?

Senator Sparrow: Don't you as a group say that some people in society go out and make a down payment on a house, or a home of their own, and be able to make the payments on that home, and in fact your group are not entitled to the same thing? You are aren't you?

Mrs. Thomas: We are entitled but we can't afford it.

Senator Sparrow: Well, you are asking society to afford it as such? Do you feel you are entitled to that?

Mrs. Thomas: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: Well, if you are entitled to it then say so. If you are not entitled to it then don't ask for it. If you feel you are entitled to it then we are the people at this point in time that you must say we are entitled to it and we are asking for it. Is that what you are asking?

Mr. Johnston: Yes, but how do you go about it?

Senator Sparrow: Ask for it.

Mr. Johnston: Are you talking about welfare people, or people working?

Senator Sparrow: I am talking about any body in society as a person.

Mr. Johnston: Everytime a man goes out on strike he is cutting his own throat. They don't realize this but that is what they are doing. They are just making the cost of living go up again.

The Chairman: It's the only weapon that the labour has and it's an effective weapon and without that they would be in very serious trouble.

Mrs. Thomas: The people on very low incomes and the people on welfare cannot go on strikes.

The Chairman: Well, you wouldn't know that in British Columbia.

Mrs. Thomas: Well, I believe there have been six so far this year.

Mr. Johnston: There are other ways without going on strike.

The Chairman: Well, let's you and I not get into an argument. I am an old union man.

Senator Sparrow: I was just wondering about the Union matter. You are suggesting that they don't help? Is that what you are saying?

Mr. Johnston: They do in their way. I think they are overstepping their boundaries and are in fact raising our cost of living.

The Chairman: I just don't want to take the time to correct you, Mr. Johnston, but you have been reading the wrong papers. Senator Sparrow was putting forward a very good proposition which we have been hearing a great deal about as we have been travelling across the country, and that is what is sometimes called the guaranteed income. It has also been called a maintenance income, a basic maintenance income. You people haven't said anything about that tonight but...

Mr. Johnston: We did Mr. Chairman.

Senator Everett: In their first point, Mr. Chairman, they asked for more money for people who need money, call it a guaranteed adequate income if you like, but it should be given as a right to those who need it whether they are employed or unemployed.

The Chairman: Yes, I saw that in the brief but the others all put it in great big letters and put it in the first sentence of their briefs.

Senator Everett: We had some people in from Cool Aid this afternoon and they make the proposition that some of those kids through circumstance find themselves in poverty. There are a lot of them who have decided to opt out of this life. They want to opt out of society, they find themselves by virtue of making that choice in a situation where they haven't enough food, haven't medical help and they haven't a place to live. They have done this as a matter of choice and they recognize that they could have done differently. They recognized that they could have gone out and worked. I would be interested to have your view on what assistance society should give to people who decide to just opt out?

Mrs. Thomas: I don't know.

Senator Everett: Well, society has so many resources—maybe we have a limited resource—I don't know but we have so much, so far as we can see anyway. You represent people who have a real need who, through the force of circumstances, find themselves in a position where society, maybe not now, we hope as a result of this Commission, if not as a result of this Commission, in a very short time are going to say you are entitled as a matter of right to a way of life with a sufficient income to buy the things you want. We are wondering what society is going to say to someone who says to hell with it I am getting out. What I am asking you is how do you feel about it?

Mrs. Thomas: Well, these people who opt out or whatever they do, they are a very very small minority. I could opt out myself and say I am going to sit at home the rest of my life on welfare. I am going to school and in another year and a half I expect to be working and I also expect that I will have to move out of public housing because I won't be able to live there any more. I think if people have a little bit of incentive in them, and something to look forward to, like buying their own home and having a car and things of this sort, I don't think people will opt out.

Senator Everett: Well, I think its very well put except that the sort of incentive that people should strive for but these people—our witness say many of them come from middle class families and they are in a position where they could get along. Many of them are single but they decided that they don't like the rules that society has set for them.

Mrs. Thomas: Well, they are probably doing their own thing right now but they will probably turn around and be able citizens.

The Chairman: Well, that was exactly the point Senator. She says that they will do their own thing in their own way and really, Senator, do we have a choice, they are human beings and if they don't want to work...

Senator Everett: Well, I don't think we have a choice but what I am interested in is that if there are limited resources these are the people that are being affected and I want to know how they feel if the people in Canada said we are going to desert, the people who want to walk out. I think it's important to know what they think.

The Chairman: Well, what do you think of that? You express yourself very well.

Mrs. Thomas: Well, I don't know what I should say.

Senator Sparrow: Well, supposing you scrap not only this Committee but the whole Senate of Canada and give the money to the poor it might be as high as 40 cents per year per poor person, so we are talking in very very large sums of money.

Mrs. Thomas: Well, we talk in very very small sums of money.

Senator Sparrow: Well, you can't talk in small sums of money because the problem is great. We are talking about billions of dollars that the Canadian people have to redistribute to find the causes and this is what we are trying to do. We are trying to find what the problems are and how those problems can be solved, and it may take many billions of dollars—we are now spending six billion dollars on poverty and it may cost more but really what we want to do is to find out and say to the Canadian people that they must stand this cost. They must find the solution for poverty. We are really a sounding board for them and we hope when the report comes out it can be of some assistance not only to you but for the whole of the people of Canada in solving this problem.

The Chairman: Are there any questions from the audience?

Mr. S. Hrychorchuk: I would like to say two or three words in this respect. The Senators are talking about how to get the money and how to get this and that. I would suggest one thing and it is just a simple suggestion. Get the money from those people in Canada where the money is. There is a certain percentage of people—10 per cent of people in Canada where they have the money and we should tax them and get the money for those people that need it.

Senator Hastings: That is exactly what we are trying to do sir.

Mrs. Simpson: I am Mrs. Simpson and I would like to say that I went to one of the schools, the orientation school for re-training of women and we were the first pilot project in Vancouver to start this school. We went through the same as what Mrs. Cord is going through right now and I am happy to say that I am one of the women out of the 15 that is working. I got a job as a nurse's aid. Now, before I started to work I was getting \$133 a month for my son and I. Since I have been off

welfare, I have been paying \$37 a month in rent in a housing project. I have a two bedroom home and they want to put me back into a basement suite with a teenage son where I have to give up my bedroom to my son because he goes to bed a lot earlier than I do but I have to be up at 5 o'clock in the morning.

Now that I have started to work I get around \$60 extra to what I was getting on welfare which is about \$190 a month. I have to pay for my Canada Pension Plan, I have to pay unemployment insurance and I also have to pay for the BC medical plan. I have to pay for these things all out of that money, that \$199 a month. I pay \$48 in rent.

Senator Sparrow: How much?

Mrs. Simpson: \$48 a month for rent.

Senator Everett: That is an increase due to your increase in income?

Mrs. Simpson: An increase due to my income.

Senator Everett: Well, how much did your real rent increase?

Mrs. Simpson: Well, it went up from \$37—I mean \$60.

Senator Everett: But you didn't get that in real income did you?

Mrs. Simpson: No. My wages were \$133 and it is now being based on \$199 for which I do not receive.

Senator Everett: How much do you pay in deductions?

Mrs. Simpson: I pay \$10.75 for income tax, union dues \$1.41 and CPC \$1.53. I also pay a dollar a month for the Canada Medical Plan. That is not taken into consideration when my rent goes up—it is not based on what I take home.

Now, this is one of the true cases of the housing project of which the agreement is going through right now which I think is a lot of muck because this should be based on what we make and not what we take home because we are paying rent on money that nobody has even received. We don't even see that money. This is something that makes me real mad but what really makes me real mad is that I have a brief that is going in to Ottawa, I hope—is the idea of a woman in my position with an 18 year old son having to give up her bedroom suite to a boy and I have to sleep in a living room. You have no

privacy whatever—I have already been in a basement suite however, and I know what I am talking about. I am now in a two bedroom home and only the other day, I think the manager came to tell me that I was going to have to go back to a basement suite, but luckily I am being married on the 12th of next month so I am keeping my two bedroom home. The other thing that bugs me is that before you can have a one unit home in the project you must be 55. Now, on the low income coming from welfare you cannot live in the project unless you are 55. You have to get outside in the city and tell me where you can live on \$90 and pay over \$100 for a suite. This is something that the Government and the Housing Commission should get together on and rip the whole thing down. This is what we are trying to do; we are trying to change the laws of the Housing Commission. I would like to see that change but as Mrs. Thomas has told you, we cannot get straight answers from the Housing Commission. They will not give us straight answers. They say they have their own laws and that is it and we can't do a thing about it.

Now, there is more people than I—I am only one person. I am not talking about only the people in the project but I am talking about the whole city. There are lots and lots of women in my position out in the city who are paying a hundred and thirty five to a hundred and fifty dollars, and I know one—and it was on the radio this morning—and she gets \$135 but she pays \$125 in rent so she only has \$10 a month to keep her and her young boy. You tell me. You are talking about money dear, you ought to be on welfare and live in some of the positions that we have had to rent and not tell us that they are our own faults, believe me. I was brought to this country with six in a family and I was dumped in this country—mind you I wouldn't change it for love nor money because I have had a decent living here, and I have had good friends.

Senator Everett: Tell me what you think the answer should be?

Mrs. Simpson: Give the people on welfare a decent living. Also the laws of the Housing Commission should be changed to give people who are living by themselves to have a place even though they are not 55 years of age. If they are on low incomes give them a one unit home to live in. Give them a decent living because there are lots of people who need a decent living in this country, and there are

people who are being degraded because they are on welfare. They are degraded because their friends won't even look at them. I have had it done to me. They wouldn't look at me because I was on welfare and I was in the project.

Senator Everett: Was it because you were on welfare or because you were in a project?

Mrs. Simpson: Both. You are discriminated against all over the place. Even if you go into a Safeway Store and you say, well I want such and such delivered to such and such, and they say to themselves oh, that's welfare, oh, we're not taking it over there. We don't deliver out to these places. I have had that done to me—they will not deliver to people in the project. Why should we be discriminated against. I have gone out to work to help my son and also to give myself an uplift—I don't need too much money because I am not getting very much more than what I had before. Believe me I can hold my head as high as you people can. You are a higher man than me. But believe me there is nobody who will take the feet from under me, not in this country. There are a lot of people who can do the same thing but as this gentleman states, once you make an extra few dollars when you are in the project, they raise the rent. They will not allow you to build up your money to buy a home and somebody else was talking here about getting so much money together and buying this and buying that, but we can't even get a decent living. The Government won't give anybody who is on welfare the \$550 a month for a downpayment on a home because I tried it. There are a lot of questions that you guys will have to go through to get the bottom of this. You will have to give people a decent living in this country. That is all I have to say.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. It was very interesting and there have been personalities here who have different views and we are very happy to have you here. You have all done extremely well and your brief is a very interesting brief, and every-time we hear a new delegation they come up with something different and that is the reason we came here. It is of value to us and worthwhile and we thank you for the trouble you have gone to in presenting this brief and for coming here tonight. Thank you very much. This closes the meeting.

The meeting adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

PRESENTATION TO THE
SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY
FROM A GROUP OF COMMUNITY
WORKERS
VANCOUVER, B.C.,
NOVEMBER, 1969.

INTRODUCTION:

As community workers, we identify more strongly with local communities and with citizens' rights than with agency or institutional points of view. Most of us work with citizens in local communities helping them to organize, to plan and to take action to improve their communities; to develop self-help programs, and to protest and press for changes when they feel this is needed. You will be hearing about some current efforts of citizen groups in Vancouver to open up opportunities for a better life for low income families. We will present our professional views from practical experience, expecting that your research experts will substantiate most of our concerns about the causes and effects of poverty in Canada.

I. THE NEED FOR MAJOR REFORM

Poverty in Canada should no longer be attributed to individual inadequacy or misfortune. We believe the increase in social problems of all kinds—mental illness, addiction, delinquency, loneliness, family breakdown, damaged children—is symptomatic of a much greater breakdown in Canadian Society as a whole. We live in an affluent country where urban populations are rapidly increasing, unemployment is chronic, lack of housing is critical, education and opportunities for personal growth are not adequate, and average citizens have no say in decisions that will affect them.

Presently in Canada, approximately nine million Canadians have little or no choice but to live at subsistence level as recipients of old fashioned charity with rights, feelings, and behavioral responses of second or third class citizens forced upon them. While surrounded with the affluence of others, they must face the inevitability that their children and their children's children, will be born and die in poverty. The defeatism, the lack of hope, and the undermining of a person's self-confidence and self respect is as deplorable, as the lack of economic security. The guarantee of economic security to all individuals, however,

would go a long way in helping to alleviate the other problems.

Society has become so complex that the general public cannot comprehend the significance of this post industrial age. Therefore, they rely on passé concepts and services which may have been relevant in the depression and war years. Not understanding the massive changes which have taken place they seek a scapegoat. Those who are not able to compete and therefore become the wards of society are the easiest to blame as being "dead beats" or "unmotivated". Those with economic and political power have not taken responsibility to plan for and deal with the negative effects brought about by our Computer Age.

Changes which are urgently needed will not be possible until most of our citizens are made aware that it is in their own self interest to eliminate economic inequalities and human suffering. The mass media and adult educators have a great challenge to give leadership to this re-education process. Strong voices are needed as activators and agents to bring about social and economic reforms. We hope the Senate hearings will provide the guide lines for major social change and apply the political pressure toward that goal.

BASIC PRINCIPLES

The following principles must be accepted as basic for the development of economic and social policies and programs in Canada.

1. Economic development of communities and the extension of a great variety of new employment opportunities must be the major emphasis in programs to eliminate poverty develop human resources and extend opportunities in Canada.

2. Every Citizen has the right to family security and a decent standard of living. Where this is not possible through adequate income from employment, the government must ensure this through an adequate guaranteed income or guaranteed job. Business firms should be required to provide some of these jobs.

3. Business, industry and unions have a major responsibility to co-operate with governments to develop jobs and re-training programs and must be required by government to do so. Canada Manpower should be re-

organized to create new job opportunities as its major function.

4. Major reform of social policy, social institutions and educational systems is needed to provide greater opportunities for development of children, support for young families, community development, education for living, opportunities for personal fulfillment and creative pursuits.

5. Citizens have a right to opportunities and all citizens must have a much greater say in decisions that affect their lives. This includes rights of citizens to express concerns, to dissent, and to press for change.

II. POLICIES TO PROMOTE FAMILY SECURITY, EMPLOYABILITY AND EMPLOYMENT INCENTIVES—SOME INTERIM RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Priority must be given to the development of retraining opportunities and job programs. Every possible support, incentive and subsidy should be readily available to heads of families who are unemployed, underemployed or do not earn enough to provide for their family needs. Preserving self-respect is basic in the prevention of family breakdown.

2. Day care services based on the best tested principles must be provided for all children whose parent or parents are striving to upgrade themselves economically, educationally or culturally.

3. Unions should be asked to continue union membership or provide a fund for unemployed persons who cannot afford to pay union dues and therefore are ineligible when union jobs become available. Rather than restraining opportunities, unions should be enlisted to open up more jobs.

4. Extend medical benefits for working persons on low incomes and compare with provisions now available to social assistance recipients (i.e. dental, optical, prescription coverage).

5. Establish loan funds or grants toward expenses that are required to be eligible for certain kinds of jobs; eg. union dues, vehicle for work, initial costs of working out of town, uniforms.

6. Provide funds for transportation and housing to enable urban dwellers who wish to move to rural areas where they may live more cheaply and be available for possible jobs.

7. Full equality should be guaranteed to women including equal pay for equal work.

8. Assistance should be given to encourage unskilled persons to attain greater skills and/or organize business firms, perhaps on a co-operative basis. Domestic service, maintenance, food service, and child care are examples of areas where this approach is needed and valuable.

9. Development of new kinds of community service jobs; i.e. recreation assistants, librarians, assistants, school aides, health aides, and social work assistants.

10. Extension of allowances for children in any low income family sufficient to enable parents who can find work only in lower paying jobs, to be self supporting while their children are still dependent.

11. Institute low cost divorce.

12. Active research into and promotion of birth control and family planning and free access to birth control pills and contraceptives.

13. Increase efforts to develop effective consumer and credit practices which will not create an unbearable load of debt on low income people. Credit Unions or citizen co-op's might develop special arrangements for persons on low income with some form of government guarantee or subsidy.

III. NEED FOR CHANGES IN SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEMS

We are sure that many presentations will stress the ineffectual, fragmented, bureaucratic, individual-focused services of agencies that once may have been relevant but now are largely irrelevant, and unable to cope with today's social problems.

Major institutional changes are needed to disband some or combine most social agencies into one integrated, comprehensive social delivery system that can decentralize service and workers into local areas. (See B.C.A.S.W. report on Reorganization of Social Services).

1. Public and private services for local areas should be planned with, contracted by and accountable to local citizen groups. Budgeting and policy formulation for community services should also be decentralized. A local community could contract for an integrated team of workers to complement services of schools and community centres. This arrangement would make it unnecessary and undesirable to have a multiplicity of autonomous local agencies.

2. Income maintenance should be provided routinely and separately from the above services perhaps through Unemployment Insurance Offices or by some form of guaranteed income. Remove degrading means tests, line ups; mail the cheques out, tell the people what is available.

3. Social workers should give much greater emphasis to societal needs. General practitioner social workers should work from schools or neighbourhood centres in multi-discipline teams as do school nurses.

4. Intensive counselling and social work treatment services should be available through medical clinics and doctor's offices and be covered by medical insurance in the same way that psychiatric interviews are now available.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Democracy, properly functioning, requires the full participation of its citizens. People will only participate if, through their involvement, they see changes taking place and their opinion listened to.

Community Development encourages participation and assists citizens to organize and take action to solve problems and to improve their community.

Our Vancouver experience indicates that Community Development in co-operation with other resources can result in the following kinds of developments:

1. Representative citizen councils in local areas which can provide a strong community voice to counteract central bureaucratic trends. Citizen councils can become a fourth level of democratic government as well as being a channel for local complaints, social action, planning and development of community programs.

2. Citizen action groups which work on particular problems, to represent and to protect the rights of individuals and minority groups: eg. S.P.O.T.A., A.T.T.A.C., U.C.W.I.C., V.H.I.P.C., groups which will be reporting to this Senate Committee.

3. Citizen operated programs and self-help projects; eg. child care services, free stores, co-operatives, opportunities offices, information centres etc.

4. Enrichment and special educational programs; eg. Headstart Nurseries, Study Clubs, Community Youth Workers, summer and

week-end programs, employment opportunities, T.V.—discussion programs (eg. Beat the Budget Series).

5. Citizen training programs, use of citizen aides in community services, paid indigenous workers.

6. Decentralization of special services into local areas: e.g. manpower, legal aide, mobile libraries, neighbourhood visitors, meals on wheels, family life education, family planning programs.

7. Development of Neighbourhood Action Centres: e.g. store fronts, drop-in centres, operated by citizens with neighbourhood workers' teams available. Such centres offer information, referral services and ombudsmen services. They stimulate communications, ideas and creative community action. Some offer special services; e.g. R.E.A.C.H. community health clinic.

8. Organization of tenant associations and tenant programs in public housing projects with tenant participation in the wider community.

9. Development of job and training opportunities for low income people. The Opportunities Committee will report on this further.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Public and private funds should be made available or be re-assigned from agency services if necessary, to provide a local developmental fund under the control of citizens to employ citizen aides, to allow citizen groups to employ citizen aides, to allow citizen groups to employ their own professional technical consultants, to provide loan funds, and subsidize some community projects.

2. Governments and voluntary planning bodies should delegate greater power and responsibility to local citizens through citizen organizations and councils so that planners and services will be accountable to local residents and consumers. Citizens should have representation on any official bodies which are planning for their community.

3. Funds should be available for salaries, honorariums, scholarships etc. for low income people who are not on social assistance in order to upgrade their skills.

4. Financial support of governments is needed for community development services which must operate independently from government departments and which have responsibility to advocate and assist in constructive social reform.

5. Financial encouragement should be given to formation of consumer co-operatives for low income people, perhaps through Credit Unions with special subsidies.

6. Tenants should have opportunity to purchase public housing. Federal governments and C.M.H.C. should decentralize policy-making and require that tenants have a major say in policy decisions and management of projects.

7. There is need for major change in Canada Manpower to actively promote employment opportunities, to decentralize services, to train indigenous manpower workers, to change bureaucratic attitudes and restrictive policies that discriminate against youth and persons on welfare. Provincial Manpower Offices with decision-making powers should be established as to integrate policies with welfare and educational departments. Local bodies with union, business and industrial representatives are needed to assist in promoting economic development and job opportunities. More sheltered workshops, and contracting to citizen co-operatives should be developed.

8. Educational concepts and methods must change to stress creative development of the total person and offer programs for all ages with education for community services and for leisure. Camps, hostels, and youth operated free school approach might be used with young people who drop out of formal classes and cannot find employment. Teacher assistants should include people from the local community. Costs to participants should be at a minimum.

Children and parents of low income families should have cultural opportunities, scholarships, and encouragement to upgrade education.

9. Trends of young people from all income groups to reject values of parent generations, and to deliberately choose poverty with independence rather than conformity is surely of concern to this Senate Committee. We are concerned but cannot deal here with the effects of drugs, police methods, teen-age parenthood and many con-comitant social problems that may result in a whole new dimension of poverty in the 1970's. We urge that Senators hear from Cool Aid and similar groups.

10. Funding under The Canada Assistance Plan is virtually unavailable to local communities because it requires approval and cost sharing by municipal and provincial governments. C.A.P. must be revised; meanwhile, federal welfare grants for special community programs and services in low income areas should be greatly increased and made more accessible to citizen groups and private agencies.

This background paper was prepared for Senate Hearings with the co-operation of the following community workers in Vancouver:

Mrs. Margaret Mitchell—Co-ordinator—Neighbourhood Services Association of Greater Vancouver; Donna Watt—Neighbourhood Services Association; Herb Barbolet—Neighbourhood Services Association; Joyce Fitzpatrick—Neighbourhood Services Association; Jonathon Lau—Neighbourhood Services Association; Marjorie Martin—Family Service Centre; Nora Curry—United Community Services; Cathy Goldney—Youth Worker; Max Beck—Inner City Project; Stephane Crane—City Social Service; Effie Keyes—City Social Service; Darlene Marzari—Social Planning Department (City).

APPENDIX "B"

BRIEF
TO THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
ON

POVERTY

Submitted by

Vancouver Inner-City Service Project

2196 Columbia Street

Max Beck, Director

Vancouver, B.C.

November 19, 1969

The Vancouver Inner-City Service Project seeks to promote unique and innovative methods of providing community service—particularly to those sectors of the urban community out of the mainstream of life in this "affluent?" and "just?" society. This involves a program to encourage and effect minor adjustment to existing institutional and bureaucratic machinery, and at best a degree of reform in society itself. Sometimes this threatens sectors of society unwilling to change, but these changes are necessary to correct the inadequacies of today's society and avoid the widespread dissent, rebellion and perhaps even revolution that is rife south of our border.

We note that the word "JUST" has two meanings: the first—meaning equitable and fair; the second—meaning nothing more or less as in—"Just enough money for one more meal." To too many Canadians our JUST SOCIETY is the latter—a nothing more or less society—not an equitable and fair society. We want to work with the people who are struggling to find JUSTICE in the JUST SOCIETY. We want to help balance the scales of justice.

The Inner-City Project has tried to dig into areas of poverty and injustice that major organizations have failed to see. We attempt to seek involvement, identity and driving force from people of the streets—their concerns, their issues, their organizations. These are the consumers of service. They have some choice in purchasing material goods, but have little choice in "buying" the social, environmental, and institutional programs that control so much of their lives. In fact, it is virtually axiomatic—the poorer one is, the more one is dependent upon the service organizations of society.

The affluent of our society are actually able to purchase and choose most of their own

social, educational, cultural and leisure time services; for the poor, a broad range of public services are simply *provided*—ranging from transit, to welfare, to public housing, to outpatient clinics. Undoubtedly, these services are necessary; but we must also develop some means of *consumer input* into the development and implementation of services so that they really do serve the market.

We do not intend to advocate an about-face for public services, expecting to pay prime attention to citizen demands. In fact, this is dangerous, as there is a built in tendency for bureaucratic and institutional services to serve their own needs and be deaf and blind to external stimuli. Instead, we advocate direct financial support and recognition of groups quite outside the framework of the 'establishment'—those out of the mainstream of life in this society, be they the poor, ethnic minorities, criminals, transient youth, or alcoholics on Skid row, V.I.S.P.'s specific goal is to assist citizens of the inner city in gaining power and control over decisions that affect their lives and their environment.

Rather than an about-face in the establishment, we advocate strengthening the channels and power of dissent in Canadian society; strengthening the voice of the disadvantaged and those out of the mainstream.

In comparison to other societies, Canadian society has a well-developed sense of tolerance and fair play. The roles of the crusading journalist, the prodding public affairs program, the ombudsman—all have gained acceptance, an aura of romance, and sometimes even government support. International experience indicates that governments willing to tolerate dissent are rare. We should take steps to preserve and strengthen the tolerance level of Canadian society and Canadian institutions. We must increase our ability to hear and respond with action to the voices of those who are impatient with being left so far behind in the society that boasts of its affluence and justice.

PROPOSALS

I. Develop Consumer Input

Funders should develop more RISK FUNDS OR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FUNDS as a means of giving funds directly to disadvantaged, or alienated groups and those organizations that work closely with them. We should

experiment with various methods of maximizing "grass roots" control of these funds.

Groups receiving such funds should, of course, be accountable for how they have been spent, *but* in retrospect. We must alter the pattern of the government and major funders seeing all social priorities and giving funds only to groups willing to work within these priorities. This should help equalize the scales of justice.

Specific ventures that should be encouraged with such funds are as follows:

1. 'Grass roots' citizen groups. In particular, let them fund and hire their own staff.
2. Advocates and ombudsmen.
3. Neighbourhood legal services.
4. Neighbourhood information, advice and social advocacy centres similar to the Citizen's Advice Bureaus of Britain.
5. Youth organized and operated programs.
6. Self-help and opportunity programs of all types.

II. Planning and Priority Setting vs. Funding and Evaluation

A corollary of the first point is that major funders of social development programs—government at all levels and United Appeals—should restrict their planning and priority setting roles. The United Appeals and Community Planning Councils, in particular, have represented themselves and the major social planning force in the country, e.g. *Social Policies for Canada, Part I*, Ottawa Canadian Welfare Council, 1969. Yet their policy-making boards have had and still have more links with the 'power elite' than with the poor. Their record of eliminating or ameliorating poverty is woeful.

Instead of pre-planning, such groups should concentrate upon funding and program evaluation. To date, our agencies have co-ordinated and collaborated to develop many brilliant proposals only to see many of them fail in implementation. We should develop far more vigorous means of program evaluation—perhaps even instant monitoring—so that we can support and expand these programs that are working, rather than supporting those that look good on paper.

III. Competition

Social and public services make a virtue out of practices forbidden to business because

they are unjust to the consumer. 'Avoid duplication of service' is one way of saying 'establish a monopoly'. Without some competition in business, we have higher prices and poor products. With the limited managerial skills of social and public services, the Canadian public might wonder if they are being overcharged for a shoddy product. In the absence of competition and challenge our social and public organizations have become sluggish and resistant to change.

The same organizations might find renewed vigour if they had to face some competition, or loss of funds for poor performance. In the same manner, organizations that can provide effective and efficient service should be given increased support.

IV. Social Entrepreneurs

In the absence of market controls upon social and public services, funders should develop methods of supporting effective social entrepreneurs.

This means...

Increased emphasis upon: contracts for service; supporting those organizations and staff who provide effective, efficient service; increased evaluation of service performance in resolving problems; develop consumer input and evaluate customer satisfaction; a deliberate effort to accommodate rapid shifts in social change with equally rapid shifts in service patterns.

Less emphasis upon: funders dictating service priorities; agency monopolies and division of territories; service co-ordination and collaboration; extended conferences, meetings and debate in planning services and persuading other community groups that such services are valid.

V. Youth Involvement

Finally, in any endeavour to develop new approaches to poverty and injustice, youth must be involved. They will never be our hope for tomorrow if they are denied meaningful participation in urban affairs today. The Inner-City Service Project attempts to involve YOUTH in its program, asking them to do tomorrow's work today. They have the education, the idealism and the visceral strength; they need experience in action, and exposure to the realities of life in the streets.

We attempt to provide a practical learning and development experience for university students who will be the future's service professionals. They have opportunities for

inter-professional contacts and activities, independent action not usually found with other organizations, and the experience of helping people develop, implement and sustain *their own programs* to meet the problems of the urban city. We hope that students who work for us will develop a commitment to continue working on urban problems and that they will have increased practical awareness of techniques to apply in resolving these problems.

Canada should have more programs to expose youth to injustice, poverty and urban chaos; and to assist them in working with the people of the street in resolving these problems.

VI. Information or Conviction

The solution to poverty will come when we add to our information a conviction to act. Anyone who has been exposed to the magnitude of poverty that has been retained in this age of affluence would surely be disposed to take action. Unfortunately, much of our poverty is hidden away on reserves or kept in place on Skid Row, and too few Canadians have an understanding of the problems or a conviction to act.

We trust that the Senators will not only keep informed, but that they will become involved with those who face poverty every day of their lives. We invite the Senators to tour the city Thursday afternoon with us and the people who do experience poverty.

APPENDIX

VANCOUVER INNER-CITY SERVICE PROJECT—WHAT IS IT?

GOALS: To promote and provide unique and innovative community service particularly to those sectors of the urban community out of the mainstream of life in this "affluent", "just" and "dynamic" society.

To provide learning experiences for tomorrow's service professionals so that they will learn to cope with and perhaps control the complex, ever-changing problems of urban society.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

1. To focus upon the "inner city" of Vancouver, hoping to have maximum impact on the area by concentrating our resources there.

2. To assist the citizens of the inner city in gaining power and control over decisions that affect their lives and their environment, particularly within social, cultural, religious and educational spheres, but including freeway placement, urban rehabilitation, etc.

3. To increase the political awareness of inner city residents.

4. To stimulate and encourage existing and new citizen action endeavours. We know that there are many groups already in existence, but floundering, who wish to improve society. They receive little help from established agencies because they may be too militant; they may represent "undesirable" elements of society; or they may be from different language and cultural groups.

5. To provide a practical learning and development experience for university students who will be tomorrow's service professionals. We stress inter-disciplinary activity; the interrelatedness of social problems; the need for independent, action-oriented activities; and the necessity of helping people develop, implement and sustain their own programs to meet the problems of the urban city. We hope that students who work for us will develop a commitment to continue working on urban problems and that they will have increased practical experience and awareness of techniques to apply in resolving these problems.

THE COMMUNITY WE WORK IN

The inner city areas in which we have chosen to concentrate are formally described in the United Community Services Report on Local Areas as Strathcona, the Central Business District, and Woodland-Grandview. To residents, these areas are known as Chinatown, Skid Row, Gastown, and Grandview—with McLean Park and Raymur Place housing projects having their own isolated identities. These areas have by far the lowest socioeconomic ranking of any in the city.

The total population in 1966 of the inner city area was 26,581. Population profiles are skewed with a high concentration of elderly men (age 70 +—predominantly Chinese), a higher ratio of men, and few children. Poverty, unemployment, family breakdown, tenancy, overcrowding, crowded dwellings, low or no-ski-

employment, lack of education and unfamiliarity with the English language are all exceptionally high. Over 3,000 residents speak neither English nor French.

The area does have a rich and varied cultural life, stirrings of civic awareness and ability to influence decision makers, and some impressive organizational developments amongst the youth, who are particularly astute as they must keep their foreign-born parents in touch with Western society.

Major ethnic groups are as follows: (1961 Census figures) Asiatic, 9,025; British Isles, 8,876; Italians, 2,077. Census correlation is unfortunately not possible, but experience in the area indicates that those of British origin are predominantly elderly single people, while the Chinese, Italian, Native Indian and a recent influx of Portuguese raise their families in the area. This is evident in school populations in which Oriental, Italian and Native Indian children form over 70 per cent of the population. The Strathcona neighbourhood, in particular, has a high incidence of individuals and families receiving help from Vancouver's social service agencies.

PROGRAM—GENERAL STATEMENT

The Vancouver Inner-City Service Project concentrates upon a broad scale social development approach rather than remedial, therapeutic or individualized services. Within this framework we have the following goals:

1. Support and Initiation of Citizen Involvement

We work with a broad range of citizen-based groups, helping them gain more political power within the existing establishment, control over decision-making that affects their lives, and an effective role in shaping their own environment. The reality is, of course, a long step away from the ideal.

2. Modification of the Service System

We frequently help citizen groups concerned with modification of the service system, e.g., Creative Parks, Feed-Ins. In addition, we hope that our own organizational model is flexible enough to meet changing community needs as they emerge and are voiced by the people of the inner city.

3. Generating New Services

Sometimes we assist groups in developing new programs or provide new services ourselves for a short period of time. This relationship continues until either the group takes

complete responsibility for program or an existing service agency assumes responsibility, e.g., Crisis Intervention and Suicide Intervention Clinic, "Think Indian", Legal Aid and Research Program.

4. Leadership Training and Development

We wish to initiate a varied series of seminars that involve lay leadership and some professionals in an effort to sharpen their leadership skills and attempt to stimulate their commitment to social change. Many of the present attempts at promoting change are not cohesive enough, or focused and coordinated on a city-wide, integrated scale. We do not intend to usurp the role of established planning organizations, but hope that through informal communication channels and ideological commitments gained in leadership seminars the opportunities and examples of integrated action will increase. This assumes a belief that people, their interrelationships and skills, are more important than structured, organizational linkages.

5. Scope

We are prepared to initiate and assist in a broader range of action than most agencies and intend to avoid a narrow, social service perspective. This is reflected in our staff:—a social worker, a lawyer, a public health nurse/anthropology graduate, and students from schools and faculties such as architecture, law, theology, nursing, medicine, etc.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Examples of activities that we have stimulated or assisted in developing are detailed below. In virtually all of the work detailed below employ university students from the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser and other Canadian and American universities to assume responsibility for specific programs. These students are paid, full-time workers for four months each summer. Each winter a large number of students are involved as volunteers (volunteer in a very traditional, unstructured sense in our community action programs. Some students from architecture, law, social work and community planning undertake their field studies in conjunction with Vancouver Inner-City Service Project.

A. Legal Services for the Poor

The general objectives of the Legal Aid and Research Program are the following:

(i) To investigate the legal problems of the poor, and to stimulate interest and reform in

areas of the law which most directly affect the poor.

(ii) To provide a limited test of the feasibility of neighbourhood legal services.

(iii) To promote through research and publicity the establishment of an improved and comprehensive legal aid scheme in this province.

(iv) To provide a practical educational experience for participating law students.

To effect those objectives we provide the following:

1. Free legal service from two storefront centres
2. Legal aid for juveniles
3. Help women in welfare obtain divorces
4. Research, report writing, and publicity on the need for improved comprehensive legal services.

B. School Canadiana

This school began operating on September 9, 1968, in Vancouver's Italian district. Its intention was to provide Canadian communication skills to Italian immigrants. The program has now been extended to Chinese and Japanese immigrants. The basic technique is to provide personalized learning, tailored to each individual's needs, rather than the standard classroom method. The goals of the program are:

(i) To provide New Canadians with the necessary language skills to function economically and socially in their new environment.

(ii) To integrate the foreign-born Italians and Chinese into Canadian life.

(iii) To enable the larger community to benefit from the creative and constructive assets which these people bring with them to Canada.

C. Mobile Youth Centre

The Project has operated a mobile drop-in centre for teenagers utilizing a converted city transit bus. We took it to areas of the city where there is little in the way of coffee houses or teen centres for young people. The bus gives them an atmosphere from which they can develop interpersonal relationships with each other; there they can listen to music and dance and just generally "be". It has generated interest among teens to carry this program on themselves and has served as

a focal point for community action and planning for improved youth services.

D. Think Indian

The Vancouver Inner-City Service Project is working with a group of Indian youth to develop a live-in orientation to urban life. This is an effort to orient young people moving in from reserves and outlying towns to the opportunities of an urban centre before they become engulfed with the pitfalls of Skid Row.

E. The Crisis Intervention and Suicide Prevention Clinic

A Project worker determined the need for a suicide prevention centre during his "Plunge." He and other Project members launched a campaign to alert citizens to the need for a permanent service. As a result of a year's efforts, a "Crisis Intervention and Suicide Prevention Centre of Greater Vancouver" with professional workers has been established.

F. The Dugout

This is a day centre on Vancouver's Skid Row which looks like a pub but serves only coffee. It is staffed totally by Skid Row men and offers the residents of the area a place to have coffee, read and play cards. A Project worker has been working with the "customers" of the Dugout on their problems with local services such as welfare, medical care and organizing a citizens council.

G. Creative Park Program.

One Project member has been helping youth in a poverty area take action to obtain creative park facilities, a band shell for "Rock" groups, and a shack city on their neighbourhood park. During the summer they have had "Folk" and "Symphony" concerts; have built a small "shack town" that was later removed by the Parks Board; and have had a camping trip to plan their strategy for the winter. The long range goal is to help the Parks Board accept and encourage community involvement in planning and building recreational facilities and programs.

ORIENTATION AND TRAINING PROGRAM

For one week workers are sent in teams to visit agencies, courts of law, city council, hospitals, citizens groups, etc.

A week end seminar at a church camp is held during which Project members discuss social development goals and objectives plus

Project operating procedures, philosophies, political techniques, etc.

The Plunge—Workers are sent out for two days and two nights with only two dollars. They must sample the life of the

disadvantaged transient—Skid Row or Hippie—to request as many services as possible in a brief attempt to view the other side. Workers visit V.D. clinics, welfare offices, get into jail, etc.

APPENDIX "C"

BRIEF TO SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

From: A.T.T.A.C.

(THE ASSOCIATION TO TACKLE
ADVERSE CONDITIONS)

VANCOUVER, B.C.—November 1969.

The following report will reveal the studies of poverty made from the areas of Strathcona, Woodland, and Grandview of Vancouver City.

Poverty as we found relative to the above mentioned areas, is dependent on how the individual himself defines "poverty". Rather than an economic division of income less than a certain amount, the division is a personal one subject to the background of the person, his environment, the impact of his education, and how he relates to the system of the society.

A recent immigrant, for example, from Asia or Europe may earn less than the minimal required income as compared to the average family and may be considered "poor" in those terms. However, they themselves will not believe that they are poor. Although, they are lacking in conveniences such as television, automobiles, etc., their ease of existence will be comparatively better than their previous life. Thus, they should be categorized as such and provided with facilities which the Canadian society can offer.

In the areas designated as "slums", there are evidence of extreme social problems such as family breakdown, desertion, alcoholism, and others, usually associated with the slum structure, but also living in the area are low income earning families without any immediate social problems other than the fact of low income. There is an obvious distinction between the two, especially in ethnic communities where the family structure is recognized and remains stable. Lack of understanding in this regard will result in a sense of mistreatment, alienation, and degradation.

This is of deepest concern to the families from the Raymur Housing Project.

With the current standard of living, it is difficult to distinguish the welfare recipients from the income earners. Visibly, they will be just as well dressed. However, the exterior factor does not erase the disadvantages these people obviously possess, the disadvantages which stifle their incentive to improve their conditions.

One factor restraining this incentive is the welfare payments. Although we recognize some temporary values in the welfare payments, they tend to degrade an individual, make one lose self-respect and their will to earn for livelihood.

There is a lack of opportunities provided in the field of education, culture, and recreation. Especially in the poorer districts, these facilities are enormously over-taxed, most frequently inadequate, and often non-existent to suffice the greater need. It is to be noted that within the boundaries of the Waterfront, Nanaimo Street, Broadway, and Main Street, there exists no libraries for public use, unsatisfactory libraries for school use, no community recreation centre, no headquarters for health clinics, and no day-care centres.

The present low rental housing projects supposedly constructed to eliminate slum conditions have crowded together all the underprivileged and isolated them from the average community. The concentration of these groups induces an environment where the general atmosphere will be depressive and forlorn. This is definitely the stifling of the incentive. How is one individual going to feel the urge to achieve if all round him there are evidences of defeat and apathy.

Furthermore, the number of social workers able to advise and counsel regarding economic as well as emotional problems are crucially deficient to assist in any way to the individuals requiring them.

In order to alleviate the poor, the poor themselves must have the incentive to

achieve which they do not have. This incentive, we feel is the solution to poverty at the individual level, and thus this motivation must be cultured and encouraged as a vehicle to solving the whole problem. Understanding the factors which discourage this incentive, A.T.T.A.C. presents the following recommendations to improve the facilities and opportunities designed to produce personal pride for achievement.

1. Besides the relief system offered by the present welfare system, we suggest more funds be directed to providing the programmes as mentioned below.

2. Construction of adequate school facilities, more specifically, more favourable libraries and equipment for physical education programmes.

3. Construction of libraries for public use equipped with educational programmes encouraging reading and learning.

4. Construction of a Community Services Complex which involves the full utilization of the school, health, recreational, and cultural facilities. The convenience and reduction of cost by such a project proves to be extremely beneficial and appropriate for the underprivileged areas.

5. Introduction of a programme to inform the public of the advantages and opportunities available from the community to assist them.

6. Concentrated low-rental housing projects should be abandoned for compromise for smaller scale projects dispersed within an average community so that isolated "poor" districts do not occur.

All these recommendations propose to enlighten the individuals who are depressed and lack initiative to solve his various problems relating directly or indirectly to poverty. This is the method to alleviate poverty through full understanding and enormous effort, time and funds for a more concrete and permanent solution to poverty.

Kie Yagi, Secretary,
A.T.T.A.C.

APPENDIX

Operation: A.T.T.A.C.

The A.T.T.A.C. Committee is being formed to promote the better development of the east-end. The committee feels that the east-end has been grossly neglected by its citizens as well as its representatives. How many of You are aware of:

- (1) the lack of recreational facilities; e.g. (a) the few and underdeveloped parks; (b) no community centre
- (2) overcrowded schools
- (3) a lack of library facilities
- (4) limited health services

Present trends indicate that people will continue to neglect these areas. Why is this so?

- (1) People do not demand more because they fail to understand what they can and should have.

- (2) There is a language problem leading to a lack of communication.

- (3) People are unfamiliar with the mechanics of complaint and do not know what is available to them.

- (4) There is no organization to decide on a policy for the area. Consequently, people leave this area.

The Association To Tackle Adverse Conditions will attempt to establish an organization to inform the people of what is planned in a way that they will understand, support plans for proper recreational facilities, reassess the value of large-scale low rental housing, attempt to arrive on a consensus on the free-way development, to provide a forum for the expression of opinion on the problem of this area, take immediate action to alleviate problems within the immediate grasp by sponsoring dances, sporting events and other recreational activities, set up communications with those making decisions on the development of this area with the ultimate objective being to make this a desirable area in which to live.

APPENDIX "D"

November, 1969.

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION FROM THE BRIEF TO THE SENATE COMMITTEE
ON POVERTYfrom the Vancouver Housing Inter Project Council
Contrasting Budgets of Families living in Public Housing—Vancouver*Mother on Social Assistance*
with two children (ages 4 & 5)
(no support from husband)*Income* (per month)Salary \$325.00
Family Allowance 12.00*Income* (per month)

Social Assistance \$166.00

broken down into

Food \$86.00

Sundries 30.00

(soap, household supplies)

Shelter 50.00

Family Allowance 12.00

Plus Yearly allowances

Recreation 15.00 per year
per childClothing 15.00 per year
per child

Christmas bonus 5.00

Medical and dental expenses are
covered by Social Assistance.Rent charged is lower than Shelter
Allowance (\$34)*Expenses*

Food \$86.00

Sundries 30.00

Rent (Sliding scale based on
gross income) 78.00

Day Care 60.00

(there are no Day Care facil-
ities at any Public Housing
Project so the Provincial Gov-
ernment Subsidy for Day Care
is not available)

Transportation 8.00

Income Tax 20.65

Canada Pension Plan 4.95

Medical Insurance 6.25

Unemployment Insurance ... 3.46

TOTAL \$297.31

leaving approximately \$40 to cover dental
drug, school costs, recreation, furniture,
household needs, etc.*Man working with wife and two children*

Income: Salary \$522.00

Family Allowance 12.00

Expenses: (minimum)

Canada Pension 8.56

Income Tax 68.50

Food (For assistance level) 101.00

Rent (based on gross income) 147.00

Sundries (Social Assistance level) . 35.00

Transportation (bus to work) 8.00

leaving approximately \$165 per month to
cover medical and dental, clothing, recreation,
household effects, school expenses, insurance
etc.*Mother working in an office*with two children (ages 4 & 5)
(No support from husband)*Man, on Social Assistance, with wife and two
children*Income per month from Social Assis-
tance \$191.00

broken down into food \$10.00

Sundries 35.00

Rent 55.00

Family Allowance 12.00

Income, yearly grants

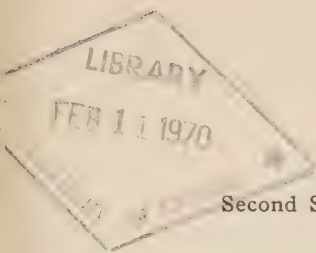
Recreation \$15 per child

Clothing 15 per child

School Supplies 15 per child

Dental and medical expenses covered.

Rental allowance exceeds rent charged for
long term tenants—Rent could be \$34.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 9

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1969

WITNESSES:

The Unemployed Citizens' Welfare Improvement Council: Mr. Jack Maley;
Mr. Alex Bondy; Mrs. Margaret Mitchell; Mr. Ray Bobb. *Vancouver
Opportunities Committee:* Miss Lorri Walker, Chairman; Mrs. Bernie
O'Connor; Mrs. Mary Dowhaniuk; Mr. Bill Johnson.

APPENDIX:

"A".—Brief submitted by The Second Employment Orientation
for Women Class.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Everett	Lefrançois
Carter	Fergusson	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Fournier (<i>Madawaska- Resitgouche, Deputy Chairman</i>)	McGrand
Cook		Pearson
Croll		Quart
Eudes	Hastings	Roebuck
	Inman	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract of the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969.

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban; rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

Extract of the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Vancouver, British Columbia.

THURSDAY, November 20th, 1969.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Bélisle, Connolly (*Halifax North*), Croll (*Chairman*), Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Hastings, Inman, McGrand and Sparrow. (10)

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were introduced and heard:

THE UNEMPLOYED CITIZEN'S WELFARE IMPROVEMENT COUNCIL:

Mr. Jack Maley

Mr. Alex Bondy

Mrs. Margaret Mitchell

Mr. Ray Bobb

VANCOUVER OPPORTUNITIES COMMITTEE:

Miss Lorri Walker, Chairman

Mrs. Bernie O'Connor

Mrs. Mary Dowhaniuk

Mr. Bill Johnson

The Chairman thanked the witnesses and all those involved in the morning session for their briefs and comments.

Briefs received from the British Columbia Corrections Association, Alice James, Dr. E. D. Huttman of the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia, and Dr. J. P. Huttman of the Economics Department, Simon Fraser University, were presented to the Committee and duly acknowledged by the Chairman.

A brief submitted by the Second Employment Orientation for Women Class is printed as Appendix "A" to these proceedings.

At 12.00 noon the Committee adjourned.

ATTEST:

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

November 20, 1969,

Vancouver, British Columbia.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (Chairman) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I will now call this meeting to order. There have been two briefs presented. One from Mr. Brian Sheridan of the B.C. Correction Association and one from Doctors A. D. Huttman and J. P. Huttman, School of Social Work, university of British Columbia and Economics Department, Simon Fraser University respectively. Both have been circulated and will be acknowledged.

This morning there is a sub-committee appointed by the Committee consisting of Senator Belisle, Senator Hastings, and Senator Sparrow to do a special investigation on poverty and they are away on that and will report later on to the Committee.

The first brief this morning—we have two before we make our tour. The Unemployed Citizens' Welfare Improvement Council and on my right is Mr. Jack Maley who will introduce his delegates.

Mr. Jack Maley: I am Jack Maley of the Unemployed Citizens' Welfare Improvement Council and on my right is Mr. Alex Bondy, Margaret Mitchell and Ray Bobb. All four of us will have something to say to you.

It is a brief presented by the Unemployed Citizens' Welfare Improvement Council. It starts out this way.

Poverty is a crime and the people who are responsible for poverty are criminals. The person who is poor is a victim. A working man can be poor because he is not receiving the full fruits and benefits of his labour. A man can work all his life and never own a home; never be able to give his children the opportunity for higher education, and never be able to participate in, or enjoy, a healthy cultural life.

Meanwhile, there are those who live very well on this gentleman for example, a slum landlord, loan sharks, grasping food monopolies and political hacks who worry more about their personal careers and opportunities than in solving the problems of the nation.

Those who suffer the most are the unemployed and welfare victims. They are denied the opportunity to become producers. Through the non-use of their labour, they lose their power as a customer. In order to live, they are reduced to an animal existence: they must go to the rummage sales for their clothing, and in some cases must reach parity with a dog and eat similar food.

The generally accepted opinion is that the poor are responsible for this. This is not so. Society is at fault, not the individual. The poor have little to say and no power in determining the course of their own lives, let alone the course of Canada's. They are not elected to the Boards of multi-national corporations, or to government; which are the main decision making bodies in Canada.

For example, not one person who is poor is on this Commission to discuss poverty in Canada. Poverty is the result of gross negligence and irresponsibility by those Canadians we have entrusted to look after our country. These people are not fulfilling their responsibilities and they are the criminals.

The major cause of poverty in Canada is the foreign domination of our economy. This effects Canada in two ways: not even the basic needs of our people are being met, although we produce great wealth.

Secondly, the full capacity and talent of Canadians are not being employed but are being suppressed and destroyed. Canadians are forced to sit and watch while their nation is being reduced to the status of an economic colony. The rape of Canadian natural resources is encouraged while the development of secondary industry in Canada is not.

When some Canadians asked for government action to help sell grain, our Prime

Minister, Pierre Elliot Trudeau shrugged his shoulders and said "Why should I sell your wheat?" His Minister of Trade, Pepin, failed as a policy of limiting production by one-third and reducing nine million acres of Canadian farmland to bush which used to grow grain. He told people "I have no shame in admitting that I have no answers." Therefore, we Canadians, have a government that doesn't care to sell wheat and is not ashamed to say so. This will not help the farmers of Canada.

Farms that used to be worth \$200 an acre two years ago, are now selling for \$80 an acre. Fifty per cent of the farm machinery operators in the Prairies will be wiped out in the near future. This is because they can't sell their farm equipment. On machinery dealer said "If a farmer can't sell, I can't sell. It is as simple as that."

One farmhand, 20 years ago, could produce enough to feed 10 people. Now, one farmhand can produce enough to feed 39. This means that two-thirds of the Canadian farmhands no longer have the existence of the farm producing. Laid off farmhands are unsuitable for industrial employment because they rarely have more than a grade nine education.

In British Columbia you must have grade 12 to be an ordinary plumber. This is ridiculous.

In the retail food industry the biggest monopoly control the whole thing. They are throttling the farmers on the one hand and destroying the customers on the other with their high prices. Even among these are people like Safeways and George Weston. George Weston is what you call a vertically integrated unit. He has his own bakeries, his own farms, his own dairies, his own milling companies, his own cooler manufacturing company, cookie factories, chocolate factories, fruit companies, drug stores, food wholesale outlets, real estate companies, management companies, fish packing companies, shell fish packing companies—you name it he owns it. He controls this. How can a farmer sell his produce if George Weston says you cannot find room on my shelves.

Now, this is what is happening in Canada. Canadian farmers are being denied their rights to sell to Canadian customers. Just recently in Vancouver lettuce was given away on the streets because the lettuce farmers of our province were not able to market their produce in the stores where we buy our food. This is sick.

There are other instances of the control of Canadian food industries by foreigners. H. J. Heinz owns 100 per cent of the baby food industry in Canada. That big sugar factory you see down there near the waterfront, that controls sugar all over Western Canada. That's a monopoly. When people like this can control your food to this extent they can also control the prices for which you pay for this food.

Our second example of foreign monopoly control in Canada is the shipping industry. Historically Canadians have always been noted ship builders and seamen. The best clippers were Canadian built and designed.

The famous Cunard Line itself was started by a Canadian, Samuel Cunard. Nova Scotians, known as "Bluenosers" and Newfoundlanders have been noted for their seamanship around the world. The Canadian Government, through the C.N.R. in 1931 started canvas give-away programs.

You have all heard of Aristotle Onassis the husband of Jackie Kennedy, well, Aristotle Onassis bought six Canadian boats owned by the C.N.R. ten thousand ton freighters "for the price of a Rolls Royce each."

This was one per cent of their value. During World War Two Canada built up, and manned the fourth largest merchant navy in the world; and had the most efficient ship building industry. Yet all of a sudden, 24 years later, we have forgotten how to sail, and how to build ships, even though our trade with other nations is increasing fantastically.

In 1950 foreigners bought 65 nearly new Canadian freighters worth three million dollars each for an average price of a quarter of a million dollars. Later 105 other Canadian freighters were also sold. You know, we ever allowed these people who took these 105 freighters off our hands twenty million dollars in credit. We still have not been paid back for many of these boats.

When our Canadian seamen fought to keep their jobs, fought to stay off of welfare and poverty, a gangster was imported from the United States known as Harold Banks.

His task supposedly was to attack the "communists" in the Canadian Seamen's Union. He was supposed to drive such people out of the Canadian Shipping Industry. Instead, he wrecked our Canadian Merchant Navy with the aid of our government. He used terrorist tactics so now the situation is this. Canadian ship yards stand idle and Canada's sea tradition has been criminal

destroyed; while such arcaic and useless traditions such as the Crown and Senate are maintained.

These are only two examples of the rape of Canadian resources. This trend is continuing. What is happening to our fishermen in B.C. Their licences to fish and their fish boats are being taken away. Does this not increase poverty in Canada? Skilled workers such as seamen and farmers are being pauperized into the ranks of the poor. They become classified and reclassified as unskilled workers and usually live a life of misery for the rest of their days.

If this trend continues poverty in Canada cannot help but increase and rapidly.

The Unemployed Citizens' Welfare Improvement Council is not in favour of the Welfare state. None of our people are on welfare through their own wish. Young children are potential workers who grow up; students are workers in training, mothers are workers, rearing the next generation of workers and the ill and injured and handicapped are workers who have to be helped.

The jobless are workers to be retrained if necessary; the elderly are retired workers; and the broken are workers to be rehabilitated and helped. If everyone has a job with meaningful pay there would be no need for welfare.

We are not in favour of the welfare state. All work must be done at living wages. Housewives and women who rear children must be paid wages for rearing those children; unless proper day care centres are provided for them if they wish to seek employment.

The use of day care centres must be free: axes paid by working mothers will more than reimburse the state for any costs incurred in providing good day care centres.

It is not the unemployed worker who can be said to be on welfare: it is the fat drones. The workers of Canada have yet to get the cent of bees. These insects drive unproductive drones out but we support them with the sweetest of honey. The people who can properly be described as living on welfare are the millionaires like our own Herb Capozzi who lets millions for his wirey business for holding out this hand to grab government handouts.

Welfare for the rich takes many forms. To interests in the dairy business who produce a hundred thousand pounds of milk or over each year we gave one hundred and twenty-

one million dollars in subsidies last year but small dairy farmers of Canada do not qualify for subsidies. Therefore, the small dairy farmers of Canada pay taxes which are used to increase the power of their competition. A lot of this competition is foreign owned.

The big feedlot operators in Canada, particularly in B.C., receive \$9.80 a ton subsidy for bringing feed grain to their cattle here. That means cattle raised in B.C. instead of in the Prairies where feed grain is. The big elevators which hold in Canada receive \$30,-000 a day in welfare just storing grain.

We gave \$246 million in welfare subsidies to gold mining companies for finding Canadian gold. We gave International Nickel \$280 million in welfare subsidies for taking out Canadian nickel. The C.P.R. got a hundred and ten million dollars in welfare subsidies last year for running a railway and now they want to cut down passenger service. This is welfare. Welfare for the already rich. Oil companies are exempt one-third of their income as depletion allowance even though it is our national resources that are being depleted. Why not give every tax payer who works for a living a depletion allowance?

Every year that we work we get more and more depleted. Why can't we be given the same consideration as an oil company? Last year fellow Canadians two thousand nine hundred and ninety firms were not even required to make out income tax reports. One of them was the T. Eaton Company. Last year we forgave Ford seventy-five million dollars in taxes they owed to the Canadian people.

In the field of foreign aid, Canada's role is ridiculous. We gave \$5 million to India to buy equipment from the Aluminum Company of Canada which is a subsidiary of the Aluminum Company of the United States. We gave \$100 million to Korea at 3 per cent interest and other countries we give million dollars in loans at no interest at all. Then the farmers of Canada try to escape poverty do we lend them money? Do we lend them money at no interest? How about the students of Canada trying to get a education so that they will not be on the welfare roles. Look at how much they must pay for their education. Why don't they get the same consideration as the people we give foreign aid to?

We loaned Nigeria \$10 million to set up a telecommunication system—I believe the C.P.R. is involved there.

Then we say that we take no sides in the Nigerian-Biafran conflict. What hypocrisy.

Now, Ottawa wants to double our commitments to foreign aid to \$750 million a year in welfare while most of this welfare is received back by Canadian companies that are American owned. Ottawa cuts-back on health services for our Indian and Eskimos living in the North who have one of the lowest standards of living in the world.

When a Canadian loses his job he is reduced to taking a beggar's hand-out of welfare and unemployment insurance. Should he be out of work for a long time, his clothing will wear out, his health will deteriorate from an inadequate diet and dependency will set in due to a lack of meaningful gainful activity.

Meanwhile, our government makes sure that the rich—particularly the foreign rich investors will always have a sunny day. They will always have a sunny day through grand welfare and insurance schemes paid for by low income people.

The Export Credit Insurance Company is a perfect example of a rich man's welfare agency. Private investors in foreign countries are now getting insurance from the Canadian Government. It sounds funny what they are being insured against. Expropriation, revolution, riot, confiscation, war or the inability to bring back their money. We also insure their patents, their licences, and their trade marks from copying.

We provide this institution not only with the right to insure two billion dollars worth of risky foreign investment but also, we provide them with \$800 million outright with which to set up a bank. \$800 million we are going to give them.

Now, they are able to go directly to their new piggy bank to get your money for their schemes: they are now able to borrow \$800 million of your tax money and do not even have to ask your elected representatives for permission to do so. They just go to their new bank.

Looking after this money for us are people as Paul H. Lehman of the Aluminum Company of Canada, Sidney Wheelock of the American and Foreign Power Company, Barry Culham of Dupont, and Paul Bravo of Dunlop Rubber, plus a few junior Canadian civil servants.

Under our Canada Deposit Insurance Corporation, which is another welfare scheme for insuring profiteers in Canada, we have backed 17.1 billion dollars in insurance and trust companies' risky ventures. The effects of

this scheme were painfully shown to the taxpayers of Canada just recently when Commonwealth Trust went bankrupt. A lot of us remember that the Province of B.C. gave three million dollars to Commonwealth.

A lot of us remember also that the Government of Canada gave three and a half million dollars and they are insuring almost 600 shareholders there for up to \$20,000 each. This has cost the tax payers of Canada \$11 million because of this one company going bankrupt under this Canada Deposit Insurance Corporation Welfare scheme.

Yet a poor man goes broke, he is bugged and end: but when a rich man goes bankrupt, he is rewarded by Federal and Provincial Governments. Should there be wide scale riots and confiscations in countries where U.S. firms now use Canadian money, and a great loss of profits occur which will be reflected on the Canadian Stock Markets then the people of Canada will be liable for 20 billion—2 billion dollars in bad debts.

We Canadians could never hope to pay off this kind of a debt. The Canadian economy would be smashed. There would be wide-scale poverty and depression in Canada. This is what our government has led us into. This is very dangerous. These are only two examples of government sponsored welfare schemes for the rich. Other such schemes are the World Bank—Lester Pearson is there—the Asia Development Bank and many, many more.

While the rich receive their welfare lavishly, with ease and grace, the poor must beg for theirs, suffering great indignation and difficulties. While the directors of foreign owned companies reach greedily for the rich man's dollar: the poor face hardened, career minded penny pinchers, who guard the public funds from the people who are poor.

An example of the poor man's welfare agency—we have just dealt with the rich man's welfare agency—is the Unemployment Insurance Commission. There, we have 2 full-time administrators known as the "Pogo Control" who work with computers to save three million dollars from pregnant women. If a woman has a baby while drawing unemployment insurance, she is liable to go to jail.

These technocrats have probably more knowledge of her menstrual cycle than her own doctor.

The Manpower and Immigration agency responsible for solving the unemployment problems in Canada have failed. Its inefficiency as an employment agency is a joke, and

Manpower Retraining Program is a farce. The youth of Canada are not being trained to take real jobs: when real jobs appear which require skilled manpower, these tradesmen are mainly being imported from other countries. Consequently, they end up without jobs and you know the problems there. The Manpower Agency often just prepared dead-end jobs—they give you training and there are no jobs. You are wasting your time. Canada has ridiculous apprenticeship laws. It makes it very hard for the youth of Canada to get training and thus we import these trained people from other countries.

We are not against these people coming to Canada but we want our kids to have the same opportunity they have. The organization of the Manpower Department has become a meal ticket for inefficient administrators. Many of these are going to have to be fired because they are of no use at all.

They are going to have to be fired before any constructive changes can take place in Canada's unemployment problem.

We have Senators, two modest proposals. We support the guaranteed annual income. We propose that a guaranteed income tax—income tax mind you—be levied against those receiving tax free capital gains, oil companies, mining companies, all those bringing in and benefiting from the use of computers: all the big integrated food companies who monopolize and raise the prices of food by freezing out competition. All commercial, industrial and rental properties owned by religious institutions in Canada which now pay no tax.

This tax is not to become an additional tax on the workers of Canada who are already overtaxed. Who are now paying an estimated 32½ per cent of their incomes into tax. Just recently Trudeau raised our taxes by 5 per cent. This new tax is to get the freeloaders in the Canadian tax system. The many companies like the T. Eaton Company who don't even have to declare how much money they make in a year. This tax is to be levied basically against those who are receiving millions in welfare subsidies; taking out our raw materials out of the country at too low a price. Do you know the Canadian nickel is worth seven cents? This is because of the nickel strike.

If our materials even though we are not producing them all of a sudden become worth that much why are they so underpriced when they leave this country? This tax is to be

levied against those who lay off people through improved technology and automation et cetera. All those who enjoy tax free income, capital gains.

We demand a guaranteed annual income which will enable a decent life for every Canadian; which will provide adequate housing, food, clothing, and medical treatment as well as participation in cultural activities. The payments from the above mentioned tax must be a minimum of \$200 a month for every adult, \$60 a month for each additional child.

Housewives must get \$200 a month also. They are workers so this means that a man and his wife would receive a minimum income of \$400 a month and such a sum should be not taxed as earnings. Young people living alone, or without financial help from their parents would also have to be considered as adults under this scheme and receive the \$200 a month.

Those paying into the plan would have to pay enough to make all the necessary benefit payments plus administration costs, plus an additional 25 per cent to be used by those who need the plan for such things as swimming pools, bowling allies, curling rinks, summer camps, ski lodges, riding stables, dance and athletic instruction, musical facilities and instruction, sauna baths, health gyms et cetera, et cetera.

Such programs will be necessary to keep unemployed or partially employed people in perfect muscular and mental shape so that when jobs become available they will be able to take them. If such facilities were available today many thousands of Canadians would never take that fatal step down to skid row, to alcoholism, to drugs, and to suicide.

This extra 25 per cent will have to be given to groups of welfare recipients to use as they see fit, providing that it is used for the aforementioned purposes. These welfare recipients will be responsible for organizing and building such capital works as they require. This will save a great deal of money because we will build them with our own labour.

If such a plan were in use, companies would find that they could keep many benefits of automation once suitable alternatives for employment was found for the unemployed and the welfare recipient. Vast sums of money are now spent needlessly on poorly worked out social welfare programs.

Under this guaranteed annual income plan would not cost the workers of Canada any

extra money because we would tax as we said before, the drones in Canadian Society.

Under our plan, there must be no penalties for being married, as is now the case. Adults must get the same, whether they are married or not married. Trudeau has said that we "Must keep the State out of the bedrooms of the nation." We agree. We must not any longer be persecuted by the dirty-minded, snooping social service detectives, trying to find out who a girl is sleeping with, so that they can reduce her welfare cheque by claiming a "common-law relationship". We do not want any more interference from such perverted sex maniacs posing as pillars of justice and virtue.

The suggested minimum amounts paid out must be tied to the cost of living and adjusted from time to time as the cost of living rises or falls.

If the dollar is devalued, the amounts paid out must increase so that they will be able to purchase the same goods and services as before.

An immediate consequence of this plan is that government and industry will be motivated to provide all Canadians with decent jobs. This is reverse incentive. Highly educated workers, highly paid workers will never have to draw benefits from this plan. Government and industry would be motivated to create conditions in which workers would receive free training up to and including university. Increased employment would result in lesser amounts paid out by the government to the poor.

Pressure would come to bear on business and industry to raise the wages of workers who were employed, it still would have to draw from the guaranteed annual income.

We also have a plan for cooperatives. We need seventy-five million dollars in the lower mainland for cooperatives. As we have already noted, a few huge food companies control the price of food in Canada. They have no competition. Local merchants must buy from their warehouses, local farmers cannot find space on their shelves to sell their products. Local dairymen, fishermen, and fruit sellers are unable to market what they produce locally because of marketing board restrictions. The prices go up.

It won't be long before we have starvation in the city. The extra prices we pay for food are not going into the pockets of farmers but they are going into the pockets of the foreign owned food companies. If competition is not

restored to the market place the mood of the people could turn dangerous.

It is with the hope of lowering food prices and of averting the riots we see coming, if nothing is done, that we present our plan for co-operatives to the Senate.

We, the unemployed and welfare victims, and those working near the poverty line, number about 200,000 in the city. There is no need for farmers around here to go bankrupt or for fishermen to lose their livelihood. If we had cooperatives they could take all they produced. The only way to give competition to the big monopolies and to lower the price of food in Canada is to become involved in cooperatives.

The welfare and unemployed victims have the right to organize, to run such food outlets. We must train our own store staff, we will decide what we want to buy we will purchase at the cheapest source of supply. Where Weston pays 37 cents a pound for B.C. Salmon and sells it for \$1.60 a pound he will pay more to the fisherman to lower the price of salmon. Forty cents for a box of Corn Flakes and two and a half cents of corn in it is ridiculous.

Under this plan we will be turning out efficient butchers, bakers, clerical staff, etcetera with on the job training. We will be saving Canadian farmers and fishermen from ruin and we will be helping the poor buy more for their dollar. All welfare recipients would qualify as members of the Co-Op with no cost. We will need a central processing plant and distribution outlets throughout the lower mainland for instance, at each low rental housing development.

We would need delivery trucks to deliver groceries to those unable to carry them. All would be very democratic, all would have a voice and vote and any money left over could be used to build public housing.

We do not think that our request for \$75 million to build co-operatives in the lower mainland is in anyway presumptuous, taking into consideration that Canada wants to give away \$750 million in foreign aid.

Now, what about us. To help starving children in Canada is a priority. We do not intend to live in tents and eat garbage in this land of plenty.

We of the Unemployed Citizens' Welfare Improvement Council believe in the abolition of the Welfare State. The society based on cooperation, mutual aid and respect rather

than back-stabbing competition giving true equality to everyone in all fields.

We have one more recommendation. We recommend that all future contribution through the Canada Pension Plan be put into public housing and that any benefits paid out of the plan will come from the rent of that public housing.

Also of course all pensioners will be entitled to our guaranteed annual income plan. Now, this one billion dollars from the Canada Pension Plan Fund could in a short time solve the housing problems in Canada. It would also create work for welfare victims. Extra available housing will create the competition in the rental field which has been lacking.

Rents will have to go down in order for landlords to keep their tenants.

Now, in Vancouver recently only \$10.9 million was spent in public housing. This is ridiculous when you consider that we spent \$13 million to recondition an old fort in Nova Scotia called Fort Louisbourg.

I will now pass on to another of my colleagues.

Mrs. Margaret Mitchell: The Chairman was just telling me that our time is a little short, and speaking of time I think we should have had a little more than one and one half hours devoted to the problems of the poor. That is from a poor person's viewpoint.

Speaking about the building, I am very glad to be here because the last time I was here I was refused a grocery order. I hope I make out a little better this time.

This is a brief on women and children.

In discussing poverty, it is necessary to be able to come to agreement with our social aims prevalent in this country. Fabulous sums are spent on social and welfare agencies such as Red Feather, yet less than 2 per cent of these monies ever reach the victims of poverty. Obviously such agencies are geared to promoting poverty and actually take advantage of the fact that welfare is the one business that never lacks for "customers". A look at the problem through the eyes of the victims would appear to be in order.

Your committee, the Senate Committee on Poverty, is meeting in comfortable surroundings. After your business is concluded you will return to your environment with little or no worry as to when or how to survive, satisfied that your duty has been done. The poor of this nation will be just as poor and the bulk of the monies raised for welfare will still

not reach the people. As I write this, there sits a note from the school nurse asking me to phone her regarding my son's needs (gym strip). The welfare does not supply this. I cannot stretch dollars that don't exist.

My welfare cheque is gone by the second week of the month. Two weeks remain—the days between are maddening. Who in this country profits from seeing people endure such anguish?

It is no accident that insanity and prostitution plague the women of lower income groups. Welfare not only degrades, it destroys whatever decency or incentive we may have. I defy anyone to make respectable this form of living.

The shortcomings in the present welfare system lead me to suggest:

(1) A guaranteed income, geared to the immediate living costs and able to meet changes in the economy and

(2) Lacking the first measure, that the present standard include:

(a) clothing allowances.

(b) as many grocery orders as are needed to feed the welfare person's potential to learn and develop, and not according to the political, religious prejudices of Manpower or welfare departments, or outdated notions of job needs.

Further,

(1) Quit forcing me to budget for poverty. Damn poverty! It represents every impairment and obstacle to decent living that we face. It is the nightmare of my child, the horror in our future. Nothing decent ever came out of this way of life and foundations of madness permeate every dollar.

(2) Prevention of the detention of youth. The thousands, perhaps millions spent in arresting, detaining, sentencing and imprisoning youth could be spent in meeting real social needs and preventing delinquency, whatever that is.

(3) Low-rental housing. The Committee on Poverty should look into the abuse of leasing on the part of the landlords.

(4) Higher learning. Our children are discouraged at an early age—yet we possess all the talents and abilities of any other sector of society.

(5) Family allowances should be doubled. Welfare administration must realize that we desire to keep our families together as much as the rich.

(6) Public services such as the Family Court must be made to function for the benefit of welfare families not for the destruction of family life through separation of child from parent et cetera.

(7) Health services. We are deprived of certain medicines because they are considered too expensive for us. We who must struggle daily because of our place at the bottom of the economy demand the best in the way of medical treatment.

(8) Native citizens live in the poorer sections of the city, bounded on all sides by your "no no's". Why should they have to pay for social problems they had no part in creating?

(9) Recreation. For my children, the best. Most mothers feel like this. Most of us get the worst. In one month last year we helped pay \$29,000.00 for light bulbs in a civic theatre. I cry—I cannot afford to give my child 40 cents to go skating. Public monies have built wondrous but empty buildings. We must stop the constant drain on the pocket book so that our children can attend some of these functions.

Our desire is to live decently, without constant worry. I wish to speak on each of these points and close by reminding you of the plight of another segment of our country—the aged. Witness the bullying of the elderly whenever he or she attempts to get some improvement in the situation.

You meet one month away from Christmas. This year, see that the families at least get a hamper. Increase welfare payments. If this is too much for you to allow, what are you meeting for? Another contribution to research we do not need. We want changes in our lives not tomorrow, but now!

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Alex Bondy: I just want to speak very briefly on a couple of things. Judging by last night's paper where there was an interview or statement by Senator Croll—and I suppose he speaks for the rest of his colleagues—it's very, very clear that they know what the situation is. It's really not necessary to go into greater detail as to what is going on with poor people.

They know as much as we do but only on the theoretical plane. Only the statistical level. It is not a genuine feeling with them which is understandable.

Now, I also trust that they have copies of our brief, that they have read it and that they have listened to our brothers and sisters

because our situation is so bad that we cannot afford to repeat ourselves.

We say things once—sometimes twice, but no more. We will go onto the next thing because there just isn't time to go into lengthy explanations and re-explanations and explanations of the re-explanations.

The situation is that there seems to be a cautious plan to phase people out of existence as soon as possible. Now, the thing is that people are just not getting wise to this thing. Welfare today amounts to a highly sophisticated form of the gas chamber. People die prematurely and people end up in mental hospitals because of it and their minds are completely blown up by eccentricity.

From the Floor: And if you spit you end up in skid row too.

Mr. Bondy: They end up in skid row, that's right—where you have one person a week dying of malnutrition. Now the whole thing seems to amount to this that industry do not care about people because they cannot provide jobs for people today. All these people who are not needed, become an eye sore, become an embarrassment, and everything else so there has to be some way of getting rid of them.

They are found inefficient from their point of view but from our point of view they are being propositioned. We have to organize and fight back.

Now, when we met Senator Croll this morning when we came in I did not take it personally but I refused to shake his hand and I will tell you why. Because a handshake is a gesture and a handshake to me is a gesture of equality and a handshake is a gesture of friendliness and a handshake means something.

Now, in our position even if the bureaucracy is bending it is not going to solve our problems obviously. Not for one minute did we believe that having a cordial meeting here our problems would be solved. These are barely interested between relationships between forces. Power relationships which exist in this society.

Now, to have a cordial atmosphere would be hypocritical. It would be hypocrisy. I make \$900 a year on welfare and I get \$75 a month. We have been told that the Senators make \$12,000 a year with a \$3,000 tax exemption so that is for \$15,000. I am sure that in a number of cases they have other sources of

income as well. The Senators use their prestige position having a job. Myself, having been laid off last February, living on \$75 a month I am at the bottom.

This is not a relationship between equals. Therefore a gesture would be hypocritical—this is all we get is gestures. Gestures and more gestures. We very much hope that this Senate Commission has some power because we have listened to Senators, we have listened to John Munroe. Yesterday we listened to the Canada Welfare Council presentation and we agree.

We have a lot of things that we agree on. But there has to be power to back up those proposals, those recommendations and resolutions which are to wipe out poverty, which are to wipe out injustice and which are to wipe out inequality for everyone in this country.

John Munroe told us he was powerless and those were his very words. The Canada Welfare Council told us that all they could do was make recommendations. They are powerless. I don't know what the Senators are going to tell us but I imagine the same thing.

So we say that the only thing that we can do is to organize among ourselves so we will have something called "The power people". The power people uniting together as a single force to fight the battle.

Now, in yesterday morning's paper there was an article about violence and this is the last point I want to make. The article said that Vancouver is going to be probably the first Watts of Canada. I don't know how much damage was done in Watts but there were riots, there was a rebellion of the black people. The first major one of the city.

Now, it seems to us that talk like that, talk by people who are well off, people who are very comfortable, come from comfortable homes and for them to start glibly forecasting violence, anarchy, and so on does no good. It shows us that they don't know what is going on and it gives the police all kinds of signals to start arming themselves. The police departments in this country are becoming more and more vicious—several months ago there was a police captain from Seattle telling the police here how they did things down there. How much they were investing in armoured vehicles, in tanks, in helicopters with 50 millimeter machine guns, in tear gas and all kinds of toxic chemicals. These were to be used against the people.

And the police here were saying "Yes, we must increase our budget so we can buy those things."

Now, the reason I say that the person who made that comment that doesn't know what is going on is that violence is not going to come five years from now it is going to come today. Violence is here today and violence has been here ever since there have been poor people around here.

Ever since there have been oppressed people around here. It goes from the top to the bottom and it just goes the one way. When a man can't eat enough his very existence is being threatened. When a mother has to work for her children and is being driven out of her mind because her children are crying for the price of admission to a movie and she doesn't have it, when a person gets unemployed and is being shoved down to skid row because in this case they are given meal tickets and meal tickets can only be used in only three cafes all of which in the bathrooms there is oh, I don't know, half an inch of urine and vomit regularly and there is prostitution and drug addicts and everything else down there and these people are forced to associate with these kind. This is wild.

Now, there is also examples of individual violence. Guys grabbing a social worker and punching her out or him or kicking in a plate glass window—that is nothing. The thing is you tell people not to get violent because we as an organization cannot protect them. It is no use being sent away for five years or whatever.

We say that we have to organize into self-help projects. We have started various self-help projects sort of a bootstrap operation but all of these things cost money. That is why we invite the Senators to a fund-raising banquet but they turned it down. These self-help projects cost money. We feel that by refusing the invitation there was judgment being passed on the self-help program that we have undertaken which we doubt which the Senators have much knowledge of. That is an unfair judgment.

It is the desperation that people feel and the amount of hope that their organizations are able to give them right now is the great difference between us people. The people have very high aspirations, they have very big frustrations and the organization which is at a beginning stage can only give them so much.

"When the organization gets bigger perhaps that is where power will eventually have to lie and not with the so-called elected representatives, not with the political appointees because they are obviously not willing to exercise what sort of power they have in the interest of the people.

Right now, all of the power that the politically elected officials and the political appointed officials exercise seem to come down in favour of the vested interest and police departments. The differences between the vested interests and the interest of people—there is no way that you can bring the two together in harmony. They are diametrically opposed.

The solutions that the Senate comes down with had better be good ones and they better come down fast because if they are no good we will say so.

Mr. Ray Bobb: My name is Ray Bobb and I would just like to read out the number of case histories welfare victims that we have compiled. This part of the brief starts on page 20. These case histories are documented but without names. These are drawn from our own experiences as victims of poverty.

Case history No. 1. A 16 year old child was beaten by her father and subjected to abusive language. Having done this, the father then stole his daughter's money. After this was related to the case worker, she (the case worker) said to the girl, "But your father is so good looking."

Case history No. 2. Upon placing a foster child in a home, the case worker came to interview Mrs. X, the wouldbe foster parent. The only question the case worker asked of Mrs. X was, "Is it true that you are part Indian, or are you all French?" End of interview.

Case history No. 3. Mrs. N. and son are on welfare. They receive \$125 per month and pay \$80 per month on rent, leaving \$45 to feed and clothe themselves. Towards the end of the month Mrs. N. and her son have been so desperate for food that they had eaten dog food and mayonnaise sandwiches.

Case history No. 4. Mrs. Y and her son left home after both had been brutalized by the husband. Mrs. Y applied for welfare and was made to wait four months until finally her landlord evicted them for non-payment of rent.

Case history No. 5. A child was placed by his father in a friend's home for a week. The

father was not heard from again. After one month the friend asked the welfare agency to investigate. After six months of delay, the agency charged the father with abandoning a child (the father was not informed of the charge). It was not until two months after this that the foster parent finally received social assistance.

Case history No. 6. A young woman of 17 years of age became pregnant. Her parents held her in disgrace, refused to allow her to marry and set about isolating her from the father of the child, confining her to the house. The mother treated the daughter very abusively, flying into fits of rage and jeopardizing the health of the daughter and the unborn child. The daughter went to the welfare department. The agent assured her that there was sufficient evidence to bring a case against her mother.

However, when the mother insisted on legal proceedings, welfare backed down and dropped the charges. The only explanation the case worker gave the daughter was "There is nothing we can do."

Case history No. 7. Foster children with no prospective homes are sent to correctional institutions such as Willingdon School for Girls where they are brutalized by means of solitary confinement. Instances are known in which girls have been placed naked, without blankets, towels or toilet paper in a cell six feet by nine feet by 12 feet.

Case history No. 8. A foster parent was caring for four foster children. Each child in turn complained of brutality and negligence. They reported being whipped with a belt, beaten with a board and confined to their bedrooms for long periods of time without food. The case worker told the children "We have no place to send you except Willingdon and Branning Lake." All of the children elected to stay.

Case history No. 9. Welfare is so inadequate that its recipients are often forced to live in slum housing, dress in clothes which are not in keeping with society's standards, and make do with an inadequate, unhealthy diet. Rat mice, and fleas infect the home shared by Mrs. X, mother of two, and Miss Y. They are sharing because this is all they can afford.

Case history No. 10. A nurse working in maternity has come up against many unwelcome mothers who have been told by case workers that their babies must be surrendered for adoption. This statement has caused acute depression in the mothers and, the nur-

feels, has extended and complicated the labour and birth traumas.

Case history No. 11. When applying for welfare, one young girl was subjected to sarcasm and rudeness. The case worker said "A young girl like you shouldn't be on welfare. Why haven't you got a boyfriend?"

Case history No. 12. Mrs. K has been on welfare for 10 years. Previously she had been able to do light housekeeping work, however, the money from social assistance doesn't allow a woman the luxury of having her child cared for while she is employed. Nor is the money sufficient to feed both her and her daughter. The maternal instinct prevailing, Mrs. K sacrificed her personal health in order that her daughter may get a basic nutritional diet. This sacrifice was not without cost. Slowly, Mrs. K's health deteriorated to the point where she suffered damage to her back and central nervous system. These will never again function to the degree necessary for Mrs. K to work at her profession. She is medically unfit for employment. Why? Was she incapacitated in an accident? No! She was slowly starved to wretchedness while her nation of birth has millions of bushels of wheat doing nothing but rotting.

Her physical appearance is similar to a Biafran refugee. In 10 years she has aged 30.

What is the reaction of her social worker? Sympathetic? One would suspect. But this social worker is part of the worst moment of Mrs. K's life, that is, the monthly ordeal she is subjected to: being reduced to a beggar pleading for a few grains to keep her alive until the next cheque.

The very person who is supposed to care and aid Mrs. K is nothing more than a paid watch dog, guarding the great public funds from any grandiose schemes Mrs. K may have.

Coming from a better than average income home, Mrs. K's social worker real knowledge of her victims (clients) life is nil. Her education is based on university text which are quite often incorrect, divorced from reality, and can never explain the psychological, emotional and mental anguish of being on social assistance.

Only living in poverty can do this. Not withstanding Mrs. K's life; judging her client with values of a more affluent class, this social worker becomes hardened, seeing her clients no longer as humans, but as numbers. A crying mob, from whom she must protect the public treasury.

For example, Mrs. K needs a bed and mattress. She received an allotment after five weeks of waiting because her file had been lost. It was for \$15. While her social worker gets beauty rest on a clean warm bed, Mrs. K's starvation army cot is not only urine soaked but also damp and musty. The social worker is amazed at Mrs. K's ingratitude.

These and many other indignities are Mrs. K's punishment for the crime of being born in poverty. Her sentence is life: perhaps death more insidious than the gasping of inmates at Dachau, for her is a prolonged mental torment: at least in Dachau the elimination of humans in the concentration camps was done quickly.

Now, I would like to refer to something mentioned in the brief on page 7. Jack mentioned what he called welfare for the rich. He referred to the Export Credit Insurance Company which is a corporation formed by the Canadian Government and its duty is to insure foreign interests in other countries.

Now, I have clippings here from the *Vancouver Sun* and *Province* dating back several months. This corporation—well, one example of the use for which this money is put—you have all heard about the Canadian DeHaviland and Caribou Aircraft which at this time are being used in Viet Nam. A few months ago \$60 million worth of these aircraft were sold to the Brazilian Military. We have heard over the past month that in Brazil the Indian Protection Service which is the equivalent of our Indian Affairs branch has come under the eye of legal authorities and 334 out of 700 officials are now facing charges of corruption and bribery and the elimination of thousands of Brazilian Indians over the period of 20 years.

It is interesting also to note that the DeHaviland Caribou aircrafts are equipped to drop bombs, and it looks at this time that these aircraft are going to be used. I think that this rich man's welfare and the uses to which it is being put and the facts should be brought in front of the Committee so that they will be able to better make an assessment of the causes of poverty.

That is all I have to say.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. You have presented your views and you can rest assured that they will be made part of the record and will come to the attention of the other members of the Committee who are not here.

I just want you to know that we undertake this task because we thought we could help. We think we can and we think we will but this is the fourth province we have visited and we have six other provinces to visit in Canada in our fact finding. It will take a little while but we will try and find some answers.

Thank you very much.

The committee adjourned.

On resuming at 11 a.m.

The Chairman: Our next submission is by the Vancouver Opportunities Committee. Miss Lorri Walker, the Chairman, will introduce the members of her group.

Miss Lorri Walker, Chairman, Vancouver Opportunities Committee: Thank you very much, Senator Croll. I am accompanied by Mrs. Bernie O'Connor, Mrs. Mary Dowhaniuk, and Mr. Bill Johnson.

I would like to give you a little bit of background of our group. The first step in any rehabilitation program is, first of all, to recognize the needs of the individual and then to set about the sometimes long and often difficult task of shaping one's life into something constructive and meaningful.

The role of a single parent is often a difficult one, and add to this the fact you are on social assistance and you find the environment is not really very healthy.

When we have to cope with problems such as living in public housing, we decided finally we would have to something about this so we found ourselves a committee called MOM's, which means More Opportunities for Mothers, and this is exactly what it is. Our purpose was to take a look at ourselves and see where we are going. We found living on welfare you cannot stay rigid. We have to improve communications between the social systems, Manpower, and the other agencies that were around.

We had to find out what the obstacles were going to be and where we were going to go within such a system. The solution may be found in more education. We took a good look first of all at our capabilities, our past experience, and our education, and I think one of the more important things is how were we going to get confidence to do these things?

In the spring of 1966 we had a very large meeting and we got through many problems. One of them would be the coverage of home-making services and child care, and how we

could encourage day care in public housing, which is where the majority of these women seem to be living.

It is a fact that rents in public housing were increased when one went out to work even if it was only a part-time job, and that also discouraged women from getting off welfare.

At this meeting a business course was established for 15 women in the Skeena Terrace housing project under the direction of Mr. Tom Alsbury. This course was basically typing and a course of bookkeeping was later added to it with the hope these women could go on to complete Grade 12.

In 1968 the Opportunities Committee was formed and a project Canada Manpower in Vancouver, the social services, and the Vancouver School Board, and for the first time, as far as I know, an Employment Orientation Program was formed.

We decided we would like to start a course which we called Employment Potential. It was under the guidance of Mrs. Betsy McDonald, who was quite a wonderful person to deal with in human relations.

There were 15 women selected and the course was for three months. The object was really to prepare ourselves for the future and the prospect of re-training and education with the hope of some sort of employment at the end. It was going to be divided into two sections. The second section at the present time is going very well. I think perhaps all of the women that were in the first course are now in some form of education. We have two or three others at college taking a welfare aid course. There are two or three of us at present at private business schools, so we really feel it was very successful. We were beginning to start to get ahead and get somewhere.

I do not think people really realize what it means to stay around and feel "What am I doing"? "This is my life. What can I do about my life? I cannot come back to this life again. I have got to do something with it." So we gave ourselves a little kick in the pants. "Let us get going."

So you pull up your bootstraps and get a lot of encouragement from your family and friends and workers and they say, "Look, you have looked at yourself; this is your potential. Let us do something about it." And you do, and you find by going out you can do it. It is going to be tough, but I know nothing will stop me because I will not go back to the

social system, so I am going ahead, and here we are. We are going ahead.

Going a little bit further into the occupation, I am really in the Opportunities end of it. I would like to ask Mrs. O'Connor, who, as I said, is my right hand gal, and she has just been tremendous and ran our office so well, and it is still going and is going to keep on going because we want to help so many women. We know you are there and we want you to find your way.

I think perhaps with the help of this Committee we can.

Mrs. O'Connor: My name is Bernie O'Connor, and I have been on welfare for the last six years.

May I just briefly read from my section of the brief about our Opportunities; what we are doing for ourselves and for the rest of the people on welfare if they want help. And then I am going to give a little bit of detail about individual people without names.

The first step in any rehabilitation program is, first of all, to recognize the needs of the individual and then to set about the sometimes long and often difficult task of shaping one's life into something constructive and meaningful. The role of a single parent is often a difficult one, and add to this the fact you are on social assistance and you find the environment is not really very healthy.

When we have to cope with problems such as living in public housing, we decided finally we would have to do something about this, so we formed ourselves a committee called MOM's and we got ourselves a group together and we called ourselves MOM's, which means More Opportunities for Mothers, which is exactly what it is, to improve communications between Social Welfare, Manpower, and other service agencies; to determine what obstacles we overcome when seeking retraining or employment; assessing one's capabilities, past experience, education, and perhaps the most important item, gaining confidence; is it economically reasonable for a mother with a growing family to return to the employment field?

With these problems facing us a meeting was held in the spring of 1966, and many items were brought forth, including coverage of home-making or child-care services, and the encouragement of day care in public housing; increase of rent in public housing when a person obtains even part-time employment, therefore discouraging women to get off welfare.

From this meeting a business course was established for 15 women in Skeena Terrace housing project, under the instruction of Mr. Tom Alsbury. This included typing and a bookkeeping course was later introduced; the end result, hopefully, to be completion of Grade 12 for some of the women.

In the fall of 1968 the Opportunities Committee approached Canada Manpower, social services, and the Vancouver School Board, and through this combination the Employment Orientation Program was formed, a first for Canada. Under the guidance of Mrs. Betsy McDonald, 15 women spent three months preparing themselves for some type of re-training or employment, either full or part-time. It covered not only the aspects of future employment but the management of one's home, grooming, basic English and math brush-up, plus self-awareness.

A third course held at the Red Door, which is a drop-in centre in the Little Mountain area, was organized for one day a week, and is to promote an awareness of the community and the resources available.

These three groups have taken a giant step forward to self-improvement and the realization that for women on low incomes or on social assistance there is a place for them, as useful progressive individuals.

Mrs. Laurie Walker has told you how the Opportunities Committee realized that many women on social welfare or in any area of the lower incomes are not necessarily in this income bracket due to ineptitude or lack of ability if given some encouragement. The next step was to make other people aware of the need for this encouragement, hence the incentive allowance.

Webster's dictionary defines incentive as "motive, spur, stimulus, encouragement."

Possibly only someone who has been in a low-income level for a long time with their whole life occupied in eking out an existence can fully comprehend how you can lose your self-confidence and faith to such a degree that you finally believe that you are nothing but a drag on your community!

This is why the establishment of this incentive allowance is of such vital importance. Suddenly you find out that not only does someone feel that you have some potential or ability but to encourage you they are offering you an honorarium.

Can you conceive what a life-line this can be?

I became involved in July when I was asked to attend a meeting of the Opportunities Committee. I was excited by the idea and was asked to go to Cedar Cottage Neighbourhood House one day a week during the month of August to help write some letters and publicity for the re-orientation course, which you will be hearing about shortly.

Before the first day I was so scared and nervous I could not sleep and yet someone else believed in me.

On September 8th, 1969, six women on welfare opened the Opportunities office on a five-day-a-week basis—each person staffs the office one day a week and I co-ordinate the whole. The purpose of the office is to act as an information centre to advertise the availability of opportunities to women on welfare and to make sure the workers of the community in all agencies are fully aware of the opportunities also.

The opportunities to which I refer are often not known to the very people to whom these opportunities are available.

Many people do not know that under the Canada Assistance Plan, Manpower and the Welfare Department it is possible for women to receive educational upgrading, occupational training, or re-training, or as in the case of the incentive allowance; on-the-job training is also available.

At the present time, approximately four months after the opening of our office, we have women in most areas of the city on this allowance and have had inquiries from Richmond, Burnaby, North Vancouver, and details of what we are doing have travelled north to Prince George and east to Edmonton, Alberta, and I got a letter this week from Winnipeg to tell them what we are doing. They would like to do the same type of thing back there. We have women working in office situations to brush up their office skills.

By staffing our office, information centres in various areas of the city, taking applications for low-rental housing for senior citizens, we have recreation assistants helping the YWCA with take-a-break programs for mothers, and others assisting Parks Board personnel with teen drop-in program.

These are all volunteer types of situations but they are getting some small incentive, monetary incentive, to encourage them to try, and this is helping.

All right, we are on welfare, so what? You have still got something to contribute to your

community. So few people seem to realize we are not all dead-beats or something like this, you know.

There is one lady organizing a pre-school for the children in her neighbourhood, and another trying to get a latch-key operation started. If anyone is not familiar with the latch-key situation, it is women going into school from three until about six in the evening to provide—not baby-sitting—supervision for children, say from the ages of eight to fourteen, who are too old for baby-sitters but who can get into a lot of trouble if their mothers are working.

Therefore, they have organized supervision in the school where the children are already, so there is no fear of them not turning up for supervision. So we are trying to get this organized now.

We also are in the process of setting up ladies to help in some of the health services, e.g., as the volunteers who help in baby clinics, and possibly in helping with a library for senior citizens who may be bedridden and cannot get to a bookmobile.

However, these last two are still being negotiated. We also have women getting involved with private agencies; e.g., Salvation Army, Inner-City Project, Housing Planning Association. They want some women to work with them. I cannot think of any more right now.

Incentive allowances are primarily to get people to have faith in their own worth, to get them involved in the community and hopefully to start them on the road to rehabilitation. This is surely a considerable return for such a small sum of money!

At the present time we have approximately sixty people on the next step up the ladder. Canada Manpower have a re-orientation course for 15 women to help them to know themselves and their potential and to prepare them to go into upgrading or training for employment.

The other fifteen are in different stages of upgrading and re-training, having passed the reorientation course in the spring of this year. Some are at college, two are in welfare a course, and two are at a private secretarial school.

Speaking as a welfare recipient, I am absolutely thrilled with the opportunities being offered but they are not enough because the welfare departments are considering extending the incentive allowances to include mothers and teenagers, but what about the people who

are low-income but not on welfare; surely they have a right to a helping hand. Without financial aid, we cannot do it.

When women get re-training they often do not earn enough to support a family because they may have baby-sitting or a homemaker to pay and get no tax exemption for this expense.

For some reason if a man is left on his own with children it is taken for granted he needs a full-time housekeeper. He is allowed a tax exemption on this, but women who do two full-time jobs, look after a house, and go out to work to support her family to not even get a tax exemption for doing so.

The Chairman: I do not like to interrupt you, Mrs. O'Connor, but that was brought to our attention in the very early stages by Senator Fergusson. We sent it down to the Income Tax Department and it has been changed. They are now going to be given an exemption.

Mrs. O'Connor: Hooray.

The Chairman: You have made your point.

Mrs. O'Connor: Women's wages are usually considerably lower than a man's, which makes it very difficult again.

They get no assistance in raising the single-parent family so she ends up in many instances undermining her health because due to her low pay she may be unable to afford to miss a day if she is ill, and she will probably spend her annual vacation overhauling the house, doing a big clean-up, painting, et cetera, instead of resting up for the coming year's work.

In summary we are delighted with this opportunity to help ourselves, we are surprised and delighted with what we are achieving and I think I speak for everyone involved in any facet of this program when I say our greatest wish is to see funds made available to enable each and every person now living with the poverty cycle to at least have the chance to get out and take their rightful place in society.

Now, as I said, I am going to try and give you some idea of what it really means to be on something like this and to get this opportunity. I have four children; I am not in a position where I can go out and support them because three of them are handicapped. Therefore, they need special medical needs. I would need at least \$600 a month clear if I could ever

support them. Obviously without professional status I cannot do this.

Consequently, to me, the Opportunities Program is the best thing that ever happened to me because I have a good education, and in speaking to different groups, including this one, I can make the feelings of the people on welfare known. I can make people realize that we are not on welfare through choice, or at least I think it's a very, very small percentage.

Just because we are on welfare we are still equal citizens with the rest of you in Canada when we are doing a full-time job, and a good job, looking after our children. You would be paying more to the Children's Aid Society if you had to pay for foster homes for our children than you are giving us to support our own children.

In other words, our children are monetarily being penalized because they have good parents, but at the same time I have an education. I feel I have something to contribute to my community. I cannot go out and earn a living but at least I can use my brains and thoughts and my time in trying to give opportunities to other people, who are in a position that they can look after their families. This is what I am doing.

I am finding it extremely interesting. If I had been told in July when I went to Opportunities that I was going to be public speaking, I would have said, "Forget it." I would never in a million years have done that, but I believe in what I am doing and sometimes talents are where you least expect them to be.

I do not know if there will be any questions.

The Chairman: No. We will wait until you are finished first. We will have questions after.

Mrs. Dowhaniuk: I am one of the members of the Employment Orientation course for women. I am appearing here on behalf of the girls in the second course. I would like to tell you what the orientation course is.

It is a 13-week course made possible by the co-operative efforts of Canada Manpower, the Department of Social Assistance and the Vancouver Vocational Institute.

It is a course to rehabilitate women who are welfare recipients and sincere in their efforts to become self-supporting. We attend class from eight-thirty to four o'clock, five days a week.

The math, English, and spelling, which are part of the curriculum, have re-established forgotten skills and have given us new hope and faith for a better living. Books are provided for the educational subjects in which we work at our own speed.

Home management, good grooming, speech control, preparation of talks, discussion, self-evaluation, exercise, personal development, and communication are included in the course. Through the human relations training we have become less discontented and have a better in-sight and understanding of ourselves and others. The course is very beneficial in helping us become aware of our capabilities, in developing our self-confidence and in forming a better self-image.

We believe that the first concern of the Department of Social Welfare should be the needs of the people. Emotional as well as physical wants should be taken into account. To ensure these needs being met we feel the staff should be increased as well as upgraded. We also feel there should be more co-ordination between departments to prevent inefficient and inept operations. Welfare recipients should be told what services are available at the time of application for assistance. We suggest that booklets now available in Victoria be presented at the time of application. These booklet should be explained and discussed thoroughly, either in groups or individually, when deemed necessary by either worker or recipient. Recipients must be made aware of benefits now available to them.

We believe vouchers are humiliating and degrading and as a result inadequate. We suggest that vouchers be replaced with cheques of limited amounts. This might necessitate bonding of each worker in order that they be allowed to issue cheques without delay.

Finally, and most importantly, where the income from employment is not sufficient to promote adequate living conditions, we urge that it be supplemented by public funds. This would reduce the total outlay of funds by the Social Assistance Department. It would also enable the recipient to achieve an immeasurable amount of freedom and independence.

As an illustration of this gross wastefulness, a member of the employment orientation women's course was recently offered a position with a large firm. This job had a pay scale starting at \$304 per month. Now, she is the sole supporter of five people in the family and her take-home pay would not have been

adequate. If there had been a subsidy available for this girl, she would have been able to take that job. The total outlay from the Social Assistance would have been much less than the present outlay at this time. As it stands now she is frantically trying to find some means whereby she can accept this job. Again, had she accepted the job and been subsidized, the Social Assistance Department would be paying only half of their present outlay on this family.

It is beyond our comprehension to understand why the government insists on this waste of public funds as well as insisting that welfare recipients stay in their rut.

We offer these suggestions and recommendations in the hope that someone is listening.

Low-income families are often shunned by society when they become dependent on welfare. Conditions on low income are ridiculous: slow starvation, constant worry, and trying to cope with everyday needs—a pattern that never seems to end. The small enjoyments of life which should be any human being's right are denied to those below the poverty line.

Education required in the world of today's employment field cannot easily be had for those on low income. "Eat a good diet," say our public health nurses when our children become ill, but there is not enough money for the necessary salads, meat, and two green vegetables every day; not to mention fruit and fresh milk.

Poverty also causes sickness. So often we become run down. If you do not have a medical card it is necessary to go to the out-patients' department at Vancouver General Hospital where you could wait from eight in the morning until five in the afternoon in order to get attention.

All one really has to do is to meet a few welfare recipients to discuss the status of low-income. Whether they live on a project or not it all amounts to the same feeling: "Discouragement."

The scarcity of housing is appalling. Many people are forced to live in hovels because they cannot find suitable accommodations for their family or cannot afford the outrageous rent charged. A parent should not have to sleep in the same room as a teenage child, yet many cannot afford accommodations large enough to do otherwise. Is it not possible for low-income families to be integrated into middle-class areas in the city?

More recreational facilities must be made available for the use of large numbers of children from low-income families.

Housing units should be made available for purchasing if tenants prefer to do this. A working man can usually gross enough salary to pay his rent and still have two-thirds of his income left to live on. Welfare recipients not living in housing projects are paying more than one-half of their incomes towards rent. What a dismal existence when one cannot live properly.

Charity is a wonderful thing. People deserving of charity appreciate help given to them, particularly if it helps the children.

Christmas is a time for children to be happy and feel loved because to a child Christmas is a sparkling day for enjoyment of the new toy and a special dinner.

Low-income families are saddened by an approaching Christmas when they know little Billy or Nancy have spoken and dreamed of something just their own that will be brought by Santa on Christmas Day and this will not appear because they are too poor.

Pride is something everyone has whether rich or poor and charity should be given with this thought uppermost in the minds of the donors.

To offer Christmas gifts to low-income families is a kind gesture but not if the families must be told to congregate at a particular building at a certain time and herded past tables marked with certain age groups of children with only one toy allotted for each child and a paper presented by the family showing they have taken the exact type of toy allotted for the child and what his age is.

We offer these suggestions and recommendations in the hope someone is listening. Are you?

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I have not got a microphone, but I hope they will all hear me. I would like to say to the witness I think this is one of the most interesting and certainly the most encouraging presentations that I have heard since this Committee began.

There are many things I would like to ask but I do not want to ask too many questions because I am privileged. I hope to be able to visit the offices that these young women are running this afternoon and I am certainly looking forward to it. I expect to learn more of what they are doing.

One of the things I would like to ask is on page 2 you refer to the fact that after the first meeting in Vancouver in the spring of 1966 a business course was established for 15 women in the Skeena Terrace housing project under the instruction of Mr. Tom Alsbury.

I do speak to women's groups in quite a lot of places throughout Canada and I certainly am going to tell them about what you are doing which I think is a pioneer project. I know they will be very much interested and I expect they will want to ask many questions.

For that reason I would like to know how do you finance that very first project group when you had Mr. Alsbury give you instructions? What did you do for money right then because you cannot start anything without some money?

Mrs. O'Connor: My understanding is that it was done with the Vancouver School Board and financed by Manpower with welfare interested in it.

This group incidentally have done typing through this night-school course and they are now in their second year of bookkeeping so they have been going on one course a year progressively, so hopefully soon they will all be ready to go out and join the work force.

Two of the girls, incidentally, are supplementing their income by keeping up typing practice in our office.

Senator Fergusson: I did notice when you were referring to the Opportunities incentive allowance that is available for persons on social assistance you do recognize volunteer work?

I am sorry; I do not know if I know exactly how much money is allowed.

Mrs. O'Connor: They allow us \$50 a month for a minimum of 30 hours of volunteer work. This is because if you have been on welfare for a certain length of time, everybody keeps telling you you are a third-class citizen; that you don't deserve credit; that you don't deserve this and that because you are on welfare. You begin to believe them if you are on it for long enough, so this is the idea; that we are allowed to make \$50 additional if we can find a partime job where you can earn \$50.

If you earn more than that then they start shipping your welfare cheques down and so you are working and you have to go back to the welfare department, which also means a tie-up in your monthly cheque.

Many of us—I mean, I have not the qualifications to go out and get a part-time job, but I think I have ideas and can put them across, so they involve me in my community doing this as a volunteer type of work to encourage me.

I have to justify it to my children that their mother is out, not spending too much time with them, that they give me \$50 a month extra which helps towards buying clothes, and this type of thing, and so I can put up a good appearance when I go out.

Does that answer your question?

Senator Fergusson: Yes. Thank you very much. I understood from what you said that the amount that you earn does not affect the rent in public housing.

Mrs. O'Connor: No. The incentive allowance and the training allowance is being given to encourage you to enter volunteer work. If you are in training you get some training allowance, also something towards your clothing and incidental expenses. This is not classified as income. At first it was but we fought it and it was changed.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you. I will let somebody else ask questions, but I am looking forward to being with you.

The Chairman: Tell me, what sort of clerical job could you not fill?

Mrs. O'Connor: Me?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. O'Connor: Well, to start with, I cannot use a typewriter.

The Chairman: I said a "clerical job." For instance, in the supermarket, could you not handle a job as well as most people can?

Mrs. O'Connor: Probably, but the point is that I have, as I say, three handicapped children. They are deaf, which means that every word that is spoken to them at school has to be reinforced at home evenings and weekends.

Every time I open my mouth, every time I make a gesture, this is a training situation for my children. Therefore I have to be with my children and even a part-time job such as this in a supermarket is next to impossible.

This is the type of thing that you sort of say, "Okay, my children are going to be off for a week and therefore I am not going to

make any appointments during that week but I will do double the next week."

The Chairman: I understand this specific situation. Tell me, what response generally are you receiving from other people. You have a course in which I think you mentioned you raised the figure from thirty to sixty.

Mrs. O'Connor: In the course we have fifteen, who are going like Mrs. Walker for re-training, and she is doing stenography. In Vancouver we have fifteen in our re-orientation course which is adapting and testing your time and yourself. She is in the course but this is for three months. Then they go into retraining or in training, so they can get their upgrading, and then there will be another fifteen starting in January on the same type of course.

Mr. Johnson is starting to get men workers with the hope there will be also re-orientation courses for men.

The Chairman: Can they handle thirty instead of fifteen?

Mrs. O'Connor: No. Well, the men's course would obviously give stress to different things, whereas the women would be make-up and this type of thing, adapting to her children and recognizing the fact the mother should be out of the home rather than in it.

Therefore re-orientation of the men would be a different set of values than the women. It would have to be. Therefore you would need a man's attitude because this is going to be approached from a completely different point of view.

The Chairman: My point is really, Mrs. O'Connor, here you are doing something, as Senator Fergusson says, which has got the girls all excited with the members. Where are the other people who are as excited about it as you are and who know about it and say "Why is there not room for me?"

From the Audience: Here, here.

The Chairman: There they are, right there.

Mrs. Walker: I do not know whether you understand how these ladies feel when they have not worked for 20 years. You do not realize what this means. It is like walking down the street and not knowing what you are going to do tomorrow and they are so down in the dumps that everyone of them is crying on your shoulder two or three times a day because their nerves are shot, because

they don't know what they are going to do next.

She could not possibly do any more. She could not possibly take on 15 more. She has got a load to carry with 15 because we are all just lifting up out of this hill we have been in for so long. I am sure she couldn't take any more.

The Chairman: No, probably not but what about another teacher?

Mrs. Walker: Possibly there could be another teacher.

The Chairman: There is a demand there?

Mrs. Walker: There is a waiting list now.

The Chairman: How big?

Mrs. Walker: I do not know.

The Chairman: ...in size?

Mrs. O'Connor: No. We sent out flyers last week for the January course to advertise it. This is one of the things we hope the reporters will do for us today; that is to advertise the availability of these courses for people.

So far, we have only been operating since the 8th of September, I have been going around mainly talking to the workers first off so when their clients turn to them, they will know what the women are talking about because if the worker doesn't know, and the client is discouraged already, this is all they can do.

The Chairman: You mean the social workers?

Mrs. O'Connor: Social workers, community workers, public health nurses. Anybody I can get to listen to me and now I am at the stage where I am going to start with possibly getting people. We haven't had any trouble finding people to date but there should be a lot more involved in it and, you know, just from personal experience I have had an awful time on the job.

The other thing we badly, badly need is for people to give us an opportunity to work in these part-time jobs so we can get that \$50 additional.

It is next to impossible for a woman to go and get something where she will be getting \$50 a month additional.

Unidentified Speaker: If she is doing social work, why is she not paid what the social worker is paid, instead of 50 measly dollars?

Senator Inman: I should think this is a marvelous idea. Did I understand you to say you had a letter from Winnipeg inquiring about this?

Mrs. O'Connor: Yes. The Winnipeg Action Committee, I believe they call themselves, wrote me a letter. Mrs. Putman of the Welfare Rights Movement of Winnipeg.

Senator Inman: We had Mrs. Putman before us.

Senator Fergusson and I spoke to some of the women and they told us about their interest in organizing something like this, so the thought occurs to me that the women in other sections of welfare groups are also interested and this thought should be passed on because I think it is a marvelous idea.

Mrs. O'Connor: The incentive allowance is cleared through the Provincial Government so that anybody in British Columbia can get it at this time.

However, I have taken on the Greater Vancouver area, which is quite a load, through our office.

When we get inquiries from other parts we send them this breakdown of our Opportunities and Incentives and say "All right, this is what we are doing. This is the basis that the Provincial Government has approved. Go to it. If we can give you any ideas as far as we have gone, fine, but we have the Provincial Government 100 per cent behind us".

The Chairman: Will you be sure to answer that letter from Mrs. Putman because she is very active in the Winnipeg group and they are a very good group.

Mrs. O'Connor: We will certainly inform anybody who wants to know about it.

The Chairman: You can rest assured she will get it going, from what I know of her.

Yes?

Mrs. McDonald: I wonder if I could give you some further information about community support in general. I am, connected with Tom Alsbury, the instructor of this class.

The Chairman: Fine, go ahead.

Mrs. McDonald: One of the aspects of the class is that we invite people from the community, from the business world, from the labour world, from the professional world and the academic world and any other aspect that

we think the class of students would like to hear about to come to tell us these things that we need to know.

For example, just two days ago we had the management trainer from one of the large lumber industries spend a whole afternoon with us. As a result of this meeting he has said when any of your group are leaving for a job, tell them to come and see me first.

I have gone to the Universities. I have gone to the school board and I have gone to the Health Departments and everywhere I find interest and support for this course. Nobody has turned me down when I have asked them to come and help us.

We need the information you can give us and I think that as the community becomes aware that people want help, they are going to co-operate with us.

I cannot tell you how exciting and how uplifting it is to work, and I am now with my second group of 15, with people who have this challenge ahead of them and face so many deep, deep problems and are so gallant in their opportunities to rise above their problems.

It is a most rewarding experience for me and I can only commend them as they speak to you here now.

They are not beginning to tell you the story of their lives which has been tragic in many ways. I am really hoping that anything you can do to extend this idea of assisting people, of making it possible through additional funds through the Canada Manpower.

For example, the Canada Manpower at the present time is not making funds available to women on low income; only to people who are at the present time seeking social assistance. But I have had phone calls and letters from women on low income that would much appreciate a similar opportunity.

I think you should know that.

Mrs. O'Connor: May I just add to what Mrs. McDonald said. I know a woman who has been on welfare for several years. She went back to work to support her children two months ago. She was put on a job which was too heavy for her. She was working on a shift to get additional money to support her family. She has been put on a job that is too heavy. She has injured her back.

She has been told she is going off for awhile on a day shift where she cannot make enough money and she is going to have to go back onto welfare.

I have talked to Manpower and asked "Could this woman be considered for the re-training so that she would be able to have the money to support these children".

She did not want to go back on welfare but Manpower said to tell her to sign up on welfare and then we can help her. This was yesterday.

Senator McGrand: What qualifications do you have? How do you screen the people that you want to join this class? Is it open to any woman who is of low income?

Mrs. O'Connor: No, it is only people on welfare and we encourage them to apply through Manpower for the final decision. They screen them.

Theoretically this should not make any difference.

Senator McGrand: It includes single women and widows who are on low income?

Mrs. O'Connor: No, they have to be on welfare.

Senator McGrand: A widow on welfare qualifies, does she?

Mrs. McDonald: Any woman who is on welfare and has indicated she is able to take a course, which is a full day course, five days a week, might be allowed, but just yesterday a young woman came to the classroom—this is in the afternoon—and said I would like to qualify and I have to say "Are you on welfare?". She said "No. I have lost my job recently. I am unable now to work and I need re-training but I am definitely on unemployment insurance. I get less on unemployment insurance than I would on welfare", but she was not eligible at the present time for a course.

I said "Gee, I hate to tell you to go on welfare," but what else can you say? This woman has the incentive, the desire, the need, and yet she at the present time under the arrangements would not be eligible and the needs to be some other means of helping women surely, and men.

The Chairman: I do not understand. Manpower does train people in other parts of Canada who are not on welfare.

Mrs. McDonald: Oh yes. You must understand, sir, that this is a very special pre-training course because a great deal of the training that has been offered through Canada Manpower was not always too well chosen.

suit the potential needs of the people involved. Our drop-out rates in such training courses was very high, at one point as high as 80 per cent in an upgrading course.

Now, this course is designed to make each participant discover what they are able to do, to develop home management that must be thoroughly worked out for women with children.

She has to know how to plan her meals, how to budget her time to be able to spend time with her family as well as doing the job, and she has to know: what am I best suited for?

You just do not suddenly say to someone "Oh, you need a job. We will train you for key-punching." Maybe she is no good at key-punching. Maybe she doesn't want to key-punch.

Maybe she has a talent that must be discovered and developed and it is in our course we help each one know themselves, know how to work with other people and discover their own particular talent, which we hope they can get training in.

The Chairman: As I say, this is very, very special to Vancouver.

Mrs. McDonald: It is the only one in Canada at the present time. It is the pilot project for Canada.

The Chairman: We have been hearing from people in some of the provinces and we have not heard anything of this nature before, and you have got something. You have aroused some interest and some concern, but it is very special. For that reason I suppose Manpower is being a little careful as to how they walk into it or something to that effect.

Mrs. McDonald: There has been also a very exciting development, I think. For the first time there has been real co-operation between the Canada Manpower, Social Assistance and the School Board that provides courses.

Previously each one would serve us—well, Manpower will say "We can give you ten seats for a course of this kind" and then they send ten people for the course. If these people dropped out of the course the School Board provides, the course is out.

The per diem allowance per student is out but the School Board still has to pay the teacher, who is appointed for six months or whatever it may be. So it gets to be pretty difficult when there is no long range planning and so this course is designed to make sure

that when you go into one of these training classes you are going to stay with it. The School Board will know where it is at.

Social Assistance are the most co-operative. The ladies in our course get a babysitting allowance so they can be sure their children are cared for. They get a car fare allowance because very often we forget that 40 cents a day for five days a week might make the difference between going to class and not going to class, if you are living on something like \$166 a month.

Believe me, you cannot make it without additional help.

In addition to this the first class through a social action morning that we spend together, discovered that really it was embarrassing not to have one good dress to come to school in, and so we did approach the Social Assistance Department and we were able to get a very small amount of money for the first class and a somewhat larger amount, given monthly, for the second class which hopefully takes care of just basic needs for any woman, and it is not very much, sir, but it helps a good deal.

The Chairman: Yes. Thank you very much.

Yes, sir?

Mr. Johnson: I am Bill Johnson. I am trying to get a Men's Opportunities and Orientation course going. We have just been allowed to get into the system on November the 6th; that is a few other fellows and myself. There is not quite enough men. This is what we need. We need some more men to come and show a body and to show the Manpower office we need their help.

I was at this Manpower upgrading, grade 10. I felt by listening to one of the ladies that is with Mrs. McDonald's course, the orientation course, that this would have been beneficial to me, because I was out of school for 13 years before I went back to school and because I was not in the groove of the studying and not knowing how to tell my children to be quiet and help me study and things like this—this is why I feel the orientation course would be of some value and would be a big value to men, as it would be to the women, to go on further in their education.

The Chairman: You say you started November 6th?

Mr. Johnson: We got going on November 6th and tomorrow we are having a meeting at the Pender Y at 1 o'clock. We would like all

interested men and women that have something to say in regard as to what we can do to get on incentive programmes and reorientation programmes to show up at Pender Y tomorrow.

The Chairman: Just a minute. While I am thinking, Mrs. McDonald, would you do us a good turn? When you get back in a couple of days would you send to the Chairman a complete history of what you have been doing and how it is being done and what assistance you are getting?

I think we will do something of value there particularly. Just lay it out on paper and send it to me and I will see it gets to the proper place.

Mrs. McDonald: At Ottawa?

The Chairman: Yes, please.

Mrs. McDonald: I will do that.

The Chairman: Mrs. McDonald says she has a lot of ideas for the men, too.

Well, we have another speaker.

Mr. Sopp: Mr. Chairman, my name is Edward Sopp. I am administrator in the City Social Services in Vancouver.

There have been a great many comments made today and although what I have to say today will be very brief and may not be germane to the most recent comments, which I support, and I am the last to try and defend the welfare system as such because I am virtually agreeing, with minor reservations, to everything that has been said; I do feel that a few of the case histories were saved up for expose because they certainly have not come to my attention.

Now, the only other point I want to make is that I want to make it very plain I am not trying to justify the welfare system. I think it needs a most drastic overhaul. You can do anything you want about it.

The one thing I do want to point out though, and it is germane to the lady's comment over here and a few other comments and to the people who wandered out since there has been a more positive note struck here—I notice people have left the group—and that is there seems to be a proclivity of just attacking the workers.

We have got a 25 per cent staff turnover. You can use your own discretion as to why. This may or may not be the case.

The case load turnover, the case load stats and the number of services that we are

anticipated and expected to give increases at the rate of 10 per cent a year. I do not care for what criteria you use this. Our staff does not increase either administratively, the workers or clerically. There is no use picking on the worker.

My only concern is: if you want to change the welfare system, start with the persons who make the rules and regulations, not with the welfare workers.

The Chairman: Did I understand you to say that the load increases 10 per cent a year?

Mr. Sopp: Yes. On the average you can say this increases 12 per cent or increases 15 per cent but just on a general average our case load turnover, and the number of services—because as valid and desirable as it is, the Opportunities Incentive Allowance immeasurably increases the amount of work that a given worker or clerk has to do.

Last month in our one West unit alone we made 8,000 changes on issue. The clerks have not increased.

The Chairman: What do you mean...

Mr. Sopp: This is everything from a change of address to a clothing allowance to any conceivable change that has to be made in issue.

The Chairman: I probably have misunderstood you, so you correct me. I understood you to say that the case load in people increased 10 per cent a year.

Mr. Sopp: The case load in size.

The Chairman: Well, size is people.

Mr. Sopp: Yes, increased.

The Chairman: Ten per cent a year.

Mr. Sopp: Roughly speaking 10 per cent. It goes up and down. It swings but a lot of people...

The Chairman: Over what period of years for instance?

Mr. Sopp: Oh, take the last ten years, quite easily.

Now, we have approximately ten to eleven thousand cases at the present moment.

That is a statistical picture. That means at this particular day we have eleven thousand cases but our turnover rate increases at the rate of about 10 per cent a year and our turnover rate this year will be about 40,000 people.

The Chairman: That is what I thought.

Mr. Sopp: There just is not a statistical case load. This kind of turnover and this increase would be immeasurable because the workers, the clerks and administrators cannot keep up. The ball keeps getting heavier all the time.

They come in for the greatest criticism. They are criticized by politicians et al because they are not making the system work.

They are perhaps justifiably or reasonably criticized by the clients who are the only ones they see.

All I am pleading for is some consideration for the worker.

The Chairman: Any other comments?

Mrs. Drache: I would like to qualify what was just said because I think that there may be a public service through the federal government which, it seems to me, you, in your discussions on implementation or bringing about change.

I think this was mentioned yesterday morning in terms of attitudes the public has towards lower income groups.

I recall many years ago the Federal Government promoted programmes across the country by radio both in French and English interpreting the Fair Employment Practices Act. I am sure Senator Croll recalls this.

I thought at the time what a magnificent public service this was in providing the public with information that was positive in changing attitudes.

It occurs to me that we already have as much information in the field of sociology and in the field of psychology and in the field of anthropology that would lend itself very well to programming, especially related to the present discussion on public information services.

I would suggest that along with the briefs that you are receiving, that you given some very serious consideration to the public service that a federal government could provide, which would influence the training that a social worker receives; which should influence the training that a teacher receives; which should influence the development that is made through public school and university in order to change the attitudes of both the young people and the adults; because much of the discussion and interchange we are having reflects, in my opinion at least, that preju-

ices about low income groups exist even within the Senate body.

The Chairman: Well, just while on that subject, the government has just received two weeks ago the report on public information relating exactly to how they can get across to the country the things that are being done by the government and the various measures that there are relating to people. They are much concerned about it.

I think something along that line will be done and what you have reference to originally indicates these new influences, new concepts that had to be put over by the Department of Labour and which they did in the very early stages.

I think the government has that very much in mind and they will act and they are studying that very problem of information.

We find amongst ourselves wherever we go we are sometimes shocked to know that certain things are not known generally. Perhaps we assume that everybody knows that, but that is not the case.

Mr. Bondy: I would like to reply to what Mr. Sopp said, which is that people on welfare want jobs and those who cannot work want a decent income adequate to the supply and also people who are unemployed want peace, but unfortunately they are not being allowed to live in peace.

Now, the thing is that what Mr. Sopp suggests is the way it works and the way we go about getting some of our immediate needs fulfilled, getting the social worker to give us what, according to the policy, they are supposed to be giving us.

The individual welfare victim can be charged with fraud or attempting to commit fraud if the infirmation they fill out on the various forms is not accurate; if they try to deceive, so-called, the social workers, but the social workers day in and day out try to cheat the person from whatever they have coming to them by all kinds of devices, all kinds of trickery, and all kinds of arguments, and so on, just to save money for the government. That is a fact.

Now, the thing is, what I want to point out is that Mr. Sopp lives in Vancouver South, and he receives organizations like ours and citizens' groups that need welfare and instead of working towards modifying or correcting obvious problems of the total welfare scene, including private as well as public agencies, that not only overlaps in service but overlaps

in co-ordinating and planning bodies and co-ordinating and planning other co-ordinating bodies he also says we should attack causes like physical work conditions because the methods which are used are increasing turnover and prolonging services and so on.

Now, how in the name of God is the individual on welfare, whose real problem is getting food, supposed to be fighting against these things? The only thing he can fight against is to get his immediate needs satisfied and the first level of the Department, the first person in Social Welfare that you meet is the worker, and that is the only person you can put pressure on and so you ask him to give you what you need. "This is what I need. My kids are going hungry. I need shoes. You give me what I need to satisfy these needs."

That is one thing a person can do. That is one thing a welfare organization can do, starting on some of these projects, because they are all responsible for all these things and yet they act in a completely irresponsible manner.

I wish to go on record they are totally irresponsible at this time. They do not attack the causes. They just try to smooth everything over.

Why is there poverty in this country? Why does a person have to go to St. Vincent de Paul for shoes and clothing? It is so easy for the ordinary citizen to go into a store and say, "I want shoes; here is my money."

The Chairman: Yes?

Mr. Shand: My name is Samuel Shand. The other speaker mentioned about having to get shoes. I would like to say at the second-hand stores in Vancouver they are just as expensive as buying new clothes.

From the Floor: In Vancouver we live in a very grandiose society and we live in a very mobile society. I have been a seaman for most of my life. My grandfather was a seaman and so was my uncle.

I have been in the merchant marine and I can assure you I have seen guys who get their hands beat in with baseball bats and what happens is that here is a single kid comes into this city and he's shoved into a hostel and he is told to be back by eleven o'clock at night and he is let out in the morning to the dark and cruel world and then he is given a little ticket.

He hasn't got any decent place to live. He has got a place down here in Skid Row and

he comes in contact with drug addicts, prostitutes, and the whole works.

I have talked to some people who have gone completely out of their mind. They never even knew these things existed. I knew of a 15-year-old girl who has had to sell herself for the excitement down here. I think this is a damning situation.

Mrs. O'Connor: I would like to say one thing in answer to Mr. Sopp, who is the Assistant Administrator of City Social Services; and as far as we are concerned in the Opportunities program we have had one hundred per cent assistance from every social system we have come in contact with at every level.

However, we know they are understaffed and they have too big a case load. This is why our information centre is going to the people themselves to try and at least get the people to help themselves. We are not asking workers to help us other than to give us their moral support, but we have had women in the welfare aid courses who are capable of working as neighbourhood assistants, but so far when we approach these social workers' unions—I never got any answer to my letter even to say they would meet with us—but maybe their workers could talk to their union to give us a chance to let us help.

There are many areas we could help in where we do not need a degree, and if we could help in any way, shape or form, there are many of us who should love to do this work.

The Chairman: Mrs. Mitchell, have you a question?

Mrs. Mitchell: Yes. I did agree with Alex, and I think I would like to further point out a woman who has been on welfare a long time. She couldn't even get the drugs she needs. Apparently we do not get the fancier drugs unless we are near death's door and hers were cut off. She is going to get two instead of six.

I have seen this woman when she is half-unconscious from asthma, and it is impossible for her...

The point I am trying to make is that we will not tolerate any longer having the poor put over the poor, and particularly those—I question highly one section of the very poor people getting preferential treatment to another. I am not saying this about the Opportunities Committee because I was in the class and I fully support it. But I am talking

about certain women that seem to have advantages that others do not and the question of medicine is one.

I have seen this woman when she is half-dead from lack of proper medicine. We do not get medicine. They are considered too expensive for us, and this is no lie; this is a fact.

I myself had pneumonia and walked around a month. I got the sulphur drug but I got so sick that the doctor finally forced through the penicillin and in my case it goes on and on.

Now, I am thinking about the thousands of women and men who do not speak for themselves, and I am asking this Senate one question. Why must you come and listen to the poor; what do we have a government for?

I think this is a big question and the questions of the people are the government's responsibility and they continue to send out committees, and I agree—maybe you will find something, but our children cannot wait ten years for an answer. We want it now.

I think this is very important.

The Chairman: Mrs. Mitchell, I do not want to wait ten years for an answer either.

Mrs. Mitchell: No, but you can afford to research; our people cannot.

The Chairman: Do not misunderstand me. We are part of the government. We are coming here in the government's interest and we have been sent out on this fact-finding mission. They are interested in you and the other people.

Mrs. Mitchell: Why should conditions get so bad in our country where we have to have a senate committee? The government is responsible for the welfare of the people.

The Chairman: Yes?

Mrs. Porter: I am not complaining about the Social Welfare Department because they do not have enough people. You were saying that people living on welfare could work as volunteers. I do not know how you have got the energy to do this when you try to figure out our income.

I do not know how you can work with the poor, being poor yourself.

Mrs. O'Connor: Quite simply.

Mrs. Porter: I would say she is exhausted from being poor.

Mrs. O'Connor: No, I am not.

Mrs. Porter: How come?

Mrs. O'Connor: If you cannot work with the poor...

Mrs. Porter: No. We need volunteer agencies to work with the poor; not Senate Committees. We need people working with people. It is a people thing, isn't it?

Unidentified Voice: You mean like a Lady Bountiful type of thing or maybe Florence Nightingale?

Mrs. Porter: No.

The Chairman: Order, Mrs. Porter, please. We will just leave it at that for the moment. Have you any questions?

Mrs. Porter: No. I just wondered: we need more people working with the people, do we not, from that area of life?

Mrs. O'Connor: We want to work ourselves. We want to get a job to do. We can do it.

Mrs. Porter: Could not we get a group from the Voices of Women that are community-minded; could they not help?

Mrs. Walker: Why should we need help? We can do these things ourselves.

The Chairman: They have come this far.

Mrs. Montsart: I think there is an exquisite presumption here among many of the people that all the system needs is a few more people to help the poor out; more social workers running around the community asking people if they received their latest overage. I think if you are going to look for a drastic overhaul of the system, we have heard so many times it is not working, and yet the first person somebody sees is a social worker. If we are going to be thinking of a drastic overhaul of the system, it doesn't make any sense to hire more workers to spend 90% of their time trying to squeeze more money out of the stock. It doesn't make any more sense to put qualified family counsellors into the community to work and spend half their time trying to find out where there are more shoes or cheaper clothing.

What makes more sense is that you take a group of clerks that they have got now and put them in clerical positions perhaps and hire less social workers, to give service when it is requested. Let us rely on putting in more money.

Mr. Sopp: I think the last thing I want to do, either as a social worker or as an

administrator, or connected in any way with welfare, is to set up some census between myself and the people who describe themselves as poor, or who are speaking for the poor.

I think this is unfortunate. We all have the same goal. There are vested interests in agencies. There are vested interests in government, and all these things have to be kept in mind, but, for Heaven's sake, let us not polarize ourselves into opposite sides of the fence and have welfare on one side and the people on the other. We are very very determined, as I said in my early prefacing remarks the first time, you can change the system any which way.

I have probably said and written more things than many people have said on this floor today and I have said them internally.

Now, this is my only avenue. If it doesn't have to work I will have to say them externally but there are two ways to go about things.

In the first instance I think it must be understood by this Committee that B.C., for whatever the reason, climate or gosh-knows-what, is the residual province for Canada. Every person, every problem eventually ends up on our doorstep and we have absolute proof of this. Forty per cent of our intake is from out of the province and when Montreal, Toronto or Halifax cannot cope with it, it comes here.

The other point is that Vancouver as Vancouver—I am not talking about Greater Vancouver—I am talking about the City of Vancouver, is the residual city and agency. That is the City Social Service for B.C.

When B.C. cannot cope with it, it ends up here. We have massive problems neither recognized by B.C. nor by Canada, and it doesn't matter whether we hire more staff or less staff or a different organization or whatever you want, we cannot cope with it at present.

I do not like seeing our men going into our single men's section—I think some of you ought to come and see it and I think Mr. Bondy would be the first to help you to look through it. I do not like it but that is all we have at present. I have fifty briefs to prove we want change, but let us not get on the different side of the fence.

The Chairman: Yes. Please keep it short because we are pressed for time.

Mr. Barber: I think that what has just been expressed is lovely except for the fact that on Monday we went down to the City Social Service Department. I went along. I tagged along. The Unemployment Citizens Group went down. They personally saw a lot of old people who were waiting around in the hall.

Normally these people would have been turned away at 5 o'clock—there was some over 100 people who were waiting there—who would have been given a meal ticket and told to come back the next day.

Through the pressure of this Citizens Group walking into Mr. Sopp's office and demanding these people get taken care of—they took care of 80 people between 9 o'clock in the morning and 3 o'clock. They took care of about 300 people between 3 and 5 o'clock.

These people would have been turned away if it wasn't for the pressure. They are not on the same side of the fence.

Unidentified Speaker: I should say when I heard about 50 men being turned away on the Friday, they had no place to sleep and no place to eat and they were turned away; and I was over at the Welfare Office and I spoke to somebody—I do not know to whom I was speaking—they asked me who I was and I said "I was one of the girl deadbeats."

They asked me what I was concerned about. I said about the 50 men that they had put out in the street with no place to eat and no place to sleep. I said "Are you not concerned?" and the answer—he said "No concern of mine."

Thank you.

The Chairman: We will have to get along. We just cannot continue with this indefinitely.

Have you got a question?

Mr. Pratt: Yes. The concept of this country is based on the fact that the government is supposed to be a government by the people and for the people and it has ceased to be that, especially in the employment field in which the Canada Manpower service exists but exists on a 50 per cent basis in which an individual is sent out to the country to work and half of his salary is deducted and it goes into the hand of the person who provides the service.

We pay the government to provide us with this service so it no longer serves the people so why should the government exist in the employment field?

Unidentified Speaker: I am wondering, Mr. Chairman, if there has been any representation made on behalf of the retired people. I have just arrived at the hearing.

The Chairman: No, there have been no specific representations on behalf of retired people, as I recall it.

Unidentified Speaker: Would it be in order, sir, if I could take about three or four minutes?

The Chairman: Yes, go ahead, by all means.

Unidentified Speaker: I make these representations on behalf of these people. My presence here, Mr. Chairman, arises out of this item in the morning paper. "The head of staff and three researchers of two universities, who backed the Senate force, said that his people are still looking for an authoritative statement of what causes poverty after seven months of trying."

When I read that, sir, I thought these two must be looking for extremely complex answers to very, very simple questions. Now, I would like to speak just momentarily about retired people, and I am going to give you one case history, if you will bear with me, sir.

It happens to be my own case, this particular one, and I have the facts.

I can tell Mr. Joyce the real cause of poverty as it affects those on fixed income, the retired people. The answer is inflation erosion of the Canadian dollar.

My case history is something like this: I worked for 41 years. I contributed an awful lot of those 41 years to the retirement plan. I have held responsible positions for the last 25 years, extremely responsible positions, and I have paid very, very heavy income tax.

I hope the youngsters are not all leaving, because what I have to say might affect them.

The Chairman: No, they are just going outside the room.

Unidentified Speaker: My retirement allowance, sir, is \$5,750 per annum. That is \$470 a month which after deductions gives me \$416 a month. I have a wife and one dependant child and I have been retired for two years.

I felt that that retirement income would be adequate for my needs two or three years ago, but it is not at all proving to be adequate. I have had to give up some of my simple pleasures.

For instance, I love to play golf, and I have to have a bit of refreshment on the 19th hole.

I have had to forego that. I cannot sustain my membership in the golf club. I have had to curtail expenses.

I am talking about what has happened to the people in the middle class who have provided for their enjoyment, not by the government in itself but by their own efforts.

I can barely manage to keep up with my expenses. There is difficulty paying for books, paying for clothing, paying my golf dues. I have had to curtail and curtail, and I am continually curtailing.

Five years ago things looked very good. Today I can barely manage and five years from now it will be practically useless at the present rate of inflation.

Do I have to sell my home in which I have lived for 12 years and try to buy a cheaper place where nobody knows me, where I cannot have any friends? Do I have to do this because of the erosion of the Canadian dollars?

Now, my contention is, sir, that most of the problems of inflation arose out of overtaxation in this country. Let me just give you a little example of what has happened to me.

In 1958 my small retirement allowance was subjected to a \$8 per month deduction for what is called a social development tax, whatever in the hell that is. Furthermore, I have a little piece of land up in the north part of British Columbia, and this is where I was going to build my dream home and live out of the high cost area of Vancouver.

Let me tell you what happened. The taxes went up on that lot this year from \$52 to \$122, or an increase of 135 per cent on a simple little lot in the woods ten miles from nowhere. That is a true story, sir.

I think I have worked here now for 41 years to be able to be free of anxiety in my old age. I repeat; to be able to forget about these financial areas since I have made ample provision except for the inflationary trends. I would be very happy to have my income as it was five years ago.

I have had plenty to keep me going and I have plenty of reserves in this City.

Now, I wonder if I retired too early? But I still think there ought to be enough room in this country for a person to retire early and not going on the chronological age which is set up by the big brass and beaurocrats down in Ottawa.

I think we should be able to do this. I have had to work extra for unnecessary medicare.

I say that at this time because I have had a lot to do with medicare in this province and I am continually required to pay the same premium as I paid for the Medicare that we have in this country.

I have to pay to support a fifth-wheel department like Canada Manpower which costs the people of this country \$55 million a year and which is of doubtful value.

Has anybody ever heard what these people are accomplishing?

Is it a fair society that denudes our taxpayer in a period of runaway inflation? I am going to suggest to you, sir, that so far as the retired people who have made provision for their retirement income—I am talking of those who retired on maybe \$10,000 a year—I am suggesting to you, sir, this country is over-taxed, completely over-taxed, and every government department, provincial and federal, should have to rationalize because there is too much staff in every government department throughout this country, and these should be cut down.

I believe, sir, there should be a special tax exemption for these retired people who have prepared for their old age and they should not be forced to an indecency level.

I am being forced and I will be at this level in five years time.

I am satisfied that inflation in this country is a government policy because Mr. Benson has never said we are going to stop inflation. He said they are only going to reduce the rate of inflation.

The Chairman: You have made your point, sir.

Unidentified Speaker: I am going to make one more point, sir.

I understand that some members of this Commission are supporters of the Guaranteed Annual Income. Now then, how will the guaranteed annual income, if it ever came into being, apply to people like myself? Are we going to be fixed on an annual guaranteed income as other people will be? I do not think so, sir.

That is all I have to say.

The Chairman: All right. You realize we are having enough trouble with poverty without getting into the inflationary aspects but which you say, of course, is a matter of deep concern.

I think I have got to close the meeting. We have another meeting ahead of us. I want to

say to the people who came here from the Vancouver Opportunities Committee that that was an exceptional brief that they presented and that was of pioneer value, and what you are doing here in Vancouver will be picked up by and done in many places across the country and Mrs. Dowhaniuk said "Are you listening?" I want her to know we are listening with both ears and I thank you very much.

Mr. Bondy: I would like to bring up another question. That is the question of fear.

The Chairman: Of what?

Mr. Bondy: Fear. We speak of these little people. If it wasn't for fear amongst the people we would not be speaking up for them, making it one hundred times more difficult than it is.

We have gone into these cases personally with people and that is why I am in this field and don't think for one moment that the people that are really suffering but that have fear—they are not here, so if fear wasn't here, we would not have to speak for them; but there is another point. We are very hard up for money but we do not want blood money.

We do not want this stuff of being sold military equipment and then we hear it reported every day in the papers that the Canadian Government and so on has sold aircraft to the Government of Brazil and the people in Sweden have demonstrated in front of the Canadian Embassy and they said one of the reasons they were protesting was the fact they learned these planes, bombers would be used to wipe out the Indians in Brazil. We do not like the money that has been—like the tax system in Canada, earned by selling equipment to the United States to use in killing innocent people.

There is also the same kind of thing in Alberta, where they are producing germ warfare or something for massive destruction. These things cost the taxpayer lots of money. These things should be eliminated in Canada. Why not right here set a precedence for the world, for peace, and get rid of them.

The Chairman: Well now...

Mr. Bondy: Then we can get somewhere. Some nation, regardless of who it is, can make a start and use that money instead of creating weapons of destruction; use the money to help people, turn over a new leaf and this country can be a marvellous country.

if the power was in the hands of the people to use.

Mr. Baldwin: I would like to tell you for corroboration at our course we have a thing called the "Cincinnati trainer." May I suggest that some of our social workers who are hopeless clots, take it.

The Chairman: Please, please. This conversation is over.

Now, before I close the Committee there are nine tours this afternoon. The Senators will be picked up at the Vancouver Hotel at 2 o'clock and they will be taken around to see the various aspects and various people in the City.

Now, after they are finished their tour, there will be a dinner here at the church tonight and there will be a press conference at 5.45. The Press has indicated that it would like to speak to some of the Senators who were on the tour.

Now, the Senators are also required to make a report of the tour for our own records within a week, by which time we shall have returned to Ottawa.

One of the things we have agreed to at this tour is to make sure that pressure on the individual is not intended—it must not be intended and for that reason it is being done without the media although we will have a Press Conference, at which time we will be able to give general information without mentioning names.

Now, before we close, I would like to thank his Church for giving us the facilities that they have and inviting us to supper tonight and Mr. Max back and Mrs. Margaret Mitchell and their assistants have given us a great deal of help. We are thankful to them.

I think I should say this on behalf of the Committee. This is the fourth Province we have visited. It has been a rewarding trip in many ways for ourselves, and we think for the poor citizens. We have been sitting this week from 9.30 in the morning until at least 3.30 every night. It is a considerable undertaking.

We have had very fine presentations. We have met very articulate and fine people who have spoken to us from their hearts and with

hope. The presentations were considered intelligible and understanding and they were responsive and something new has come to our attention, something of great value as a result of the hearings particularly in Manitoba and British Columbia and that is that the poor are discovering themselves. They are finding leaders within their own medias in the community, activists who rise from the poor who are not professionals.

They are not do-gooders. They are not of the school of the Lady Bountiful. They are men and women who are working through the poor for the poor and they have spoken out, and I hope we can act.

In Manitoba and in British Columbia we have heard the real McCoy and now we have the chance to recommend changes as rapidly as we can in order to avoid any confrontation.

You see, in Halifax the poor relied on professional spokesmen. In Prince Edward Island the students talk of the power of the people, nothing more than that. In Winnipeg and in Vancouver the poor spoke for the poor and we were listening to them. They were not asking for power for the poor. They were asking for justice for the poor. What they were saying in effect was that poverty is an unacceptable way of life. They do not like it. They do not want it and they will do everything they can to get out of it and they will contribute to making changes, and I draw this analogy for you.

The working man in an earlier time in the history of this country by earnest and social advocacy and sacrifices and hardships clawed their way to become members of the middle class.

The poverty stricken, we understand, want out, and their intentions are becoming very evident. It is a different kind of poor we meet today and they are not people who will accept it as their destiny.

I am satisfied from what we have heard so far that they are going to help us to help them and they deserve our help.

Let me just say one thing more. I want to say this to the Senators who have been present and who have attended and who have worked very hard and conscientiously ever

Special Senate Committee

since they have been members of the Committee.

We have reached them and they have reached us. That was the purpose of our visit to the four provinces and to that extent we

have achieved a great deal which we hope will be beneficial to the poor.

That concludes our meeting. Thank you.

The meeting adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE
SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY
BY
THE SECOND EMPLOYMENT
ORIENTATION FOR WOMEN CLASS

Hearing in Vancouver

November 19, 1969

The Employment Orientation Course for women is a 13 week course made possible by the co-operative efforts of Canada Manpower, the Dept. of Social Assistance and the Vancouver School Boards' Vocational Institute.

It is a course to rehabilitate women who are welfare recipients and sincere in their efforts to become self supporting. We attend class from 8:30 to 4 o'clock five days a week.

The Math, English and Spelling which are part of the curriculum has re-established forgotten skills and given us new hope and faith for better living. Books are provided for the educational subjects in which we work at our own speed.

Home management, good grooming, speech control, preparation of talks, discussion, self evaluation, exercise, personal development and communication are included in the course.

Through the Human Relations Training we have become less discontented and have a better insight and understanding of ourselves and others. The course is very beneficial in helping us become aware of our capabilities, develops our self confidence and allows us to have a better self image.

This course is strongly recommended for all who require further training including men. It is a gratifying, fulfilling experience giving us the determination and drive to express our true desires.

Welfare Needs and Services

We believe that the first concern of the Department of Social Welfare should be the needs of the people. Emotional as well as physical wants should be taken into account. To ensure these needs being met we feel the staff should be increased as well as upgraded. We also feel there should be more coordination between departments to prevent inefficient and inept operations.

We have compiled some of the major complaints of the recipients as well as recommen-

dations for same. Welfare recipients should be told what services are available at the time of application for assistance. We suggest that the booklets now available in Victoria be presented at the time of application. These booklets should be explained and discussed thoroughly, either in groups or individually, when deemed necessary either by worker or recipient. Recipients *must* be made aware of benefits now available to them.

We believe vouchers are humiliating and degrading and as a result inadequate. We suggest that vouchers be replaced with cheques of limited amounts. This might necessitate bonding of each worker in order that they be allowed to issue cheques without delay.

Finally and most importantly, where the income from employment is not sufficient to promote adequate living conditions, we urge that it be supplemented by public funds. This would reduce the total outlay of funds by the Social Assistance Department. It would also enable the recipient to achieve an immeasurable amount of freedom and independence. As an illustration of this gross wastefulness; a member of the E.O.M. course was recently offered a position with a large firm. This job had a pay scale starting at \$304.00 per month, but it also had great potential. As the sole supporter of a family of five, the take-home pay would not be adequate. If a subsidy had been available there would have been no hesitation on the student's part. As it stands now she is frantically trying to find the means whereby she can accept this job. Again had she accepted the job and been subsidized the Social Assistance Department would be paying only half of their present outlay on this family.

It is beyond our comprehension to understand why the government insists on this waste of public funds as well as insisting that welfare recipients stay in their ruts.

We offer these suggestions and recommendations in the hope that some one is listening. Are you?

Low Income

Low income families are often shunned by society when they become dependent on welfare.

Conditions on low income are ridiculous. Slow starvation, constant worry and trying to

cope with everyday needs: a pattern that never seems to end. The small enjoyments of life which should be any human being's right are denied to those in the poverty line.

Education required in the world of today's employment field cannot easily be had for those on low income. "Eat a good diet" say our Public Health Nurses when our children become ill, but there is not the money for the necessary salads, meat and two green vegetables every day, not to mention fruit and fresh milk.

Poverty also causes sickness. So often we become run down. If you do not have a medical card (which is very hard to obtain), it is necessary to go to the "Out Patients Dept." at Vancouver General Hospital where you could wait from eight in the morning until five in the afternoon in order to get attention.

The conditions under which welfare allowances are granted, are as follows: your rent must not be too high, you are not encouraged or permitted to find a job, city or provincial residence for a certain length of time is required, no husband, no man friend, parents who are unable to assist you financially, a doctor's certificate quoting that you are unable to work. Last but not least, while on social assistance your earnings cannot be more than fifty dollars per month, otherwise a percentage is taken from your monthly cheque.

The cost of living is rising, rents are increasing and people are becoming more disillusioned. All one really has to do is meet a few welfare recipients to discuss the status of low income. Whether they live on a project or not it all amounts to the same feeling "DISCOURAGEMENT".

Housing

The scarcity of housing is appalling. Many people are forced to live in hovels because they cannot find suitable accommodations for their family or cannot afford the outrageous rents charged. Why must people constantly suffer for places to live and be forced to pay the high prices for food and clothing in order to exist?

Housing on low income is disgraceful for people trying to stretch a small welfare cheque to cover life's bare necessities. It is degrading and depressing for low income

people huddled together in settlements which are often referred to as ghettos.

A parent should not have to sleep in the same room as a teenage child, yet many cannot afford accommodations large enough to do otherwise. Is it possible for low income families to be integrated into the middle class areas of the city?

More recreational facilities must be made available for the use of large numbers of children from low income families. If this is brought about the rate of delinquency and worry of drugs would be greatly minimized.

Housing is one of the greatest problems for all people living in Canada and a major problem to the low income people. Housing units should be made available for purchasing if tenants prefer to do this. A working man can usually gross enough salary to pay his rent and still have two thirds of his income left to live on. Welfare recipients not living in housing projects, are paying more than one half of their income towards rent. To ensure a roof over one's head, one has to do without many of the basic necessities in life. What a dismal existence when one cannot live properly.

Charity

Charity is a wonderful thing. People deserving of charity appreciate help given to them—particularly if it helps the children. Christmas is a time for children to be happy and feel loved because to a child Christmas is a sparkling day for enjoyment of the new toy and a special dinner.

Low income families are saddened by an approaching Christmas when they know little Billy or Nancy have spoken and dreamed of something just their own that will be brought by Santa on Christmas Day and this will not appear because they are too poor.

Pride is something everyone has whether rich or poor and charity should be given with this thought uppermost in the minds of the donors. To offer Christmas gifts to low income families is a kind gesture but not if the families must be told to congregate at a particular building at a certain time and herded past tables marked with certain age groups of children with only one toy allotted for each child and a paper presented by the family showing they have taken the exact type of toy allotted for the child and what his age is.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 10

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1969

WITNESSES:

Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation: H. W. Hignett, President;
R. T. Adamson, Executive Director; Dr. M. Lipman, member, Advisory
Board.

APPENDIX:

"A"—Brief from Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, Chairman

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i>)	Sparrow
<i>Deputy Chairman</i>	

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969.

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban; rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;
of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Crole Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, November 25, 1969.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice, the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9:30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Croll (*Chairman*), Bélisle, Carter, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, MacDonald, McGrand, Quart and Roebuck. (10)

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Staff Director; Charles Askwith, Administrative Officer.

The following witnesses were heard:

Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation:

H. W. Hignett, President.

R. T. Adamson, Executive Director.

Dr. M. Lipman, Member, Advisory Group.

The brief presented by C.M.H.C. was ordered to be printed as Appendix "A" to these proceedings.

The *curriculum vitae* of Mr. Hignett immediately follows these Minutes.

At 11:45 a.m. the Committee adjourned.

ATTEST:

Frank A. Jackson,
Acting Clerk of the Committee.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Herbert William Hignett, M.B.E.: President Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. H. W. Hignett, M.B.E., joined Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation at its inception in 1946 taking over the post of branch manager at Winnipeg. Three years later, he was appointed Prairie Regional Supervisor and served in that capacity until assuming the position of Ontario Regional Supervisor in 1953. He was appointed an Executive Director at head office in Ottawa in 1957, the position he occupied until his appointment, in October 1963, as Vice-President. He became President in July 1964. Mr. Hignett was born on January 20, 1913. He received his education in Winnipeg and was graduated from the University of Manitoba in 1936 with a Bachelor of Science degree in Civil Engineering. After his graduation, Mr. Hignett received an appointment with the Engineering Department of Winnipeg and worked with their construction division for the next four years. In 1940 he enlisted with the Royal Canadian Engineers and attained the rank of Major prior to his retirement from the service in 1946. He was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire in recognition of his Army service. He is a member of the Professional Engineers' Association of Ontario, the Engineering Institute of Canada and the Military Engineers' Association.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, November 25, 1969

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (Chairman) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, this morning we have a brief from the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Our witness is its President, Mr. H. W. Hignett, who is well known to all of you, having appeared before many of our committees. We hold him in very high esteem and are pleased that he is able to come here this morning. Who is with you, Mr. Hignett?

Mr. H. W. Hignett, President, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation: Mr. R. T. Adamson, an Executive Director of C.M.H.C. and Dr. Marvin Lipman, a member of the advisory group of C.M.H.C.

The Chairman: Mr. Hignett will give a short rundown on the brief, and then we will start the questioning.

Mr. Hignett: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, I believe that the brief has been distributed and that you have had the opportunity to read it. I thought it might be helpful if I made just a short introductory statement to the brief.

In Canada there is a stock of six million housing units. More than half of this existing stock has been built since the end of World War II, and consequently, is less than 25 years old. During the period since World War II housing conditions in Canada have improved rapidly, not only relatively, but absolutely. For example, dwellings in need of major repair, an indicator of the bad housing in our stock, have declined from 13.4 per cent of all houses in 1951 to 5.6 per cent of all houses in 1966. It is probably something below 4 per cent at the present time. Lodging families have declined from 10 per cent of all families in 1951 to 4 per cent of all families in 1966, and similar improvements have taken place in housing deficient in services such as sewer, pipe, water, bathrooms, et cetera. Improve-

ments of this scale invite the suggestion that continued additions to the housing stock of the kind we have experienced in the last 25 years would continue to reduce the numbers of deficient dwellings to very small proportions. Unfortunately, virtually all of the deficient or bad housing in Canada is occupied by poor people, and for them, notwithstanding the progress that has been made, it appears to be slow.

In 1969 there will be built in Canada more than 200,000 units—reaching this figure for the first time. Perhaps the most encouraging feature about the stock of housing that is being produced this year is that more than 25,000 units have been authorized for low income families, and for the first time housing for low income families forms a really significant proportion of the new housing construction.

The federal Government, in the Speech from the Throne this year, committed itself to a program of one million new housing units during the next five years and, perhaps more important than this, undertook to make a maximum effort on behalf of low income families and elderly persons.

There are three ways under the National Housing Act whereby housing can be provided for the elderly or for low income families. The first of these ways is by limited dividend corporations. This kind of housing is not subsidized, beyond the fact that preferred interest rates are offered by the federal Government and very long-term amortization—fifty years. This enables charitable organizations or private persons to produce housing which rents at approximately \$25 a month less than the going market in the community in which the housing is built. In return for the preferred interest rate loan and the long-term amortization the owner is required to enter into a contract with the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation to make the houses available to people in certain low income ranges.

The second method is public housing by federal-provincial partnership. This is the method whereby the federal and provincial

governments jointly build and own public housing projects. Under this technique, 75 per cent of the capital cost is paid by the federal Government. The federal Government is 75 per cent owner of the project and 75 per cent of the operating subsidies required are paid also by the federal Government.

The third technique is the newest and I think the most important. This is a technique whereby Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation may make 90 per cent loans to a public housing agency. The public housing agency may be sponsored by a province or by a municipality. In the way it has developed in Canada, public housing agencies are generally provincial organizations. There is now, in eight of the ten provinces, a provincial housing corporation which is similar in many respects to Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The federal Government, for this kind of public housing, pays 50 per cent of the operating losses, but the housing projects themselves are owned by the public housing agency, which generally means by provincial agencies.

Since 1946 75,000 housing units have been built under these three sections. This is not a very impressive performance. In most of those years, housing built specifically for poor people has not exceeded 2 per cent of the new construction in any year. I think that the encouraging thing about 1969 is that the federal Government has made available this year \$350 million for these purposes, through the capital budget of CMHC and this has resulted in authorizations for approximately 25,000 units of low income housing, or about one-quarter of all that we have accomplished in the last twenty years.

The outlook is that this program will continue to grow. One of its inhibitions has not been the lack of funds for it but rather the lack of interest in it. It is only since 1964 that public housing has been regarded as an important tool in dealing with the expansion of the housing stock, in making provision for low income families and removing one of the harshest manifestations of poverty. The program is gathering momentum. All of the provinces are now involved. All of the provinces are interested, and we would expect that in future years it is altogether likely that the construction of new housing for low income families will account for as high as 20 per cent of new housing starts.

I know that honourable senators have read or heard in a number of places some com-

ment about public housing. I think, Mr. Chairman, the most serious thing wrong with public housing is that there is simply not enough of it. Nevertheless the program is not perfect. There are comments about the form of public housing and the fact that it appears to be easily identifiable in the community in which it is built. This partly results from the fact that there is too little of it. If we had 500,000 units of public housing in this country rather than less than 100,000 units, the problem of identification would diminish.

Nevertheless, comments have been made about the suitability of certain forms of housing for low income families; for example, the validity of highrise form of housing for families of low income.

Considerable debate is going on about the relationship between the tenants and housing authorities. Housing authorities are creatures of the province and manage public housing under the terms of an agreement between themselves as prime tenant and the landlord. Certainly, there is room for improvement in this field. The management of public housing in this country is very uneven.

In some places it is operated as a straight real estate operation; if you are a good tenant you will be left alone and if you are a bad tenant you leave. In other communities public housing is administered with great understanding. But an examination is taking place to find ways and means of allowing the tenants in public housing projects to play a more meaningful part in the management of their projects.

The third comment one hears concerns rent to income scale. No one seriously challenges the principle that a low-income family should pay rent only in accordance with their ability to pay. Having said that, however, the scale and its application causes great debate as to what should be included in income or, more important, what should be excluded from income. At what intervals should rent changes take place both up and down? I think these three aspects of public housing, its physical form, the relationship between tenants and management and the use and application of the income scale are perhaps the three most important issues.

All the provinces and the federal Government are actively studying these issues. They are not new; they were mentioned in the task force on housing and urban development a year ago and were known before that. We rather hope to develop modified public-hous-

ng policies that will remove the worst of these criticisms. This has been under way now for more than half a year and we are working very closely with the provinces and with other people who have an interest in his subject. In the meantime there has been no deceleration of the public housing program although some people have said that until we settle this we should not build any more. We still believe that the most important aspect of public housing is the small number made available for low-income families.

Mr. Andras, our Minister, while anxious to secure improvement in public housing programs is equally anxious to add to the total stock of low-income housing for families. This year has been a big year for production and the outlook for next year is the same, so we look forward to doubling public housing over a very short period of time, perhaps the next two or three years. This will not solve the problem but it will enable us to deal with the worst problems in most communities. Obviously a public housing program of this scale will begin to have some substantial effect in the next four or five years.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Senator Carter?

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, I would like to make an observation but perhaps I should ask my question first and then make my observation to explain what I have in mind. I know that CMHC conducts some sort of research into the technology of housing and house designing. Now while that is not pertinent to this enquiry, I wonder if CMHC conducts any research into the social aspects of housing. My reason for asking that is this; in St. John's where I come from we had a slum area with a large number of poor people scattered around, some working poor and some on welfare. Eventually the government tried to solve the problem by a housing project known as Ebsary Estates. You may be familiar with that. They built this complex of housing and moved these people from their original slum into this brand new housing project. After 20 years that has also become a slum although the government had done all it could to maintain the buildings in a fair state of repair. Eventually they gave it up. I noticed in Halifax, in the Mulberry Park area, the same thing has happened. But it does not seem to happen when poor people have their own homes. You can go into any little fishing village in Newfoundland and there you will

find that the houses while they may be shabby and poor, are kept clean and neat. Perhaps if you gave these people some means of acquiring a new house it would give them a psychological uplift which would carry over into the community. This does not seem to happen in public housing. I do not know whether it is because of the design of the housing or whether there is some sort of selecting of the group that is going to live together in this unit. I wonder if your organization has noticed that phenomenon or if you have done any research to find the causes and if so what is the answer.

Mr. Hignett: Well, Senator Carter, I shall ask Dr. Lipman to speak about research into the social aspect of housing and the work that is being carried on in that field. But it is not our experience that public housing tenants abuse housing any more than any other sector. It is not our experience that vandalism in public housing or the hard usage of public housing is much different than what is to be found in privately owned housing, and when I say "privately owned" I am thinking of rental accommodation, not home ownership. One must remember that one of the characteristics of public housing projects is not merely low incomes but large families. I think the average for all public housing in Canada is 3.3 children per household which is very much higher than the national average. Certainly many of these families use the housing pretty well. Nevertheless, it really has not been one of our experiences that public housing costs a great deal more to maintain than privately owned housing in the rental field. Public housing tends to be hard; it tends to be built specifically to withstand heavy usage.

Your reference to the Ebsary Estate, I think, is an interesting one. I am not sure whether you are referring to the widows' mansions or the ones built around it but, as you know, the widows' mansions are now being demolished, and it was pretty bad housing to begin with. It was built by the commission government and existed in Newfoundland before Confederation. The housing built around it was one of the first public housing efforts, and it has been a difficult one to maintain. The St. John's Housing Authority has tended to put the most troublesome families into that project.

There are some admirable projects in Newfoundland. There is the Anderson Avenue project, the Buckmaster's Field and the latest one. As I say, the St. John's Housing Authority

ty do tend to put the most difficult cases into that particular project. Hopefully, when their housekeeping and use of the housing improves, they are taken out of there and are moved to one of the newer projects.

This problem of the half-way house is a special one. What do you do with families who have really had no training and have no understanding of how to take care of a new dwelling? How can you give them a start in something better than they are used to, but not something as expensive as a new public housing unit? There is some work of this kind going on in some places.

Senator Carter: You referred to the Ebsary Estate being pretty poor stuff. Is that not true of Mulberry Park in Halifax? It seems to be a general phenomenon that when you put a group together they either lift each other up or drag each other down to the lowest common denominator. Somebody should be looking into that and defining the whys and wherefors of the situation. You may have put your finger on it when you said that this is rental accommodation. These cottages were poor, but they were old and the poor people who owned them were old. This may be the key to the situation. If the property belongs to somebody else they do not have the same pride and interest in it as they would have in their own little shack, however poor or mean it was.

This is a field that needs to be researched and investigated, because it may have a tremendous influence on the way we design our public housing to take care of these situations.

Mr. Hignett: May I allow Dr. Lipman to comment on this particular subject of the social aspects of public housing?

Senator Fergusson: Could I ask a question first, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Yes, Senator Fergusson.

Senator Fergusson: I have been told that in many cases women who have gone into this public housing from poor places had never been brought up to know how to look after such places, and sometimes it actually practically drove them to nervous breakdowns trying to find out and do what they should do right. I was told that one woman almost went into hysterics because she did not know what a coathanger was. There are people like this, and I think Dr. Lipman would agree with me.

I was told in one place courses were being given to women like the homemakers' courses. This is not something Central Mortgage and Housing would undertake, but in the end would it not pay you to have new tenants taught how to take care of the buildings?

Dr. Marvin Lipman, Member, Advisory Group, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation: I was going to make the comment that I was in a couple of units in the Ebsary Estate about a year ago, and the families I visited had a great number of social problems, but the thing that struck you was how clean and neat the units were in relation to low incomes and the other kinds of family problems.

I think there is no question that people tend to take more responsibility for their dwelling unit if they own it; they take more pride in it and they fix it up and paint it. I think this is a fact of life. As Mr. Hignett has said, you find the same kind of problem in public or private rental housing. I think there are probably very few tenants in public housing who do not at least keep the inside of their unit up to a good standard.

I think the point you raised is an important one because one of the things you find is that many tenants of public housing lack what are basic social skills in homemaking—budgeting, sewing, the use of new appliances. Certainly in talking with public housing managers across the country this is one of the things that the majority of them say. In some places they have formalized programs which provide this kind of help.

Senator Fergusson: Do you mean through Central Mortgage and Housing?

Dr. Lipman: I think this distinction between the management function and the lending function should be made, in the sense that the provincial housing corporation have this responsibility.

Senator Fergusson: I meant through the management even, but not by an outside organization?

Dr. Lipman: In Saint John, New Brunswick a program has started through the operation of the federal-provincial partnership. In Dartmouth there is a program. In some of the larger projects in Toronto there are some programs, but I think there is a growing recognition that these kinds of social skills need to

be available across the country for public housing tenants in a variety of places.

Senator Carter: Could I just finish asking questions? This will be my last one.

The Chairman: Yes, Senator Carter.

Senator Carter: Since the ownership factor seems to be so important, is there any way or has anyone given any thought to some scheme, other than the ones Mr. Hignett has mentioned, whereby a poor person, even if on welfare, can acquire some sort of equity? He will never be able to buy a house outright, but could have enough equity in it to have a direct interest. Has anyone given any thought to some scheme whereby poor people can acquire an equity in the place in which they live?

Mr. Hignett: It is a very difficult subject, Senator Carter. For example, there are many public housing projects in Canada where the rent that the people can afford to pay, or the payment they can afford to make, would not be sufficient even to pay the municipal taxes on the property.

I notice that when you were in Sydney, for example, the proposal was made to you that the rent for that public housing project should not exceed \$60 per unit per month. Now, the municipal taxes on that housing is \$50 per unit per month. Even if the subsidy was complete in the sense that no repayments were required, at the welfare level it would be difficult indeed for such families to acquire an equity in the property. The only way that it could be done at that level is really by outright gift.

This is not to say that subsidized home ownership does not have a part to play. Subsidized home ownership is a possibility that is being examined by more and more people, but it is an important step to take that has not yet been taken. At least, it is now a respectable subject for discussion, which it was not a few years ago.

I would not rule out the possibility of subsidized home ownership, but I would rather expect it would be less useful to welfare families than to other low income families whose income is a little higher than the welfare level. Families with incomes of \$4,500 to \$6,000 are in deep trouble in terms of new housing and existing housing. Some form of subsidized home ownership would allow these people to become home owners, and I think that this is an area that offers promise of the

greatest progress. If such a technique were available and were being used, I would imagine it would be used first in this area.

Senator Quart: I should like to ask a question along the same lines. For instance in Regina we visited a development where the manager organized contests for gardening, window boxes, and that kind of thing. I do not know whether this was under the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, but things like that, and also handicrafts, were encouraged. I believe there is a similar sort of thing here in Ottawa. It was a woman who started it in Regina, Mrs. Hoag, and I am sure you know her.

Mr. Hignett: Yes, indeed.

Senator Quart: I visited out there, and it seemed to be working very well. There is a plan whereby they have monthly or periodic inspections of the places, and I thought the ones I visited were wonderful. I was amazed to see how clean they were, and what an interest the occupants took in these various contests.

Were those developments subsidized by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation? I understand that they will eventually be the property of the city once they are paid off.

Mr. Hignett: Those are limited dividend housing projects.

Senator McGrand: I should like to know whether these public housing units are fire-proof. They are of dry wall construction between the rooms, are they not? There is no wet wall between the rooms. Is that type of material that is used in the walls that separate rooms fire resistant?

When we were in Halifax we saw a number of these houses, and I got the impression that the walls were constructed of a very flimsy material. It certainly would not stand very much abuse from the people inside if they did not know how to take care of their home.

That is my question, but I would like to make a comment. Some of the people in Halifax showed us these areas and said that they were going to be slums in 20 years. There is no doubt but that with that type of housing being occupied by that type of people the area will deteriorate, but if it is going to be a new slum then it is going to be better than the old slum. If it is fire-proof and it has better sewage control, then there will not be

the same danger of families being burnt up in fires, and that sort of thing. The areas may become slums, but they will not be as bad as the old slums.

Mr. Hignett: Senator, all public housing in Canada is built to the construction standards of the National Housing Act. The construction standards of the National Housing Act are those of the national building code, including the fire regulations of the national building code. The apartment houses are fire-proof buildings in the accepted sense of the word. Row housing has masonry walls between each unit. This is done for two purposes. One purpose is fire-proofing, and the other purpose is sound-proofing.

Generally speaking, the interior partitions are made of dry wall, as you say, but dry wall is the accepted technique in Canada now. The days of the plasterer have almost disappeared, and dry wall is used in housing accommodation of all qualities, the difference being that the more expensive housing use more exotic the dry wall covering.

For example, one-half inch of plasterboard on both sides of an interior partition has a fire rating of one hour. I think the best evidence of fire proofing of public housing in Canada, senator, is in the fact that in 20 years of existence we have never lost a person in a public housing project by a fire.

Senator McGrand: You have answered my question.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Mr. Chairman, as you know, for a particular reason I have not had time to read the brief, but I do have a question to ask, and I will put it in the form of an example.

I am a school teacher with a salary between \$6,000 and \$8,000. My wife works for an income of between \$3,000 and \$4,000 which brings us between \$10,000 and \$12,000, which is quite substantial. I have two children, a permanent job, a house lot worth between \$1,000 and \$1,500 in a community along one of the main highways, but it is not within one of those areas where you have water and sewage facilities. What can you do for this type of person? It is a good, sound project and good-living citizens with almost guaranteed income who will pay over a period of 20 years. In addition to their income they have \$5,000 or \$6,000 in cash.

Mr. Hignett: In this matter of ground pollution Central Mortgage and Housing Corpora-

tion has been a voice in the wilderness for years. In 1960 the federal Government became interested in and alarmed at the extent to which ground pollution was taking place in this country through the widespread use of septic tanks. The Government enacted the sewage treatment legislation. This provided at least the possibility of supplying Canadian communities with sewage systems and sewage treatment plants. More than 1,000 communities in Canada have taken advantage of this legislation since it was enacted. At the time the legislation was introduced it was necessary for Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation to exercise some control over the indiscriminate use of septic tanks. We endeavoured to do this by discouraging the use of septic tanks in urban communities where one would expect to see sewage treatment facilities. We allowed, and still allow, the use of septic tanks for NHA loans in rural areas, but not in urban communities or their immediate environs. One of the reasons for this, of course, was that the use of septic tanks had permitted a degree of urban sprawl which became quite unacceptable. The introduction of the sewage treatment legislation and the discouragement of septic tanks has meant that urban communities have at least grown in a more orderly fashion since. This does work some hardship, but we do allow septic tanks on large pieces of property that are clearly in a rural area because, obviously, a septic tank is a form of sewage disposal that is better than all other forms that are available to rural residents.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): What is the objection to it?

Mr. Hignett: The objection to septic tanks is that in far too many cases the septic tank works satisfactorily for a relatively short period of time. This is true particularly where there were large areas of communities serviced in this way, such as Vancouver. In the late fifties the Vancouver situation became very difficult indeed. There was much distress and much discussion about the hazard to health in the Vancouver area. For example, in this city, the capital of Canada, in 1955 80 per cent of all the houses built in this city were serviced by septic tanks. Now the figure is about 5 per cent.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Could I add to your explanation that one of the mistakes that was made in the past was that people selling lots made them so small that a septic tank would be near the

neighbour's well, and so forth. A regulation was made that you must have 15,000 square feet.

Mr. Hignett: That is the Ontario regulation.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): This served the purpose eventually.

Mr. Hignett: As you know, the subject of pollution in all its forms, ground water and air pollution, has aroused much public concern. Certainly the outlook for us is that we will be increasing our investment in sewage treatment facilities in Canada from a rate of \$50 million a year to \$100 million a year very quickly. I would hope that the kind of progress that has been made in the last eight years will continue. We are now at the stage where the majority of Canadians live in areas where sewage is treated in one form or another.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): In other words, you are telling me there is nothing you can do for that type of person?

Mr. Hignett: That is right, unless they are indeed living in a rural context, not urban.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): This is a very poor policy, because we are now grouping people, which is going to bring problems.

Senator Belisle: With reference to Table 1(c) of your brief regarding public housing projects, could you tell me why only four provinces seem to be taking advantage of it? I know that Ontario has avenues of access to capital which are much easier than those in the other provinces. Why is it that the eastern and western provinces, who told us that they were in very desperate need of housing, are not taking advantage of these loans? The housing projects we visited in Charlottetown and other places are desperate. Why is it that they cannot take more advantage of this?

Mr. Hignett: May I refer you at the same time to Table 1(d). I mentioned that there are two kinds of public housing projects. Table 1(c) relates to the technique whereby loans are made to public housing agencies and the federal Government pays 50 per cent of the operating losses. The housing is owned by the public housing agency, in these cases the province. Table 1(d) relates to public housing built by federal-provincial partnerships, where the federal Government pays 75 per cent of the capital cost of the project and 75 per cent of the operating losses, rather than

50 per cent. It is more important to some provinces, particularly the Atlantic provinces, that 75 per cent of the operating losses be paid by the federal Government than that they own the projects themselves and receive only 50 per cent of the operating losses. Therefore, the provinces that have a more difficult time in financing continuing subsidies are inclined to select this technique, the federal-provincial arrangement. Table 1(d) indicates that this is the technique generally used by the Atlantic provinces. Table 1(c) relates to a housing program that is really only four years old. That is why Ontario appears in both. Up until 1964 the federal-provincial arrangement was the only arrangement available. Since 1964 section 35D, as indicated in Table 1(c), has been available, and some provinces have used that technique; some have used the other and some have used both.

Senator Belisle: Thank you. I must confess that I am not completely satisfied with your answer, but time is limited and I have only one more question now. How successful have urban renewal schemes been in the past, and why is the program presently in abeyance? When a project is negotiated with a municipality and the municipality agree with all the requests and standards required—for example, the present Sudbury urban housing renewal project under construction, which made the headlines in the Ontario papers and made the headlines in the Ontario legislature, which was described as second after the highlight of Manhattan, and has been extremely contested in Sudbury—why do you compel the municipality to destroy or bulldoze, I would say, \$3 or \$4 million worth of building? I know what I am talking about, because in the last four or five years I cut the ribbon for the opening of these beautiful office buildings. Why did you compel them to do it? If these buildings had been permitted to stay, they would have stood the test of time much better than your present requirements. Why?

Mr. Hignett: It is the Borgia project you are speaking of?

Senator Belisle: Yes.

Mr. Hignett: The story of the Sudbury urban renewal project is a little different from that. The area to be acquired was selected by the municipality. The buildings to be cleared were selected by the municipality, not by the federal government. As a matter of fact, we suggested to the municipality that those new buildings might well stay, but the

municipality insisted that the buildings be removed. We have had many debates with Sudbury about that urban renewal project. In the end it is the city that is being improved, and it is the city that is responsible for the manner in which it improves itself. There have been discussions about that and other things relating to Sudbury—because the site is a very difficult one, as you know—and about whether or not the federal government should participate in, for example, putting a substantial water course underground. I think it is fair to say of the urban renewal project in Sudbury that the municipality got pretty much what it wanted, in the way it wanted it.

Senator Belisle: I must cut my questions short because of the time. However, I would say that I am glad you have given this version, that it is the municipality's responsibility, because the municipal election is being fought on your shoulders.

Senator Inman: What struck me on visiting some public housing was the grim, depressing colour. It is depressing to live in a house that is almost black in colour.

Mr. Hignett: May I ask where it was?

Senator Inman: In Vancouver. There was not a blade of grass to be seen around it. One woman living there told me she would like a few feet of somewhere to plant a few flowers; she wanted something to break things up in the summer.

Mr. Hignett: It sounds like Raymore Avenue.

Senator Inman: Yes.

Mr. Hignett: There are many kinds of public housing projects. If you had visited, for example, the public housing project in Saint John you would have seen perhaps the gayest colours ever used in housing.

Senator Inman: Where?

Mr. Hignett: Saint John, New Brunswick.

Senator Inman: I have been there.

Senator Robichaud: But we had to fight for it.

Senator Inman: Because there is brightness in one place is no reason why it should be so depressing in another.

Mr. Hignett: The Raymore public housing project was built partly for elderly persons and partly for large families. There are other

public housing projects in Vancouver that are much more domestic than that one.

Senator Inman: I know.

Mr. Hignett: The point is that this was a hard piece of urban design meant to provide space for lots of kids, with open areas available for use. In concentrated densities of that kind it is very difficult to grow grass. As you know, there are places where trees grow, with small plots of grass and that kind of thing. It is a highly urban project, and if in private hands would be very desirable for those very reasons.

Senator Inman: I still cannot see why it could not be painted, say, a pretty green.

Senator Robichaud: Or bright blue!

Senator Fergusson: Or red!

Senator Inman: I was also shown a high-rise, but young married couples do not like that sort of development because with young children it is dangerous.

Mr. Hignett: High-rise buildings are used only in big cities, and are generally used for forms of housing accommodation in which you do not often find many children. One- and two-bedroom housing is sometimes provided in high-rise accommodation in big cities. I am sure the provinces endeavour to keep larger families out of high-rise buildings. That is why one so often sees the combination of apartment houses and row housing.

The Chairman: The Raymore development is not the only one we saw in Vancouver. At Raymore 90 per cent of the occupants were women single head of families. These women were picking up the pieces of a busted life, with children in an environment where they scarcely ever saw a man, except a very old man. No one seemed to go to work, no one seemed to come back from work, where none of the normal environment that people are brought up in was available. We ourselves felt pretty depressed with it, and thought this was a sort of segregation, that someone was responsible for it and everybody was glad to leave it on your shoulders. What is the answer to that?

Mr. Hignett: I think part of the answer, Mr. Chairman, again to go back to public housing, is that there is simply not enough of it. And in most communities the municipalities and provinces are anxious to make housing available to the people they regard as those being

a greatest need. It is a fact that 25 per cent of all public housing tenants all over Canada are recipients of welfare. It is also a fact that one-third of all families who live in public housing in Canada are single-parent families, usually mother-led families.

So long as the greatest need appears to be a need of this kind, and so long as the supply of public housing is limited, I think this is bound to happen. If we can add very substantially to the supply of publicly assisted housing, this may become diluted with other kinds of families and under more normal circumstances this situation, hopefully, could improve; but this is the case now, and even in this city, as new public housing is built, the city is anxious to put into that public housing the families whom they regard as those in greatest need, and generally it is this kind of family.

The Chairman: According to the record, there are 2,714 units in British Columbia. A fair number of those units would be in Vancouver, I suppose, but the question that comes to my mind concerns environment, which is such an important part of the poverty problem, and it is the one aspect we could not quite understand.

Senator Carter: It sounds like ghettos are being created.

The Chairman: I did not use that term, Senator Carter, although it is a common term. I merely described the situation. But what bothered us was why 20 per cent or whatever the figure was, of those people should not be some middle-class group so that they could be circulating and getting around. When we questioned the people on this aspect, however, and of course there was no central housing here, they said, "Well, that is their business, not our business," and a few other things of that sort. What I am asking is whether consideration is being given to the social aspects which become so important, particularly for these poor people.

Mr. Hignett: We certainly are endeavouring to do so, Mr. Chairman. Perhaps I should say another word about public housing, because we tend to look at public housing as only the creation of new housing. The act also provides that public housing agencies of the federal-provincial partners, may buy existing housing. In some places this technique has been used to some considerable extent. For example, if you look at Table 1(c), you will find that the province of Ontario has bought 3,660 units of existing housing. In Regina, for

example, in the last few weeks they have been picking up, scattered through Regina, 50 housing units to house Indian families who are coming into the city. These are scattered all over town.

Now, all public housing agencies are free to do this. They are free to buy housing anywhere that they can find it in the community. Public housing agencies are also free to lease housing. If they wish they can lease one or two vacant suites in an apartment house and put public housing tenants into them. Or they can lease in privately-owned row housing one or two units and put public housing tenants into those. So they have more strings to their bow than just the building of new housing projects. They can build, they can buy, and they can lease.

Senator Quart: Mr. Hignett, you mentioned the leasing of vacant apartments in apartment houses. The basic question I have in mind is whether you, that is, Central Mortgage and Housing, can exercise any control over apartment houses in order to be better able to lease apartments for public housing. It is my understanding that you lend money—I would not call it subsidization—for the building of apartment houses, and, of course, that would apply to posh areas as well as to other areas, and would involve quite successful contractors, one such contractor being in Ottawa, although I will not mention his name. Is it a policy of Central Mortgage and Housing to issue mortgages to these contractors for such apartment buildings? That is item 1.

Mr. Hignett: Well, the capital budget of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation is a generous budget. For example, in 1969 it is \$680 million. But it would not allow the Corporation to make loans for privately-owned apartment houses. What the Corporation does do, however, on a very substantial scale, is to insure the loans made by the life insurance companies, banks and trust and loan companies, and all of these classes of lenders are very heavy investors in apartment houses. So we do insure their investments in them even though public funds are not used to make the loans. It is the availability of National Housing Act mortgage insurance that enables the life insurance companies, the banks and trust and loan companies to invest in this kind of accommodation, and, as I have said, they do so very heavily.

Senator Quart: As a guarantor of the loans, no matter where they secure them, have you

any control whatsoever over the contractor who borrows in order to construct an apartment building? What I am getting at is that it is my understanding, and you may agree with this, although I am not sure how we could correct the situation, it is my understanding that, in some of these apartment buildings, the owners claim that so long as they rent half the apartments and keep the rents high, they need not care about the other half because they are able to pay off their obligations. Then, after a certain number of years, depending on the amount of money involved, they own the apartment building. Is there not some manner or means which you could lease some of those apartments for public housing? I would not expect you to put poverty-stricken people into posh surroundings, although probably some of the white-collared people are as poverty stricken as the others but just do not cry out to high heaven about it. Again, do you have any control over this situation? Why are these apartments vacant, and why are the rents kept so high in the other apartments?

Mr. Hignett: Honourable senators, the reason that rents are high is that accommodation is very short. The vacancy rate in urban communities in Canada has been, during the past few years, very, very low. In large communities such as Toronto, Halifax and Vancouver, it is below 1 per cent. With this kind of vacancy rate, the pressure on rents is substantial. With the very large program of apartment house construction that has taken place in this country in the last two years, there is some indication that vacancies are easing a little, but know, even a vacancy of 3 per cent would still be very, very tight. Therefore, it is not possible for a new apartment house with 50 per cent occupancy to carry itself on any rent they could get on the market. The interest rates and construction costs are now so high that we believe an apartment house that cannot maintain 95 per cent occupancy is in serious trouble.

Senator Quart: That answers my question, but there is a rumour around which is a little different than that. They just do not care as long as they can rent about three-quarters of them.

Senator Robichaud: You said 90 per cent?

Mr. Hignett: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: This is not what I had in mind. I think it follows from Senator Quart's question. We saw a great deal of

housing that was being rented at exorbitant rates. It seems a dreadful thing. Do you think it would be possible to introduce temporary rent control to carry us through this crisis? Would it be reasonable or practical?

Mr. Hignett: In my own personal view, if rent controls were adopted in Canada, most likely the production of new rented accommodation would decline very substantially.

Senator Aird: May I be permitted to add that it is presently the prerogative of provinces to have rent control.

Mr. Hignett: Yes, indeed it is not a step the federal Government can take.

Senator McGrand: I was going to ask the same question as Senator Fergusson asked because we saw it in Halifax. Where can the federal Government do something about rent control? Can the federal authorities get its finger in there at all?

Mr. Hignett: Not at all, sir. The only way in which the federal Government can be involved in the establishment of rent control is by way of rent paid by poor people in public housing projects, and that is all.

Senator Fergusson: This was not my question, Mr. Chairman. I think in the early part of your statement, Mr. Hignett, you said that you hoped to give the tenants more to say about the operation in the future.

Mr. Hignett: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: Who is going to make that contribution and just how are they going to make it? Why I am asking this question is that I have seen quite a bit of housing, even before we went on our recent tours, where some things that are built into houses are very nice for middle-class families but are really not suitable for poor families. They make for a great deal of work. For example, in one housing development that I visited, the floors throughout, which were of tile, were almost as white as this paper. It was a very nice floor and if it had been in a middle-class home the mother probably could afford to scatter some rugs over the floor. In the homes the mothers told me that every time a child put his foot down it was necessary to run with a cloth to wipe up a stain. You can imagine how it is when the roads are muddy.

Another thing I noticed was that in some of the places the steps were very shiny. I was told that inspectors come around to make

sure the steps are kept shiny. They were nice, but the mothers were worried about their children slipping on them. They asked if they could put rubber mats down, but they were told that under no circumstances could they cover the steps. Some of the mothers told me that they considered it a real hazard for their little children. The point I am trying to make has taken longer than I had expected. Are you going to have somebody advising who has had the experience of some of these mothers? I am sure that no woman moving into those houses would have chosen a white floor. I am positive of that. I do not know who makes the decisions, but surely the decisions should be practical. You need the advice of women who keep house.

Senator Quart: A marbleized type of tile would be much better, but maybe the contractor had a lot of extra tile.

Senator Fergusson: That cannot be controlled. I presume that is what happened. Somebody wanted to sell that white tile and could not get rid of it otherwise.

Mr. Hignett: I do not think you can blame contractors for this. Certainly vinyl tile is used generally in housing of this kind for the simple reason that it is much easier to keep clean than hardwood flooring. There are those who say that the dark-coloured tiles are much harder to keep clean than the light ones. Dark tiles show the dirt much more.

If I could pick up your other point, Central Mortgage Housing Corporation does not have any views as to whether you put down stair treads or stair carpeting. When the housing is finished it is thought to be an adequate house. It is given to the housing authority. Now, we do not lay down detailed rules and regulations for the housing authorities. We expect them to manage them with some sensitivity. Incidentally, there is a lady in most housing authorities.

Senator Fergusson: Not one of the tenants.

Mr. Hignett: No. I will come to that. The way housing projects are managed is very uneven and you hear some horrifying things. For example, there are some public housing projects where when a relative of the family comes to spend a night or a day or two, the tenant must get permission from the management. It is easy to see what the management is up to; they want to avoid taking roomers into public housing projects. It rebounds the other way and becomes very restrictive.

There are all sorts of little incidents of this kind that are leading us to believe that there should be some way that a tenant can play a greater part in this whole management process.

In a small community where there is not much public housing, perhaps just one or two projects, this could be dealt with perhaps by putting tenant representation on the housing authority. This sort of thing is being looked into very carefully, but when you come to a large city like Toronto where there are already 100 public housing projects with many thousands of units, then some other technique is necessary to relate the people, who live in each of those 100 communities, to the management, which is really a single impersonal thing. You perhaps have seen that Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, together with the Department of Health and Welfare, has funded a community development experiment in the Regent Park project in Toronto where we have made, I think, \$100,000 available to a community group within the project itself, to work out their own relationship with the project and with its management. This group will be working over the next three years towards this end.

Senator Fergusson: It is very hard to make tenants understand. They blame it all on CMHC and on the Government. After all, there is nothing you can do about these things, I suppose. I have to go to another meeting, but I have some more questions. In regard to housing for older people, in one city an old lady asked me to visit her. I did this and I found she had a nice apartment. Her great worry was that it was very small, she had only one room. She said it drove her crazy in not having a bedroom separately. She had many things piled on the bed and every time she wished to lie down, it became difficult. Elderly people like to lie down sometimes in the daytime—I know that—and she had this problem. Is it the usual practice to have these one-room apartments for senior citizens, and who decided that? You draw the plans, do you not?

Mr. Hignett: No, senator.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to know. This lady was upset about not having a separate bedroom.

Mr. Hignett: Housing for elderly persons is mainly financed under Section 16 of the National Housing Act.

Senator Fergusson: I know that.

Mr. Hignett: Such housing is sponsored rarely by provinces, often by municipalities, by service clubs such as the Kiwanis...

Senator Ferguson: Yes, I know that.

Mr. Hignett: And by churches, by the Canadian Legion, by labour unions.

Senator Fergusson: I understand that, Mr. Hignett, but I thought they got books from you, with pictures of the kind of things they could build. It may be I am wrong.

Mr. Hignett: We have a kit which we supply.

Senator Fergusson: Yes?

Mr. Hignett: We give it to people interested to show what has been done and to show what can be done under this scheme.

Senator Fergusson: Is that one of the things you put into this, as something you would recommend?

Mr. Hignett: Yes. They can build self-contained accommodation with one bedroom, self-contained bachelor accommodation, which I think is what you are referring to, or one bedroom with a kitchenette, or they can build hostel accommodation where eating facilities are separate from the living facilities, or they can build partial care hostels provided with some medical assistance. We have a full range of housing suitable for the elderly, right through the various forms of housing into institutional care for which grants are given from the Department of National Health and Welfare. Between the housing act and that Department of National Health and Welfare we have covered the whole range of housing up to institutional care. However, the kind of housing that is actually built is a local decision.

Senator Fergusson: In Raymore I found there was a mixture in housing, for individuals and for families. They said this was being tried out. I would like to ask if this has worked out satisfactorily where it has been tried?

Mr. Hignett: Most people think it is a very good thing. For example, Metropolitan Toronto have tried to put accommodation for elderly persons into every public housing project.

Senator Fergusson: This is a subject in which I am very interested. I know there has been a philosophy for years, of mixing older

people with younger people. But I am astonished and I was told around Raymore that it has not worked out, that sometimes the children are very disagreeable, that they make fun of the old people and so on. I wonder if this happens only in one place or if it is general?

Mr. Hignett: I think it is generally conceded that this form of housing mix is a good thing.

Senator Fergusson: I agree with that philosophy but I wonder how it is working out. I have one other question. On page 4 of your brief you referred to a recent report on housing conditions of public welfare recipients. Is this report available to us, or who did it?

Mr. Lipman: It was done by the Canadian Welfare Council in relation to the Canadian Conference on Housing which was held last fall and it is available.

Senator Fergusson: I suppose I have it in my files.

Mr. Hignett: We could provide a copy.

The Chairman: Please do.

Senator Fournier: I wish to come back one more sport, the case of the school teacher. I understand that there are hundreds and thousands of people who are prepared to build their own homes but it would mean that they would have to use septic tanks and such facilities. However, it seems that the world has gone pollution crazy a little bit and we are told we may all have to die within a year. We should have started on this problem many years ago. It is sad that the CMHC should deprive these good people, who have the potential of building homes in the country, simply because of this talk about pollution.

Senator Carter: Senator Fergusson has covered points in which I was interested. I am interested in this report, too. I would like to come back to my first question, which was related to that by Senator Fergusson, about Raymore. Two examples have been cited, the Ebsary Estates in St. John's, and the Mulberry Park area in Halifax.

There is a certain group there segregated from the rest and they perpetuate the factors which put them there in the first place. They do not live normal lives and do not have a normal environment. I wonder whether this is out of our control or under the control of the

provincial government or what can be done about it. I would like to know what action is being taken or contemplated.

Mr. Hignett: I can make a general comment. First, Senator Carter, the segregation taking place in Canadian cities in the postwar could not be harsher than it is. There is a complete economic segregation here. If one speaks of ghettos, the biggest ghetto in Vancouver is English Bay. Here you have literally thousands and thousands of apartments in highrise buildings that would be totally unacceptable for public housing in accordance with our current attitudes, that are quite acceptable for middle income families and upper middle income families.

If you view any Canadian community, including this one in which we live, you will find that the economic classes—the rich, the upper middle class, the middle class, the lower middle class, the top of the lower third, and the poor—are very very carefully segregated. People have access to certain districts, but only to certain districts. This is one of the disturbing things about the way North American cities have grown.

Now, insofar as public housing is concerned, we are trying our best to do something about this; we are telling communities to build their projects on a less massive scale. We are urging them to scatter them throughout the communities as best they can. We are urging them to take advantage of the opportunities to buy and lease housing to get a wider dispersion. Obviously this will improve the situation but when you get into great cities like Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal you encounter the situation that wherever you build in such a community it is almost necessary to build high-density accommodation if you are going to use the land at all. I know that the Province of Ontario feels so far as Toronto is concerned that there is no alternative to high-density accommodation. They may hope to keep to smaller developments, but even a development of 700 units would seem quite modest to them. We believe that we should be able to build projects smaller than this. It is something we are struggling with and in the review of public housing that is now taking place it may well happen that there will be guidelines as to what kind of dispersion is required throughout a community and what is the maximum number of units regarded as desirable and acceptable for single projects. This kind of work is still going on.

Senator Carter: I have one further question, Mr. Chairman. When you build a public housing project and you turn it over to the provincial authority or whatever authority takes control of it, do you then wash your hands of it other than seeing that the payments are made or do you have an agreement, and if so, can you insist in such an agreement that they have tenant committees in each project?

Mr. Hignett: Yes, I think we could. In terms of the housing project itself and the kind of public housing being built most commonly in Canada, CMHC's position is that of a mortgagee. We do not build the buildings; we simply make a loan on the building and the building is designed by the province or the public housing agency concerned. They are the ones who build it. Our position is that of mortgagee. We can ensure that the building complies with the national building code and the National Housing Act. The project is managed by a housing authority, and since the federal Government is involved, particularly if it is going to pay half the operating losses, we feel it has a right to comment about management. We do have this problem, and this is one of the matters being reviewed in the whole public housing issue. The federal subsidy payments give us the opportunity to insist that steps be taken to give the tenants in public housing projects some opportunity of saying how their lives are managed.

The Chairman: But, Mr. Hignett, if I may follow that up I would say that while we are very glad to hear what you say, it is nevertheless not a new problem. From the point of view of the tenant it has been there for some years. So why has not this been exercised in the past?

Mr. Hignett: I think what is new about the problem, Mr. Chairman, is its recognition. You know tenants in private housing and public housing generally tend to be fairly quiet—at least in the past this has been the case—but tenants in both private and public housing now are demanding a greater say in how their lives are managed, and I think this is the right thing for them to do, so it is up to us to find the ways and means of reaching an arrangement that is satisfactory to both the tenants and the owners.

The Chairman: Are you saying in effect that you intend to do something about it or you are doing it now?

Mr. Hignett: We are working very hard on it. I would not like to leave the impression

that all public housing projects are managed in an insensitive way. A great many housing authorities do co-operate quite well and one of the things we are doing is to examine the experience of housing authorities where this problem does not exist. For example CMHC itself owns and manages 5,000 units in Montreal and the relationship between Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and its tenants is very, very good. The only quarrel we have with them is when we increase the rent, and that is an understandable quarrel. We have accepted over the years the fact that we are good managers of property but now we are wondering why this is so and we are endeavouring to learn from our own experience.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Have you ever had had debts to write off?

Mr. Hignett: Oh, yes, this is unavoidable, but the incidence has not been too high.

The Chairman: In our visits we found, and we touched on this lightly without going into it too deeply, that many people felt they did not have a sufficient say and in some cases were completely ignored in the management of their own lives. We had a group come up from Sydney who were specific, giving chapter and verse. We had the same situation in Halifax, Winnipeg and Vancouver and so we decided to bring this to your attention in the way it is now being brought to your attention.

Mr. Hignett: Yes, the committee was good enough to see that copies of the brief submitted in Winnipeg, Vancouver and Sydney were made available to us and we are studying them at the moment.

The Chairman: But I am not at the moment referring to a brief particularly; I am referring to one incident where a young girl connected with the Company of Young Canadians who was very knowledgeable on these matters came before the committee on an *ad hoc* basis.

Senator McGrand: Mr. Chairman, I hope I am not taking too much time but I wish to ask a question which I hope is not out of place. It arises out of Senator Fournier's question. Speaking about septic tanks and the building of houses on the fringes of cities I think it was said that a septic tank was the best sort of sewage control ever developed in rural communities but that it still had its weaknesses.

Mr. Hignett: That is correct.

Senator McGrand: But it seems to me that the septic tank has lost its efficiency perhaps due to the fact that so many detergents get into the soil in which the septic tank operates and we know that it is the bacteria in the soil that makes the septic tank efficient when the material gets out into the land. I understand that the soil in some places is so saturated with detergents that the bacteria are practically killed off. Does that have anything to do with the question Senator Fournier raised regarding this problem of pollution in these small areas?

Mr. Hignett: It is certainly true, honourable senator, that detergents do kill the bacteria that make the septic tank operation work, but it is also true that in most provinces homeowners are not allowed to put detergents into the septic tank. They have two tanks, really.

Senator McGrand: The detergents get out with the wash water, and so on, into the same soil. Do you see what I mean?

Mr. Hignett: Yes, I understand.

Senator McGrand: It is the same land.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): But the effectiveness of the septic tank usually depends on the type of soil.

Mr. Hignett: Exactly.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I know that from experience.

Mr. Hignett: And some of the very bad experiences with septic tanks that have occurred in some Canadian cities have been due to the fact that they have tried to use them in places where the soil is not capable of being used in this way.

Senator McGrand: It will not work in clay soil.

Senator Inman: I use septic tanks, and those who have worked for me have used certain amount of detergents. I live in the country and it works very well, but I do have to take care of it and about every three years have it pumped out. I was advised to put yeast cakes in every week.

Mr. Hignett: Yes, to feed it.

Senator Inman: Yes, to feed it, and works.

I would like to know if the witnesses could say who decides the amount of rent to be

paid for public housing. Is it the province or who?

Mr. Hignett: The rent-to-income scale is a scale that is used nationally and is one that was really first devised jointly by the provinces, officers of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and an outside study that was done by Humphrey Carver and Mrs. Hopwood. For a long time it carried their name and was known as the Carver-Hopwood Scale.

Senator Inman: Each area might differ then.

Mr. Hignett: Well, they differ in this respect, that the cost of heating, for example, varies widely across Canada, but the rent-to-income scale includes heat, so, in those provinces where heat is \$5 a month and in those where it is \$20 a month, the rent is exactly the same. So, it is a scale for serviced accommodation, not for unserviced accommodation.

I think this was a mistake that occurred in the Sydney submission to you, for example, because I believe the suggestion was made that, in addition to the rent, they paid for heat, which is not the case.

The Chairman: One of the complaints was that they pay on gross income rather than net, and when it came time for the various deductions it was rather a different story. How do you explain that?—because you do not know what the deductions are likely to be.

Mr. Hignett: They vary widely, and one cannot operate on the basis of net incomes. On the other hand, that is not to say that a scale that was satisfactory six years ago is now satisfactory. The cost of living has been rising for these people perhaps faster than incomes, and it is probably true that at the present time they are devoting a larger proportion of their income to rent than a few years ago.

There are some deductions. There are deductions for the first \$250 of earnings of the wife. Family allowances are not included as income. Earnings of working children are not included higher than \$75. This needs review. Even in the White Paper on Taxation it mentioned the need for income tax exemption for working mothers who have children in day-care centres. This is the kind of thing we need to look at, and the scale is now being reviewed. I guess the end result would be the

rents would be modestly lowered and subsidies increased for this reason.

Senator Inman: There is the question of the woman who is head of the family, either through desertion or divorce or because she is a widow, who is left with young children, and then comes the time when she can take a part-time job. This came to my attention. One woman was earning, not always but some weeks, \$50 doing part-time work. She said she had only been there for two weeks and they raised her rent. It seems to me not much of an incentive to a woman who is trying to help herself when this happens. She says, "I was pretty nearly as well off staying at home."

Mr. Hignett: The more common problem is not the rental increase but, rather, the fact a woman who does earn \$50 a week finds her welfare payments reduced by \$50 a week. This is entirely a local thing.

Senator Inman: In this case her rent was raised.

Mr. Hignett: Housing authorities are not required to review incomes more than once a year. As a matter of fact, if we found housing authorities doing it oftener than that we would be unhappy, because security of tenure is an important thing and a continuous reviewing of incomes is a most irritating thing for a tenant, and we do not think his privacy should be interfered with more than once a year. When a rent is set for a year, it remains at that level unless something happens to indicate that the tenant's income is impaired. The tenant is then invited to report this at once so that rental payments may be reduced to meet the new circumstances. But we endeavour not to raise rents more than once a year.

The Chairman: The general practice by welfare departments across the country with respect to earnings is to permit some portion of earnings without making complete deductions.

Mr. Hignett: Yes.

The Chairman: You said the complete deduction, but that is not quite so. The exemption is small enough, but there is some exemption, and it is not uniform.

Mr. Hignett: Nor is the level of the welfare payment.

The Chairman: Of course not. Your rent is uniform, but the level of welfare payments is not.

Mr. Hignett: With regard to welfare payments, the amount paid to the housing authority by the community is only the shelter component of their welfare, which means that in the Province of Ontario, where the shelter component is \$95, this amount is paid to the housing authority on behalf of the welfare recipient. But in other provinces, where the shelter component is much lower, the lower payment is made.

The Chairman: Will you look at Table 1(c) for a minute? The National Housing Act is applicable to the whole country. How do we justify that out of 50 public housing deals, Ontario gets almost 95 per cent? In what respect would you say that is national?

Mr. Hignett: This table shows, in a sense, an accident of history.

The Chairman: An accident of history?

Mr. Hignett: Yes. When the National Housing Act was amended in 1964 to provide for this kind of assistance for public housing, the very same month that the legislation was enacted the Ontario Housing Corporation was formed, and at that time it became provincial policy to embark on a very large public housing program. This they have continued to do. I mentioned that eight of the ten provinces now have provincial housing corporations, but some of these are only a year old. Even in Quebec where the need is great, the Quebec Housing Corporation has only been in operation since the beginning of 1968. Now, it so happens that in our 1969 program for Quebec we allocated to them \$52 million for public housing units, which will produce several thousands of them. So they are gathering momentum too. This situation will correct itself in time, but it has to do with those that are ready to go into business quickly.

The Chairman: It has to do with more than that. It has to do with those who were ready and had the money.

Mr. Hignett: Those who were prepared to pay 50 per cent of the operational losses, yes.

The Chairman: In the 75 per cent group the divergence is not that great, but, on the other hand, the rich provinces eat it up. It shows 6,500 for Ontario and 2,700 for British Columbia. Saskatchewan seems to have made a real effort, as well as Nova Scotia and

Newfoundland. These are not rich, of course, but they have made a real effort. Some of the others are really not participating. Since the money is so short is it not your business to divert some of these people into that 75 per cent area?

Mr. Hignett: We do, indeed. They are completely free agents as to the technique they select.

The Chairman: I realize they are free agents, but it is a little more than that or is it?

Mr. Hignett: It is true that the capacity of the Atlantic Provinces, for example, to pay housing subsidies is less than that of other provinces. There are also special problems in the Atlantic Provinces, where, for example, it costs more to build housing than in Ontario. Housing costs are higher in those very parts of Canada where the incomes are the very lowest. On a per unit basis the subsidy required for low income family in Halifax, Nova Scotia, or St. John's, Newfoundland, is higher than for a low income family in Ontario...

The Chairman: The land is cheaper.

Mr. Hignett: ... because the cost of providing the house is greater.

The Chairman: The land would be cheaper, would it not, in those same areas?

Mr. Hignett: The land would be cheaper.

Senator Robichaud: To what would you attribute the high cost in the Maritimes Provinces? Is it material or transportation?

Mr. Hignett: Well, it is partly productivity. The productivity of worker in the Atlantic Provinces is lower than in central Canada.

Senator Robichaud: That is a point of argument, yes.

Mr. Hignett: It is partly the lack of the kind of building industry that has developed in central Canada. There are few large construction firms in the Atlantic Provinces and the house-building industry is a tenuous one compared to the strength of the industry in central Canada or even on the Prairies.

The Chairman: A very able civil servant in Halifax told me that the builders limit the number of houses to about 20 because they make their profit out of 20 rather than building twice as many.

Mr. Hignett: This could well be so, but it would not affect the production of public housing where public housing is built by tender call or proposal call. You will remember that in Sydney the case was made to you that the public housing project should have been built by local people. There were no local people available. That project was diverted up and down the province, but it was eventually built by a company from Montreal.

Senator Robichaud: You mean the financing, not the actual construction?

Mr. Hignett: No, the actual construction. The financing was available to all.

The Chairman: You raised a point about their cash transfer payments with respect to housing and you mentioned the approach that is being used in Great Britain, the United States and Sweden. Could you enlarge on that or explain it? I do not quite understand it. What is the approach?

Mr. Hignett: For example, in Sweden there is a housing allowance. This housing allowance is made available to all families in Sweden, is it not, Mr. Adamson?

Mr. R. T. Adamson, Executive Director, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation: Those that fall within certain incomes and family-sized categories, and only families considered to be incapable of paying an adequate amount of rent. It is available to all provided they are in decent housing.

Mr. Hignett: To get to the housing allowance, they must have adequate housing accommodation. In Sweden this means that because of the housing allowance the demand for housing is so high that people wait eight years for a house.

The Chairman: Which comes first, the housing allowance or the house?

Mr. Hignett: The housing allowance is available to any family within a certain income who can find adequate housing accommodation either new or existing.

The Chairman: They could buy it, own it and still get it?

Mr. Adamson: Yes.

The Chairman: Under our standards a man with \$5,000 or \$6,000 who is able to put a down payment on a house could get a housing allowance of what proportion?

Mr. Adamson: I cannot tell you the amount, Senator Croll, at this stage, but the principle is that families within certain incomes and family sized categories are presumed as not being able to afford decent housing. Consequently, if they provide themselves with a house, they are paid an allowance by the state.

The Chairman: What does Britain do on this?

Dr. Lipman: Relatively the same, but I am not sure they can purchase property. I do not know if it is in the private rental market. If a family of a certain size and below a certain income level finds adequate accommodation they can get a housing allowance to be able to live in that accommodation.

The Chairman: What does the United States do on this?

Dr. Lipman: The United States has a rent supplement program which I believe works relatively the same. The poor person has the opportunity of living in public housing or finding accommodation on the private market and getting a subsidy for rent on the private market. I do not think this program has ever been funded to the extent that it has made inroads into the housing situation in the United States.

Mr. Hignett: The Americans, too, have a technique for subsidizing home ownership for certain income ranges and they will write down interest rates on mortgages, whatever the mortgage rate might be, to as low as one per cent or to whatever level is necessary to provide the kind of assistance which is needed. It may be down to one per cent. As you know, many countries provide a negative form of assistance by allowing home owners to include mortgage interest as a deduction for income tax purposes.

The Chairman: The United States does that.

Mr. Hignett: The United Kingdom does it also.

The Chairman: Has the United Kingdom been doing it for some time?

Mr. Hignett: For as long as I can remember. The United Kingdom did it before the Americans.

The Chairman: Are we doing anything about the land bank at all for this?

Mr. Hignett: Legislation was amended last June to provide another facility for land banking, that is, loans to provinces, municipalities. It has been operating for six months. The investment this year will be around \$30 million.

The Chairman: By municipalities?

Mr. Hignett: By provinces or municipalities.

The Chairman: You do not participate?

Mr. Hignett: We simply provide the loans for acquisition.

The Chairman: Do they pay interest?

Mr. Hignett: Oh, yes.

The Chairman: Is it reasonable?

Mr. Hignett: They pay interest at the Canadian Government rate—which some people do not regard as reasonable any longer.

The Chairman: You covered the question of cost and you spoke about cultural and social aspects. I do not think the question was asked, what is the underlying reason for the current housing shortage. Is it tight money or is it cost?

Mr. Hignett: Mr. Chairman, you know that the 1968 and 1969 housing programs have reached proportions which would have seemed unattainable a few years ago. The outlook for production in the future—although there are some uncertainties because of the state of the capital market—is hopeful that at least the federal Government program of one million houses in the next five years will be attained, and I would hope that we will exceed this. Therefore, housing production is at a high level in Canada.

The problem we have to resolve in the level of construction we have now achieved, is a better balance as between housing forms. Many people believe that the highrise apartment house is accounting for too large a proportion of new housing starts, and that single family dwellings form too low a proportion.

Furthermore, we must be concerned with the geographical distribution of new housing, so that the needs of all parts of Canada are met. We have to be most concerned with the income distribution of those for whom the housing is made available and this is why we are so keen on increasing the proportion for low income families in our annual production.

The Chairman: I think one of the Hellyer recommendations was the raising of the mortgage ceiling, lengthening the period of amortization, lowering the down payment. Was that one of the things which Mr. Andras picked up?

Mr. Hignett: All these were done.

The Chairman: Also, the reduction in the insurance and legal costs—that was done too?

Mr. Hignett: Yes.

The Chairman: And limited dividend—has that improved?

Mr. Hignett: Yes. It was a program which was largely inactive from 1960 to 1968. In 1968 about \$40 million was invested in limited dividend projects, limited dividend loans to private companies. This year, our total investment in limited dividends will be about \$16 million.

The Chairman: What specific changes were made under limited dividend housing regarding this? I remember it did not work out too well.

Mr. Hignett: The principal change made regarding limited dividend housing projects was that, if it were being built for the open market and if it could be demonstrated by the owner that he could rent that accommodation economically, substantially below the open market for it, then we would enter into an agreement with him.

The Chairman: Are the rural areas getting a fair share of the funds now?

Mr. Hignett: Not really, because you know that there is little demand for housing in rural areas. I should say, the demand for housing in rural areas is very much less than in the cities. Our problem is the cities.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Now you are coming back to my schoolteacher. Do not tell me there is no demand. There is a lot of demand.

Mr. Hignett: But he is an urban dweller really.

The Chairman: What are we doing with respect to Indians, Eskimos and Metis? We had quite an amount of complaint from them.

Mr. Hignett: In the National Housing Act not a great deal is done for them. We participate in a number of ways. The Indians w

move off the reserve into urban communities are entitled to a \$7,000—or at least up to \$8,000—grant from the Department of Indian Affairs to help them acquire housing. To the extent that more funds than this \$7,000 are required, we make loans for the balance, under the National Housing Act. We work very closely with the Department of Indian Affairs to help them acquire housing. To the old programs for the three Prairie Provinces, it provide housing for Metis in those communities where some economic opportunity can be provided for Metis families that are bought in. These houses are really built under the public housing section of the National Housing Act and result in a form of subsidized home ownership. These houses are in smaller numbers and are scattered and are fairly remote and there is no way they can be runaged as rental housing programs. So the rent to income formula is applied to the monthly mortgage payment. Since income is inclined to be very low, it results in the monthly mortgage payment being \$15 to \$25, and the rest is subsidized.

Senator Inman: Do you find them satisfactory as tenants?

Mr. Hignett: In most cases, yes, because the three Prairie Provinces, and particularly Saskatchewan, have undertaken training programs for Metis families. There are many opportunities opening in the north. The Metis people make good miners, both above ground and below ground. Once they are trained to take their place in the mining operation, or in woods operation, they very quickly become integrated into the community in which they live, provided that decent housing can be provided for them.

The Chairman: I think the "task force" questioned the quality of housing. I think that has been questioned for a great length of time and you always had some problems with it. Are you giving it some special attention?

Mr. Hignett: The general quality of housing in Canada?

The Chairman: Yes. Or I have misread that?

Mr. Hignett: I think perhaps you misread that. If there is any fault to be found with Canadian housing it is that is too indulgent. It is of a higher quality than we really need for satisfactory living.

The Chairman: I was just going by memory. I think they questioned the existence of slum housing in Canada in the report. Am I wrong in that?

Mr. Hignett: The report said that slum housing was the responsibility of the owner of that housing and when a house had served its useful life, the state should have no part to play in its demolition. It is incumbent on the owner of the housing to keep the housing in a good state of repair and when this is no longer possible to demolish it at his own expense.

The Chairman: That rather demolishes my argument at the same time.

If there are no other questions, on behalf of the committee I want to thank Mr. Hignett, Mr. Adamson and Dr. Lipman but particularly Mr. Hignett for appearing here and giving us the benefit of their knowledge and judgment which we hold in very high esteem. I hope you will keep us advised of any new considerations you may come across.

Senator Roebuck: Mr. Chairman, may I say that I have been very much impressed with Mr. Hignett's statement to us and with his great grasp and knowledge of the subject and the facility with which he has given us all this information. I have been very silent but I have been absorbing a great deal.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

BRIEF
TOTHE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
ON POVERTY BY
CENTRAL MORTGAGE AND HOUSING
CORPORATION*Introduction*

Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation is responsible for the administration of the National Housing Act. The Act in its preamble states that its purposes are: "to promote the construction of new houses, the repair and modernization of existing houses and the improvement of housing and living conditions." As such, it does not primarily concern itself with the problems of poverty although some of its programs do have specific relevance.

The Act does concern itself with the improvement of housing and living conditions of all Canadians. For the majority of Canadians, the government can record a general measure of success in working through the free market and using the insured loans provisions of the Act. However, a large residual of households do not have access to decent housing. It is only recently that the use made of the provisions of the Act concerned with housing for low income groups has resulted in quantities of housing of any magnitude.

The vast majority of those who are badly housed in Canada today are poor. Bad housing, however, represents only one manifestation of the complex of phenomena now comprehended under the term "poverty." The provision of decent housing for the poor would not of itself do away with poverty. However, it may well have a significant influence in aiding other broad attacks on poverty and is, therefore, worth pursuing. As well, it is a worthwhile goal in its own right.

Poverty and Housing Conditions

We are in agreement with the Fifth Annual review of the Economic Council of Canada which defines poverty in the following manner:

"In developed industrial societies the problem of poverty is increasingly viewed, not as sheer lack of essentials to sustain life, but as insufficient access to certain goods, services, and conditions of life which are available to everyone else

and have come to be accepted as basic a decent minimum standard of living.

Certainly, one of the "goods or services affecting the conditions of life" is the quality of housing in which one lives. While the majority of Canadians are often more than adequately housed, many continue to fall below a "decent minimum standard."

Housing conditions in Canada compare favourably in overall terms with conditions in other countries. However, the shortcomings are no less real for those directly affected and no less pervasive in the particular areas in which they are concentrated.

No statistics can adequately portray the deficiencies in the housing stock. There are, for example, no statistics that deal with the warmth of shelter in winter, with the absence of noxious odours, or with the simple need for space to store belongings. But inadequate as the statistics are, we must resort to them for any kind of quantitative assessment of housing deficiencies is to be made.

The most useful of the available statistics relate to three aspects of housing deficiencies: the absolute shortage of dwelling units which is reflected in the numbers of families who have to share accommodation; the physical deficiencies of the dwelling stock reflected in the numbers in need of major repair and the numbers lacking basic plumbing facilities; and, thirdly, the physical over-crowding reflected in the numbers of people per room.

Families Sharing Accommodation

While the absolute shortage of dwellings is reflected in the number of lodging families, the consequent lack of privacy is felt not only by these families, but also by those with whom they lodge. In 1966 there were 180,000 lodging families, or about 350,000 families sharing their living accommodation with others. For the country as a whole this represented about 8 per cent of all families. In the Atlantic region the proportion was more than half as much again. In Newfoundland, it was over 16 per cent, as it was in the metropolitan area of Toronto.

Deficient Dwelling Units

In 1961, the latest year for which this particular kind of information is available, there were about 250,000 dwelling units in need of major repair, or 5.6 per cent of the overall dwelling stock. In New Brunswick this p

portion, at 12 per cent, was double the national figure while Saskatchewan with 9.0 per cent was not far behind.

Statistics on the numbers of dwellings lacking basic plumbing facilities, further emphasize the qualitative deficiencies in some parts of our housing stock. Thus while in 1968 the proportion of all dwellings in Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia which lacked flush toilets was less than 4 per cent, the proportion in the Atlantic and Prairie regions was 21.3 per cent and 16.7 per cent respectively. Approximately the same conditions hold for the numbers of dwellings without bath or shower facilities, and the numbers without piped water supplies.

Physical Overcrowding

There are no absolute standards as to what constitutes physical overcrowding in housing but there is general acceptance of the view that in any dwellings in which there are more than 1.5 persons per room, a condition of serious crowding probably exists. In 1968 there were 167,000 such dwellings in Canada, or 3.1 per cent of the dwelling stocks.

Some, but not all, of the deficiencies noted above overlap, with dwellings in need of major repair also being the one which lack basic plumbing facilities, and the ones which house more than one family so that physical overcrowding results. Certainly these kinds of deficiencies in housing conditions have their main impact on the poor or those whose housing needs are large, relative to their incomes.

One indication of this situation stems from a recent report on the housing conditions of public welfare recipients. These families were found to be experiencing serious problems of overcrowding and lack of plumbing and other facilities in the dwellings they occupied; one in five of these households was living in a structurally unsound building (over 4 times the national average). On an average, the families concerned were paying 47 per cent of their income on shelter, evidently implying that families with children were going short of other things in order to house themselves even in this quality of accommodation.

The housing deficiencies which give rise to the most glaring of these conditions can be corrected only by increases in the housing stock. Thus the need for separate living accommodation for lodging families can be met only by having more dwellings available. Similarly there is no way in which unfit dwellings, if beyond the reach of rehabilita-

tion, can be replaced except by the addition of new dwellings to the housing stock.

Of a somewhat different order is the question, mentioned above, of the proportion of income spent on shelter costs. Do people, in effect, pay such a high proportion of income for shelter that they have to restrict themselves in other areas of necessity? In rural areas shelter costs may not be severe with residence often implying minimal expenditures for minimal services. We do not have a comprehensive understanding as to what is happening in urban areas, except that all indications are that the problem of meeting shelter costs is becoming increasingly difficult for many households.

What Has Been Accomplished to Date

Briefly, the programs falling under the jurisdiction of the N.H.A. divide themselves into three groups:

(a) *The Insured Loans Provisions*—these are designed to support, through the mortgage market, the output of new housing for sale or rent to those who can afford the full market price of new existing accommodation. In 1966 this was extended to include existing housing as well. Statistics indicate that over the past decade a decreasing proportion of low income families have been able to benefit from this provision of the Act. Recent amendments extending the loan provisions on existing housing have not had any marked effect on entry of low income families into the housing market to date. However, over the years loan insurance has resulted in an overall increase in the production of new housing, which indirectly benefits low income groups, and has also had some influence on seasonal employment.

(b) *Housing for Low Income Groups*—The Housing Act does have provisions designed for the exclusive benefit of low income families.

(1) CMHC loans to limited dividend and non-profit companies;

(2) Federal-Provincial partnerships for financing and subsidizing low income housing projects;

(3) CMHC loans and subsidies to provincial or municipal housing organizations providing housing for low income groups.

These programs have in common the fact that each involves the provision of capital funds by the Federal government ranging from 75 per cent to 90 per cent of the cost

involved. Federal subsidy support is also involved under all three programs, varying from the indirect subsidy of below-market interest rates on loans to limited dividend and non-profit companies, to 75 per cent of the operating losses on low-income housing projects owned by Federal-Provincial partnerships.

In the period from 1946 to 1968 loans for some 38,000 units were provided under the limited dividend section of the Act, mainly constructed by private entrepreneurs for families of low and moderate incomes. Non profit corporations have produced 6,000 self contained units and 12,000 hostel beds during this period with the vast majority serving as accommodation for senior citizens.

With respect to public housing over 15,000 dwelling units have been provided for under the Federal-Provincial partnerships over the same period. All are for low income groups and over 10,000 of them are in projects which require subsidies.

Provincial housing corporations, formed to meet the amendments introduced in 1964, have acquired, built or received Orders in Council for some 23,000 units in the past five years (1964-68). This is almost 8,000 more units than were generated under the Federal-Provincial partnership which began in 1950. This increased activity has raised the level of public housing produced to approximately 5 per cent of total housing starts in the last two years, from a level of 1 per cent in earlier years.

The composition of public housing tenants may be of interest to the committee. Average family incomes of tenants in Federal-Provincial subsidized units in 1967 was \$3,240; and the number of children per family was 3.3, well above the National average. Approximately 25 per cent of tenants were in receipt of some form of welfare assistance or pension and thirty-three per cent were single parent families. Thus, it can be seen that $\frac{3}{4}$ of all public housing tenants are from the range of the working poor who have large families and low incomes. As a group they would have great difficulty finding decent accommodation on the private market at rents they could afford to pay.

In addition to the above, there are specific programs using the insured lending and low income housing provisions which are designed to assist Indians and Metis to acquire decent housing. These include assistance to Indians on and off reserves, and other experimental

programs. To date the number of units involved has been small. There is also a close liaison with other government departments, particularly the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, concerned with housing conditions and need, in designated F.R.E.D. areas.

(c) *Urban Renewal*—The urban renewal legislation is directed to the redemption of blighted urban areas and the conservation of areas threatened with blight. Although the program is presently in abeyance there are several aspects which relate specifically to low income groups. Firstly, renewal areas, particularly those involving residential neighbourhoods, have tended to encompass large numbers of low income persons. As such, urban renewal represents a direct attack on the environmental conditions suffered by the poor. Secondly, the statute requires that urban renewal activities include provisions for the rehousing of people dispossessed of accommodation by the changes to be effected. This has led to considerable building of public housing on the cleared land, and to relocation of other families in improved housing conditions. Thirdly, C.M.H.C. requires that a program of public information be mounted and this has led to increased citizen involvement in decisions affecting their community.

In a period of low vacancy rates and a diminishing supply of low income housing on the private market, largely through private redevelopment activity, it is not surprising that considerable debate has been engendered by this program. The threat of neighbourhood change and consequent rehousing when few alternatives exist makes the problem very real for those directly affected.

Where Do We Go From Here

Within the context of the terms of reference of this committee, housing is but one dimension of the problem of poverty. While the ramifications of substandard housing conditions cut across any classification that may be made (social, cultural, economic, psychological), it is also true that the way to deal with bad housing conditions is to improve or eliminate them.

The elimination of substandard housing conditions and the provision of decent housing for every Canadian continues to be a matter of deep concern to the government and to the Corporation. Again, no universal solutions or simple prescriptions are sufficient, and none are offered. However, it is possible

to suggest several approaches, or combinations of approaches which may have merit and which fall within the interest of this committee. These revolve round considerations of the production and distribution of decent housing and access to it.

(a) *Continue with Present Policies*

Throughout its history, Canada has relied largely on private market processes both to produce and to distribute its housing accommodation. On the whole, the poor have never been well housed, but this deficiency is not unique to Canada, or to its housing methods. Indeed, in terms of statistical distributions, the standard of housing accommodation in Canada is enviably high and is matched only by conditions in the United States, where the fundamental approach to the problem has been remarkably similar.

Moreover, as indicated above, over the past 50 years housing conditions have greatly improved; even conditions among the poor. All the indices of severe shortage, such as substandard housing, overcrowding, and the occupation of deficient units have diminished steadily in absolute terms, and even more rapidly in relative terms. This record invites the suggestion that continued reliance on our present policies, modified and adapted from time to time, would in due course solve the problem, and that there is no need for significant change in our present policies and priorities.

Against this position it would have to be stated that the approach is expensive, and that, in the face of serious constraints on the total effort that may be put into house building, it would not offer the prospect of a short-term solution to the problem of shortage. In addition the pure market approach would tend to perpetuate and further develop the gross pattern of physical segregation of income groups, which is coming to be recognized as one of the most telling weaknesses of the North American city.

The achievement of an adequate stock of dwellings through reliance on private market production and distribution methods would result in a situation in which the poor would have adequate housing and everyone else would have better accommodation, the degree of excess increasing with the level of income. This would clearly require an investment in housing stock that is far greater than would be necessary if a more equalitarian distribution of space and amenity were achieved.

As to segregation, the territorial separation of socio-economic groups in our larger Canadian cities is on a vast scale. Much of the population has no access to areas of new building, and the choice of access among those who can afford new housing is narrowly restricted by the level of their income. The income and wealth distribution provides its own physical reproduction in a hard and coarsely grained pattern of residential segregation.

The inequality of housing conditions among income groups is not new and to some degree is not undesirable. But the emerging scale of territorial segregation of income groups is new. In the United States it is coupled with the linked dimension of race, and with this catalyst it is now providing the clearest possible evidence of alienation, rejection and revolt. The indisputable image of the segregated city stands in hardened opposition to the credibility of the just or the great society. Exclusive reliance on market forces to produce and distribute housing would offer little alleviation from this condition.

In addition to private market activity we are capable of achieving as many as 20,000 units of low income housing per annum under the present budget allotments for three provisions of the Act mentioned earlier. This total would not have been possible without the virtual freeing of the National Housing Act interest rate in the Fall of 1967 and the corresponding reduction in the availability of direct mortgage loans to be made from N.H.A. funds to prospective home owners. The result of these actions was to virtually withdraw the substantial aid that had been provided under the N.H.A. to the middle income sector of the community for the previous decade and to re-direct resources to low income housing and other special purposes. While the total of 20,000 units will represent a marked increase, it will not make a significant impact in housing conditions in the short term.

In one sense the present policy approach, which has been in effect only in the last two years, has shown promising results. This approach includes both a vigorous search for mortgage capital to continue and expand the activities of the private sector, and a strong commitment to the expansion of the public sector with respect to low income housing. In 1968 (and anticipated in 1969) this approach has produced the largest total volume of housing starts, as well as the largest volume of low income housing starts, to date. While these policy directions may not eliminate

housing deficiencies in the short run, they will certainly have positive consequences when viewed over a longer time span.

(b) *The Introduction of a Guaranteed Income Supplement*

The introduction of a cash transfer payment by means of some device such as a universal demogrant or negative income tax would have a great impact in allowing families and individuals to achieve a "decent minimum standard of living." This could theoretically increase the access of these families and individuals to standard or adequate housing, as well as increasing access to a variety of other goods and services not presently available to them.

There is no doubt that the concept of a guaranteed annual income has considerable merit, and may be a necessary if not an efficient device, if we are seriously going to combat poverty. But combined with any cash transfers there will need to be both preventive and rehabilitative programs. These will be required to help those who can contribute productively to the economy to find ways to increasing their contribution as well as improving the quality of life for the total poverty group. Further than this, there will need to be greater involvement of the poor in the solutions of their own problems, a chance to have some power in the decision-making process which affects their lives, at a level that they can comprehend—their own community. Perhaps the transfer of cash is the dimension of the problem that is easiest to deal with. The involvement of people, the building of confidence and the re-alignment of the right kind of package of rehabilitative and preventive services are much more difficult to contemplate.

Coming back to the guaranteed annual income and its effect on housing, given our present methods of production and distribution of housing, there is no doubt that rents and house prices would increase in the short run and that the landlord may be the beneficiary rather than the family in receipt of the cash transfer. In the long run, however, it is possible that the private market would respond to the demand of this group, which would now have the means to gain access to adequate housing, in a way which would provide for a less expensive product mix. The degree to which access to improved housing would influence the kind of territorial segregation described earlier is open to question.

A third possibility is present. If one accepts the earlier definition of poverty and the problem of providing "access to certain goods, services and conditions of life", a guaranteed income would provide the means of access based on some rationalized approach as to what is needed. However, whether the recipients would ensure that discretionary income was used to improve some of the conditions of poverty in the ways intended is another question. Thus, while it is thought that the majority of recipients would improve their housing conditions at least to some extent, there may be others who would not.

(c) *A Cash Transfer Payment with Respect to Housing*

Under this approach an income supplement is provided for families and individuals, to acquire housing of their choice, provided it meets a required standard and is subject to certain limits on household income and rent. This "housing allowance" is thus designed to allow people to find decent accommodation on the private market and to cover the gap between what they can pay for rent, by some approved standard, and the fair market value of the accommodation. This approach is presently in use with varying degrees of success in parts of Britain, the United States, and in Sweden.

There are a number of advantages to such a scheme. While filling the same need as for those who are tenants of public housing (decent accommodation at rents they can afford to pay), it gives people greater choice in where they live and how they live, allowing for increased diversity and mix of neighbourhood population. It also distributes the landlord function among many different landlords rather than concentrating it in the hands of government. It allows greater flexibility in helping those whose problem is not necessarily inadequate or poor quality housing, but rather the proportion of their income spent on rent, which prevents them from properly providing for other necessities. Finally, it does not identify those in receipt of subsidy in the way that occupancy of public housing does at present.

On the other side, many of the same arguments used in relation to the guaranteed annual income are equally applicable. It does not directly increase the housing stock; it would tend to be inflationary at least in the short run; it may be more expensive in the short run than direct intervention on the part of government in the provision of new housing.

ing for low income families because of the immediate volume of subsidies required. However, the concept of the housing allowance does have the advantage of directly benefitting the housing conditions of those who need it most. While some may choose for a variety of reasons to remain in substandard housing, those who take advantage of such an allowance can remove at least this consequence of poverty, and enjoy the benefits of whatever "spill off" accrues to decent housing.

The technique of a housing allowance cannot stand by itself with respect to poor housing conditions or the elimination of poverty. It is suggested as one tool which would work most effectively when combined with an expansion of the supply of housing for low income groups. The costs of such a combination are not necessarily additive, since the housing allowances would help to pay for the increased supply of low income housing and, reciprocally, the availability of low income housing would diminish the burden of the housing allowances.

It should be noted that the concept of a housing allowance is theoretically possible under the present Canada Assistance Plan. However, to our knowledge no province is utilizing this provision of the Plan at the present time, notwithstanding the shelter component included in welfare assistance under the Canada Assistance Plan.

Conclusion

There can be little doubt that the correction of housing deficiencies has increasingly come to be accepted as the primary goal of Federal housing policy. The National Housing Act itself cites no such objective explicitly. Its preamble describes the Act merely as "an Act to promote the construction of new houses, the repair and modernization of existing houses, and the improvement of housing and living conditions." It would be difficult to devise a statute for housing that would not serve these purposes to some degree. Indeed, it is altogether likely that even without hous-

ing legislation the private market would generate new house building at a rate that would improve housing and living conditions. Unless the Housing Act is to serve solely as an instrument of the general economic policy of the Federal Government, supporting fiscal and monetary measures, it must be presumed to have the purpose of improving the actual housing conditions under which people live with its primary objective being the attainment of the goal of decent housing for every Canadian.

The attainment of this goal would have effects extending well beyond housing itself. Most of those who are badly housed in Canada are poor. Bad housing, however, represents only one of the manifestations of poverty. The provision of decent housing for the poor would not, of itself, do away with poverty. It would remove one of the most exacting penalties of poverty, and, in the opinion of most observers would weaken the mechanism through which poverty is regenerated. Certainly, the complex of phenomena that are now comprehended under the term "poverty" is more varied, heterogeneous, and deeply rooted than the mere lack of suitable housing for those who have less money than they require to meet their needs.

Poverty may not be subject to correction through simple stratagems. The housing shortage, however, can be overcome by the mere production and distribution of sufficient numbers of adequate dwelling units. And this vital step, important in itself would not only diminish substantially the sufferings and disabilities that are imposed by poverty; it would also strengthen the attacks on the broader problem that may be mounted from other directions.

Therefore, the elimination of substandard housing conditions in Canada can be regarded not only as a definite, concrete, and comprehensible objective of enormous importance in itself, but also as part of the more difficult, varied, and complex attack on the entire problem of poverty.

NHA ASSISTANCE FOR RENTAL PROJECTS FOR
LOW INCOME GROUPS, CANADA, 1946-1968

TABLE 1(a)

LOANS TO LIMITED DIVIDEND COMPANIES
(Section 16, N.H.A.)

	New Housing			Existing Housing		
	Loans or Projects	Units	Hostel Beds	Loans or Projects	Units	Hostel Beds
Newfoundland.....	2	198	64	—	—	—
Prince Edward Island.....	7	38	—	—	—	—
Nova Scotia.....	6	230	—	1	216	—
New Brunswick.....	6	269	—	—	—	—
Quebec.....	60	8,922	—	—	—	—
Ontario.....	190	16,850	102	1	154	—
Manitoba.....	51	2,538	198	—	—	—
Saskatchewan.....	61	2,377	751	—	—	—
Alberta.....	34	4,106	—	—	—	—
British Columbia.....	84	2,768	—	4	56	—
CANADA.....	501	38,296	1,115	6	426	—

TABLE 1(b)

LOANS TO NON-PROFIT CORPORATIONS
(Section 16A, N.H.A.)

	New Housing			Existing Housing		
	Loans or Projects	Units	Hostel Beds	Loans or Projects	Units	Hostel Beds
Newfoundland.....	2	—	90	—	—	—
Prince Edward Island.....	13	209	172	—	—	—
Nova Scotia.....	4	91	208	—	—	—
New Brunswick.....	8	33	386	—	—	—
Quebec.....	84	1,561	5,315	4	2	310
Ontario.....	38	1,706	2,149	2	1	75
Manitoba.....	52	781	1,068	—	—	15
Saskatchewan.....	55	432	1,681	1	5	22
Alberta.....	3	25	82	—	—	—
British Columbia.....	68	1,364	1,113	6	1	98
CANADA.....	327	6,202	6,202	13	9	520

NHA ASSISTANCE FOR RENTAL PROJECTS FOR
LOW INCOME GROUPS, CANADA, 1946-1968

TABLE 1(c)

LOANS FOR PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS
(Section 35D, N.H.A.)

	New Housing			Existing Housing		
	Loans or Projects	Units	Hostel Beds	Loans or Projects	Units	Hostel Beds
Newfoundland.....	1	160	—	4	72	—
Prince Edward Island.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nova Scotia.....	9	112	—	—	—	—
New Brunswick.....	4	281	—	—	—	—
Quebec.....	1	285	—	—	28	—
Ontario.....	237	18,824	238	46	3,662	—
Manitoba.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Saskatchewan.....	2	22	—	—	—	—
Alberta.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
British Columbia.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
CANADA.....	254	19,684	238	50	3,762	—

TABLE 1(d)

FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL RENTAL HOUSING PROJECTS
(Section 35A, N.H.A.)

	New Housing			Existing Housing		
	Loans or Projects	Units	Hostel Beds	Loans or Projects	Units	Hostel Beds
Newfoundland.....	9	1,087	—	—	—	—
Prince Edward Island.....	2	30	—	—	—	—
Nova Scotia.....	12	1,373	—	1	8	—
New Brunswick.....	6	685	—	—	—	—
Quebec.....	1	796	—	—	—	—
Ontario.....	75	6,599	—	2	436	—
Manitoba.....	3	569	—	—	—	—
Saskatchewan.....	31	1,059	—	1	5	—
Alberta.....	8	384	57	—	—	—
British Columbia.....	17	2,714	—	1	50	—
North West Territories.....	1	17	—	—	—	—
CANADA.....	165	15,313	57	5	499	—

TABLE 2(a)
PER CENT OF TOTAL DWELLINGS OR FAMILIES
REPRESENTING HOUSING DEFICIENCIES

	Dwellings in Need of Major Repair 1961	Crowded Dwellings 1961	Lodging Families 1966	Crowded Dwellings 1968
Atlantic.....	8.9	7.7	6.4	—
Newfoundland.....	5.4	11.6	8.3	—
Prince Edward Island.....	5.7	5.4	5.8	—
Nova Scotia.....	8.6	5.9	6.0	—
New Brunswick.....	12.0	7.8	5.4	—
Quebec.....	4.2	6.4	3.3	—
Ontario.....	4.5	2.7	4.9	—
Prairies.....	8.1	5.7	2.6	—
Manitoba.....	7.7	5.5	3.5	—
Saskatchewan.....	9.0	6.4	2.1	—
Alberta.....	7.8	5.4	2.4	—
British Columbia.....	5.5	3.1	2.8	—
CANADA.....	5.6	4.7	4.0	3.1

TABLE 2(b)
PER CENT OF TOTAL DWELLINGS OR FAMILIES
REPRESENTING HOUSING DEFICIENCIES BY AREA

	Metropolitan Areas				Rural Areas			
	Dwellings in Need of Major Repair	Crowded Dwellings	Lodging Families		Dwellings in Need of Major Repair	Crowded Dwellings	Lodging Families	
	1961	1961	1961	1966	1961	1961	1961	1966
Atlantic.....	7.9	6.5	7.7	5.7	9.8	8.7	7.7	6.9
Newfoundland.....	6.4	10.7	10.1	7.9	5.3	11.5	8.9	8.7
Prince Edward Island....	—	—	—	—	5.6	5.8	7.9	6.4
Nova Scotia.....	6.3	6.2	8.0	5.6	9.4	6.2	6.9	6.1
New Brunswick.....	12.0	3.4	4.8	3.7	14.5	10.6	7.5	6.6
Quebec.....	3.0	4.2	4.8	3.2	7.5	10.7	5.8	4.4
Ontario.....	2.8	2.3	9.3	6.4	7.7	4.6	4.5	3.2
Prairies.....	4.5	2.3	5.4	2.7	12.2	9.9	3.5	2.9
Manitoba.....	5.0	2.2	6.5	3.7	12.3	11.4	3.9	3.5
Saskatchewan.....	4.7	2.6	4.7	2.0	11.3	8.6	2.9	2.3
Alberta.....	4.0	2.3	4.2	2.1	13.0	10.4	4.0	3.2
British Columbia.....	3.6	1.3	4.7	3.0	9.5	7.4	3.3	2.6
CANADA.....	3.4	2.9	6.8	4.5	9.4	8.2	4.9	4.0

TABLE 3
LODGING FAMILIES

	Per Cent of All Families			Per Cent Change		
	1951	1961	1966	1951-1961	1961-1966	1951-1966
Atlantic.....	11.0	7.6	6.4	-22.2	-12.4	-33.8
Newfoundland.....	13.2	9.2	8.3	-17.2	- 1.2	-18.2
Prince Edward Island.....	9.5	7.6	5.8	-17.4	-22.0	-35.5
Nova Scotia.....	11.1	7.4	6.0	-25.3	-16.5	-37.7
New Brunswick.....	9.6	6.6	5.4	-23.1	-15.5	-35.0
Quebec.....	9.3	4.7	3.3	-34.6	-22.3	-49.2
Ontario.....	12.3	7.0	4.9	-25.4	-23.9	-43.3
Provinces.....	6.4	4.2	2.6	-21.0	-34.1	-47.8
Manitoba.....	7.6	5.3	3.5	-21.6	-31.7	-46.4
Saskatchewan.....	5.2	3.4	2.1	-29.2	-36.3	-54.9
Alberta.....	6.3	3.9	2.4	-14.5	-34.7	-44.2
British Columbia.....	7.0	4.2	2.8	-21.8	-24.5	-41.2
CANADA.....	9.8	5.7	4.0	-26.5	-23.6	-43.8

TABLE 4
DWELLINGS IN NEED OF MAJOR REPAIR

	Per Cent of All Dwellings		Per Cent Change
	1951	1961	1951-1961
Atlantic.....	14.5	8.9	-27.9
Newfoundland.....	9.8	5.4	-31.1
Prince Edward Island.....	12.9	5.7	-53.0
Nova Scotia.....	13.0	8.6	-22.3
New Brunswick.....	19.6	12.0	-28.5
Quebec.....	15.8	4.2	-63.7
Ontario.....	9.8	4.5	-35.7
Provinces.....	17.9	8.1	-44.0
Manitoba.....	13.6	7.7	-32.6
Saskatchewan.....	20.5	9.0	-51.2
Alberta.....	19.2	7.8	-43.8
British Columbia.....	9.9	5.5	-24.5
CANADA.....	13.4	5.6	-44.5

TABLE 5
PLUMBING FACILITIES

	Per Cent of Dwelling Stock in 1968 of Dwellings Lacking			Per Cent Change between 1951-1968 in Dwellings Lacking		
	Piped Water	Bath or Shower	Flush Toilet	Piped Water	Bath or Shower	Flush Toilet
Atlantic.....	12.3	27.2	21.3	-47.4	-35.2	-37.9
Newfoundland.....	22.0	44.0	35.0	-42.1	-28.2	-33.8
Prince Edward Island.....	19.2	34.6	30.8	-44.3	-27.6	-31.1
Nova Scotia.....	9.2	22.7	18.4	-45.2	-34.6	-33.1
New Brunswick.....	8.3	20.0	13.8	-59.9	-47.0	-52.7
Quebec.....	0.6	8.1	1.2	-78.6	-55.5	-74.5
Ontario.....	1.6	3.9	3.2	-72.9	-64.2	-64.4
Prairies.....	11.6	14.8	16.7	-59.7	-55.8	-51.6
Manitoba.....	9.3	11.6	14.3	-62.5	-60.3	-52.3
Saskatchewan.....	17.4	22.1	25.2	-59.8	-54.7	-51.1
Alberta.....	9.3	12.2	12.9	-56.5	-52.3	-49.4
British Columbia.....	1.9	3.0	3.0	-62.0	-64.3	-60.5
CANADA.....	4.0	8.8	6.5	-63.0	-55.1	-55.8

TABLE 6
PER CENT INCREASE IN HOUSEHOLD FORMATION FROM 1961 TO 1966

	Family Household Formation			
	Family Formation	Undoubling of Lodging Families	Non-Family Household Formation	Total Household Formation
Atlantic.....	4.4	12.4	13.4	6.8
Newfoundland.....	8.7	1.2	10.5	9.7
Prince Edward Island.....	3.5	22.0	7.7	5.9
Nova Scotia.....	2.7	16.5	12.6	5.5
New Brunswick.....	3.7	15.5	17.2	6.6
Quebec.....	11.4	22.3	41.2	16.4
Ontario.....	9.7	24.0	25.7	14.2
Prairies.....	5.1	34.1	22.2	9.3
Manitoba.....	3.2	31.7	24.2	8.0
Saskatchewan.....	2.3	36.3	18.2	6.1
Alberta.....	8.3	34.7	23.9	12.4
British Columbia.....	13.0	24.8	32.1	17.9
CANADA.....	9.2	23.6	28.2	13.6



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 11

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1969

WITNESS:

Mr. Tom Kent, Deputy Minister, Dept. of Regional Economic Expansion.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Everett	Lefrançois
Carter	Fergusson	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Connolly (<i>Halifax</i> <i>North</i>)	Fournier (<i>Madawaska- Restigouche, Deputy Chairman</i>)	McGrand
Cook	Hastings	Pearson
Croll	Inman	Quart
Eudes		Roebuck
		Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969.

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76(4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of the Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, November 27, 1969.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9:30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Croll (*Chairman*), Carter, Connolly (*Halifax North*), Cook, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand and Roebuck. (10)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witness was heard: Mr. Tom Kent, Deputy Minister, Department of Regional Economic Expansion.

A brief submitted by Mr. Kent was ordered to be printed as Appendix A to these proceedings.

At 12:15 p.m. the Committee adjourned until Tuesday next, December 2, 1969, at 9:30 a.m.

ATTEST:

John A. Hinds,
Acting Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Thursday, November 27, 1969

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, our witness today, appearing on behalf of the Regional Economic Expansion Department, is Mr. Tom Kent, Deputy Minister of that department. As you know, he was appointed to that position last April. Mr. Kent's biographical sketch will appear on the record so that there is no need of any further introduction.

Now Mr. Kent will outline briefly, for ten or fifteen minutes, the material contained in his brief and then we will get into the question period.

Mr. Tom Kent, Deputy Minister, Department of Regional Economic Expansion: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If I may, Mr. Chairman, I should like to say that it is a great privilege to be asked to appear before the committee. What I have tried to do in this short brief is to look at the problem in the terms in which you had defined it, Mr. Chairman, early in the proceedings of the committee. Accepting your distinctions among the three kinds of poverty, I have pointed out that, obviously, here is one kind of poverty which bears no relation to regional economic expansion because it has no relation to economic expansion anyway. That, of course, is the poverty of people who are unable to participate in the economy; who are, for quite unavoidable reasons, cut off from economic participation and whose standard of living is, therefore, dependent entirely on how far the fruits of the economy are by a social decision made available to them without being a return for their effort.

The other two kinds of poverty are together, in very rough order of magnitude, three-quarters of the total. Of those, you distinguish on the one side a group of people for whom the overcoming of poverty depends on a

rehabilitation process of some kind. You call them, I think, the hard core "welfare-ites". Clearly, economic expansion is not in itself the direct instrument for overcoming their poverty. Equally clearly, it provides an environment in which the overcoming of their problem is easier than it would otherwise be.

But the main category—half of the poverty problem—is people who can participate in the economy but who do not do so, essentially because there is not a sufficient demand for their services to draw them in. For this half of the problem, and also to provide the environment for solution of the middle quarter of the problem, economic expansion is one of the two key measures.

I say one of the two because there is also, if one looks at demand and supply, the other side of the equation so to speak. Manpower policy enhances the ability of people to participate in the economy if the demand and the employment opportunities are there. But even that, important as it is, is not of direct benefit unless the expansion also takes place, unless the demand is present in the economy, in other words unless the employment opportunities exist.

When we talk about economic expansion in these terms we are not talking about something which is a simple matter of providing monetary demand. The effectiveness of demand depends on the structure of the economy and on the demand depends being in the right places at the right times. This is the reason for the necessity within economic policy, in a country as large and as diverse as ours, to put an emphasis on regional economic policies or regional economic expansion. We have lived with this problem for a long time. What I have tried to suggest in the brief is that we have to make a more conscious and planned and deliberate effort to expand the economy in those parts of the country where it would appear, from the lesson of experience, that without a deliberate policy there is what we politely call slow growth, which in some cases has amounted to something very near to economic stagnation.

Obviously this is not the kind of occasion on which I imagine you would want to go into great detail about those policies. Indeed it would not really be possible for me to do so at this point, but I think it is important to emphasise that what we are talking about is a new kind of policy compared with any that has been pursued in the past.

Perhaps, Mr. Chairman, I might be allowed, having made those very general remarks, to run through just the last few pages of the brief which, I believe, summarize what I am trying to say. If I may, I would like to start on page 15 at paragraph 36 where, having emphasized the importance of economic expansion policy on a regional basis allied to manpower programs, I have tried to point out that it is, nonetheless, necessary to make a very important addition. While economic growth and manpower development are the essential basic programs, it by no means follows that they will operate readily and efficiently for the benefit of the poorest people among the employable poor.

The hard fact of experience is that, unless a very special effort is made, the people who most need the help are the people who get left out. Even the best of government programs tend to work for the people who are at least already on the margin of the economy, rather than the people below the margin. It is particularly difficult for government policies to reach the people who are right outside the mainstream and who feel hopelessly trapped in conditions of poverty.

In order to make a thorough attack on the modern problem of poverty, government needs much better knowledge as to how employment opportunities and opportunities for training and moving to jobs can be brought effectively into the lives of the people who, psychologically and often physically, are farthest from them. This is a very deep-seated problem. And it is perhaps tragic that up to now relatively little has been done to explore it. However, I do not need to labour that point because it has been emphasized by others. It presents to us especially significant problems in areas such as the northern parts of the prairie provinces but it is a fundamental and deep-seated problem everywhere.

However, important as that is, it is true that in a sense it is a side issue. The fundamental problem is employment. When you take the poverty problem and divide it into three categories, there is a part which depends entirely on income maintenance; there is the social service problem; and then

there is the major part of the problem, where regional economic expansion and manpower programs are the two general instruments that must be used.

They are instruments that it is appropriate for the federal Government to use, in close collaboration with the provinces. They will not do the whole job because their benefits trickle down too slowly and too erratically, unless the general programs are supplemented by more effective methods than we yet have for involving the poor in a readier utilization of changing opportunities. Nonetheless, the fundamental need is that we should find ways for the Canadian economy to operate as consistently as possible in providing high levels of employment across the country. That will not in itself end poverty, but it is essential to creating the conditions in which poverty can be overcome.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Kent. Senator Carter.

Senator Carter: Mr. Kent, we seem to have gone round in complete circles with respect to attacking this problem of regional development. We declared war on poverty four or five years ago and under Mr. Diefenbaker the Atlantic Development Board was set up as a purely advisory board. Then under Mr. Pearson that concept was scrapped and the Atlantic Development Board was given funds. They had large sums of money but apparently they ran out of ideas or programs, and now the ADB is back where it started; it is a purely advisory body.

With respect to growth centres, we started out with a concept of incentives to place where unemployment was above a certain level. That is how the area was described, in terms of levels of unemployment. Then we scrapped that and went to ARDA, and came up against problems there. Then we went to ADA, the Area Development Agency, and we are back to growth centres.

What I would like to know is how do you see this concept of growth centres, this ke area in your departmental policy, being applied to the alleviation of the core problem of poverty?

Mr. Kent: I wonder whether we really have gone round in a circle on this matter. Each of the agencies that was mentioned was set up for the purpose of tackling a part of the problem. The Atlantic Development Board certainly in the form in which it became operational, was designed to deal specifically

with the fact that in the Atlantic provinces the level of infrastructure, to use this horrible word which has become fashionable—the level of utilities, of social capital, is perhaps the older-fashioned word—is very much lower, because of the relative poverty of the provincial governments, than it is in the rest of the country, and this creates an inadequate environment for economic growth. The Atlantic Development Board was set up specifically to deal with this problem.

ARDA, in its various forms, was set up specifically to deal not with the growth centre problem, any more than the ADB had been, but with areas of the country where, in a rural sense, poverty was worst. ADA was set up in the urban areas where poverty was worst.

Senator Carter: I left out FRED.

Mr. Kent: That is the intense form of ARDA.

None of these concepts related to the growth centre, as such. None of these organizations was set up to encourage the growth centre. On the contrary, you could argue they were set up to discourage it. None of these programs—to take the Atlantic region, for the sake of argument—was set up for places like Halifax and Saint John to be the point, so to speak, of attack. Indeed, in the ADA program they were the points specifically excluded.

I think it was really a new decision by the Government that in order to overcome the regional problem you had to think in regional terms, and that if we were going to change in any fundamental way the level of employment opportunities in the poorer regions, Government policy had to be directed particularly to encouraging the points of strength in those regions, the growth centres.

The diagnosis is that in a sense the fundamental difference between the Maritimes and central Canada—Ontario, let us say—is that, while opportunities have been diminishing in rural areas in Ontario, there have been vigorous points of urban growth for people to move to, and this is what they have done; whereas in the Maritimes, while cities have increased somewhat in size, they have in no way produced the same points of attraction, of rapidly improving opportunities, that cities in Ontario have provided.

I do not think we are round in a circle at this point. I think we have decided on a new approach in public policy in saying that, in order to overcome poverty throughout the

Atlantic region, one of the basic things to do, perhaps the most basic thing to do, is to try to create an economic environment in which places like Halifax, Saint John, and so on, are likely to grow at something much more comparable to the rate—and I do not mean they will ever become as big, obviously—but much more comparable to the rate of growth of cities in central Canada.

Senator Carter: Suppose you take Halifax and double its population through industrial growth. How do you expect that industrial growth to spread out and alleviate poverty in the rural areas of Nova Scotia?

Mr. Kent: Because if the jobs are there in Halifax, a good proportion of people from the rural areas will move in and take those jobs.

Senator Carter: They will abandon the rural areas.

Mr. Kent: This is what has happened in Ontario.

Senator Carter: But you have told us this very same thing has happened in Toronto. People have moved out, because Toronto is a growth centre, and they are part of the poverty problem now in Toronto. Will you not have the same problem in Halifax?

Mr. Kent: What I tried to suggest in the brief was that despite this rapid rate of growth in the case of Toronto and some other urban centres, and despite the rapid availability of new jobs, nonetheless, because of the extent of the areas from which people come, because they do not all live near growth centres in the case of the Maritimes, not everybody who has moved has found it easy to take advantage of the opportunities there. The rate of increase in the demand has not been quite as great as the availability of the supply from the country is a whole, from outside people who have been attracted in. Therefore, there is a residual employment problem even in Toronto. However, if there were more growth centres; if Halifax, and so on, were also more vigorous growth centres, then the total increase in demand and availability of employment opportunities would be improved and, therefore, there would be less danger, whether in Toronto or Halifax, of people moving and still being unemployed.

Senator Carter: That is not what has happened in Toronto. We have these pockets of poverty right in the midst of industrial activity. How are you going to overcome that? If

you cannot cure it in Toronto and you have created it in Toronto, what is the remedy to avoid it in Halifax?

Mr. Kent: If I understand your Chairman's diagnosis correctly—and it seems to me clear that this is the correct diagnosis—there is about one-half of the poverty problem which is not going to be cured by extra employment opportunities anyway. The fact that there are pockets of poverty does not mean that a policy to deal with the one-half that can be dealt with by employment measures is not working. So far as that one-half is concerned, though, the extra jobs becoming available in such places as Toronto have not been sufficient to serve the needs of the country as a whole.

If we are able to increase the total rate of growth, and have more of it relatively close at hand to the people in the poorest regions—let us say, have it in Halifax rather than in Toronto—then clearly there will be fewer and smaller pockets of poverty than there are now. Of course, we want to eliminate them completely, and I am not suggesting for one moment that we cannot, in time.

Senator Carter: Do you subscribe to the prediction that within ten or twenty years 80 per cent of our population, or even more, will be living in urban areas; that Toronto will be much bigger than it is today, as will Montreal, Winnipeg, and Vancouver? It is said that we will have these monstrosities growing up and ever expanding, with the wide periphery of the country as sparsely populated as it is now and with hardly any development at all. Does your department have any plan to break that cycle of events, or do you think that this will not happen?

Mr. Kent: That forecast is simply a projection of the present trend. It is a projection which would seem to make common sense. A fact of modern technology is that it takes less and less human labour to actually produce things, to make things in a physical sense. More and more of human labour is engaged in what the economists so horribly call tertiary activity. This is the main source of employment growth, if one looks at the statistics of the employment pattern in Canada, or, indeed, in any other country. It has been particularly strong in Canada, because it involves such a sharp change from the way we were originally settled.

Employment in the so-called primary activities has declined rapidly, and it shows

every sign of continuing to decline. Unless one assumes there is going to be a complete stoppage of the modern trend of technology, that decline is going to go on. But, equally, employment in so-called secondary activities, in manufacturing, while it has increased in absolute numbers, is a relatively static proportion of the total labour force. The expanding part is the tertiary activity—the service industries, in a very general sense.

Clearly, service employment is essentially urban employment. You do not have service activity on any considerable scale if people are thinly spread around. When that is the case, each looks after himself, so to speak, to a relatively large extent. High levels of services are essentially a phenomenon of an urban society.

In other words, the whole nature of our technology and economy is that, if we have strong economic growth, then more and more people are going to live in urban areas. I do not see how one can possibly escape from that projection. I do not know whether 80 per cent will live in towns of such and such a size, and so on. I am not enough of a statistician to have an opinion about the precise projection. But that this is the direction I would have thought not really open to argument.

It by no means follows that we have to accept that all the growth should take place in a few cities that will have populations of two million, three million, four million, or five million. Indeed, I think the answer to the policy part of your question, sir, essentially is: Yes. The whole point of the existence of the department is to try to bring it about that more of the inevitable urban growth takes place in regions like the Maritimes and eastern Quebec, rather than allowing it all to be concentrated in a very few locations in central Canada, plus the odd place like Vancouver.

Senator Carter: I do not want to monopolize the committee's time, Mr. Chairman, but I would just like to ask this one question. I might say that I can ask questions all day, if I am allowed to.

This is what you have not answered, Mr. Kent. You said that that projection was normal and sensible, and if it is normal and sensible then it is going to take place because there are certain forces at work which cause it. If these forces are at work causing the population to concentrate in these large centres, how are you going to offset these forces

and create urbanization elsewhere? You cannot do it unless you have some method of counteracting these forces which are producing the results which are being predicted, and which you acknowledge.

Mr. Kent: I am suggesting they are not inevitable forces towards growth at just one or two points only, in a country as large as this. If it is government policy, or national policy, to encourage more of the growth to take place at points spread across the country, rather than be concentrated entirely in the centre, then we have to use the available weapons of public policy to bring that about. The two main ones, as the Minister has said many times, and as I have tried to state briefly in the submission, are: (a) the provision of industrial incentives to influence the location of industry and encourage its growth in Halifax, Saint John, et cetera rather than entirely in the centre of the country; and (b) to enable those parts of the country to provide the necessary social capital, the public services, and the infrastructure that goes with industrial growth, and to provide it on a scale and at a speed that would be impossible if it depended entirely on local resources. Therefore, the federal Government makes a very special contribution to those areas. Those are the two weapons, in their general nature.

How effective they will be is another matter. Obviously, one would be foolish to make precise predictions about this, but, at least, there is a chance of their being fairly effective if they are used on a large scale. These are the decisions that in principle the government has made. How far it will be prepared to go, and how effective the measures can be, only experience will really teach us.

Senator McGrand: To follow up Senator Carter's question: in the rural areas of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick there are natural resources that are not fully developed. Most of them are poorly developed. Until these resources are fully developed there will be poverty in those rural areas, and it will continue to spill over and accumulate in Halifax.

Let us take a regional area. I will forget about the Maritimes. You spoke about the Metis and the Indians. What natural resources that are native to these areas can be developed? What new industry could you introduce in these areas that would raise the standard of living of the Metis in the skimpy economy in which they exist. I will put it all in one question: you have been with this for a

number of years. What first hand knowledge do you have of it? Have you ever gone into these areas of rural poverty such as up in Manitoba and in the Maritimes and had a first hand look at the situation?

Mr. Kent: Yes I have.

Senator McGrand: It is difficult for you to do, but how close are you to this?

Mr. Kent: That I may say, sir, is a hard question for any of us to answer because really it is not a question of going and looking. One can do that and surely we have all done it. I have visited a great many Indian reserves, and so on. The issue really is: does one understand what can be done? I do not know how any of us can make that judgment about himself.

When we say that there are resources in the areas of rural poverty that are under-utilized, we mean that the present methods of utilization only yield a very low standard of living for the Indian and the Metis of the northern Prairies. The traditional resource base in terms of fishing, trapping, and so on, is not by any means unlimited. The methods of using it are certainly not ones that produce high individual productivity and income. While there is no doubt at all that the resource could be used in a way that would generate higher incomes, it certainly will not generate higher incomes for an increasing number of people or even, indeed, for the number who are now trying to use that resource base.

Therefore, we can have higher standards of living and more employment only if the range of resources that are exploited is widened in one way or another. This is fundamental and I think not disputed by anybody. What additional resources are there? In the northern Prairies essentially there are two, other than the traditional finshing and trapping. These two resources require larger scale organization, which calls for a different kind of economy. One is more exploitation of the wood resources by means of sawmilling, chipping and other processes of the pulp and paper industry. The other, of course, is mineral resources.

There has been, after all, in the northern parts of the Prairie provinces rapid growth in the exploitation of the mineral resources, but the people carrying it out have all moved in from outside. It has not provided opportunity for the people already there, increasing numbers of whom are trying to exploit what is

undoubtedly in its traditional terms an inadequate resource base. Higher income in the northern Prairies depends at the moment on two things, the woods and the minerals. Neither of these has as yet been very well utilized for the benefit of the native people.

Senator McGrand: In the Interlake area, as we call it, and around its group of lakes there is a large population of metis. What resources are there in that area, apart from fishing and trapping, that can be developed to give people employment? It is a marshy, swampy sort of country.

Mr. Kent: Much of it is marshy, but not all of it. The area which is at the moment being developed vigorously is, of course, northwest of the Interlake as such. It is the area around The Pas, where very big forestry developments are taking place. Assistance in training and mobility to move into The Pas is extremely important for this development. It is crucial for many of the people in that area that they be helped in these directions. The only solution for a substantial part of the problem lies in moving to points like The Pas where a forest industry can be developed.

What is known as the Interlake area, of course, is not really all that far north in the sense of what we have been talking about. It is relatively southern Manitoba. In Selkirk and Gimli and, of course, down towards Winnipeg itself, certainly there are possibilities of creating new industries. Selkirk has enjoyed substantial growth with the assistance of the programs of the department. Many people have moved from the Interlake countryside into Selkirk and Gimli. We must make every possible effort to provide more help for that.

So far as the rural exploitation of resources in the Interlake is concerned, there is no doubt that it could provide higher incomes for some individuals. But this will be possible only with a type of farming which involves larger farms, more for beef cattle than anything else. Such farming would be a relatively thin utilization of agricultural resources from a human point of view. Therefore it will provide good incomes only to a limited number of people. This is the rural problem: There are resources that will yield higher incomes more pleasantly and more efficiently, but only for a limited number of people.

Senator Fergusson: I was under the impression that the objectives of the Department of

Regional Economic Expansion were socio-economic. At the bottom of page 1 of your brief it is stated that:

The creation of the new department represents a new level of concern, a new level of priority for measures to lessen the economic and social disparities between parts of Canada.

However, when I read the brief—and I read it twice—I could not find much reference to any social programs. Perhaps you feel that if economic expansion and progress takes place, then social disparities must necessarily disappear. I am not sure I agree with that, and I should like to have your comments. Do you have any interest in social aspects at all, or do they just have to be a sort of fringe benefit after you have established economic advances?

Mr. Kent: I am sorry if the brief creates that impression.

Senator Fergusson: I may have misunderstood it.

Mr. Kent: No, I am sure it is an inadequacy in the brief. What I had hoped the brief said was that certainly the mistake we must not make is to think that the mere process of economic expansion is the means of overcoming "social as well as economic disparities". That, I agree, would be a complete error. But equally, we must be very clear that social disparities will not be overcome unless there is economic expansion, that there is a sense in which economic expansion has a priority, not in importance but in time.

To take the most obvious area, one of the main steps in lessening social disparities involves the range of things that we label including basic education, basic upgrading and so on. Without these manpower programs, economic expansion would be of very little benefit to people who are outside the mainstream of the economy as it is. Indeed, a lot of the effort would be wasted and even worse inflationary tendencies would result from monetary expansion.

However, it is no use having training programs and upgrading programs if jobs for people to do when they have been trained do not exist. So, in terms of the timing of public policy—and I emphasize again, not the importance in any philosophical sense but the practical importance of what government should be doing now, what it should be first spending

its money on—economic expansion does have a certain prior importance. That is the sense in which I have been trying to emphasize it.

Senator Fergusson: I understand you a little better now. You mentioned other departments such as the Department of Manpower, which is doing things in this area. Can you tell us how your department cooperates with other federal departments? There seems to be an overlapping between the Department of Manpower and your department and perhaps the Department of National Health and Welfare. You would have to co-operate very closely in order not to be doing something different. Is there sometimes a conflict between what you are doing and the policies of another department? What makes me say this is your reference to transportation on page 13 of the brief paragraph 32:

While much of the initial emphasis is bound to fall on major centres the minister has pointed out that in some regions from the beginning and indeed in all regions at some stage, there will be need to encourage also the development of smaller towns for industry and as trading centres. Transportation plans will also be important.

I think transportation plans are essential for those small towns if they are to be developed into trading centres. However, in the Maritimes transportation is now being cut down, so that some of our small towns have, or will very soon have, no transportation for people.

Senator Cook: It is also being taxed.

Senator Fergusson: I know it is mostly passenger transportation. Surely if these centres are to grow there must be passenger services to such places. It seems that there is on the one hand a policy to do away with these things and on the other hand we are trying to build up the little towns that need that kind of help. I wondered what co-operation there is between different parts of the government.

Mr. Kent: I suppose one has to recognize that co-operation is never as good as it ought to be in any kind of activity. One can always do better. However, I think there is a good deal of co-operation. Indeed, I think one could fairly say that we are developing an unprecedented degree of co-operation between departments for these purposes. There is no doubt at all that it takes time; it is a slow business and involves changes in many past,

traditional ways of looking at many of the problems. Undoubtedly from the point of view of the functional departments, the line departments, in the past there has probably been less emphasis on regional problems than we are now trying to get, and therefore to adjust to that will take time.

But even now we are not all that inadequate. Take transportation, for example. One of the important programs of the department is to assist the provinces in building the roads that will link the trading centres and smaller towns that were referred to. Whether we are doing it on a large enough scale, whether we are helping the provinces enough, is always a matter for argument. However, following what the ADB had started, we are indeed assisting the improvement of transportation. Our role is to do things that other federal departments do not do. The building of roads is a provincial matter. To assist is one instrument through which special aid is given to the poorer provincial governments. And to improve roads is necessary for precisely the reasons you mentioned.

Senator Fergusson: Do you feel that roads are the only thing necessary? Can we do away with the trains for transporting people? These small towns will never have air transport.

Mr. Kent: This is the sort of issue on which I do not think we can do other than accept what is happening generally throughout the country, in the fast growth regions just as in the slow growth regions. The passenger train seems to be on its way out, and I do not think we can fight that trend on regional grounds. What we can do on regional grounds is to try to see that in the Maritimes, as well as in industrial Canada, there are roads that people can use.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Kent, I can see this in time but I think they are on their way out a little too fast.

The Chairman: Are you finished, Senator Fergusson?

Senator Fergusson: Yes.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The witness has made it very clear that he is not in a position to do anything, but generalize on this subject and that perhaps is understandable. His brief says quite clearly that certain private proposals have been made to the provinces and that he

is not in a position which, too, is understandable, to disclose the nature of those proposals. I take it that in due time we and the rest of the people in Canada will know what those proposals are. In the meantime, my question is concerned with whether or not philosophical discussions are of any particular value to us. I say this not meaning to be unkind and certainly not intending to reflect upon the witness. For example, our concern is with specifics and, like Senator Fergusson, I have been wondering how much co-operation there is between various departments of Government as between Manpower and Regional Expansion. Now, I say that for this reason, because like other members of this committee, I have served for many years as a member of provincial administration, and I know how easy it is for little kingdoms to thrive within governments, but ministers put on the royal robe and in kingly splendour resent any interference by their colleagues, build up their own monarchies and all operate in their interest of their separate autonomous states with very little resulting good in the overall picture.

Mr. Chairman, if we are going off on a tangent in this committee of yours on poverty, it is not going to be of very much benefit.

My first question to the witness is how much actual and active co-operation is there between Manpower and Regional Economic Expansion?

Mr. Kent: I know of no way whatever in which that co-operation is absent. Under the new policy for industrial incentives that we have adopted, one of the conditions for our giving an incentive is that the company which receives that incentive must undertake to use the Department of Manpower, the Canada Manpower Centres, in in its recruitment of workers. It is a condition that was not operative in the former program, but is in the new program which we have just started. If that is to be effective, clearly it is also important that Manpower know well in advance what new industries are going to be developed and what the projects are in respect to which we provide assistance in the slow growth regions. It should also have advance notice of the areas in which we will be helping to speed up the improvement of social capital, infrastructure, which means the whole range of community facilities like roads, water, sewers, industrial lands, residential lands, housing, schools or hospitals—whatever are the development priorities

which we agree on with the province. All of these things the Department of Manpower must be aware of, and all of our methods of work provide for that.

Equally, of course, it is important that the Department of Manpower warn us beforehand of problems that it foresees.

Obviously I cannot speak with quite the same certainty on this, since there may be cases I have not known about. But, as far as I am aware, they are very efficient and co-operative about doing so.

I should say that in detail this machinery is certainly not working yet in the way in which it eventually will do, because we have only just begun to establish our field organization for the new department. Our sort of work does not involve vast numbers of people, but what we are going to have has not existed before. This will be a small office, with a senior officer in charge, in each provincial capital. We have just made the appointments of people to those positions. Obviously, the machinery is not yet fully established in detail. But I think there is every reason to believe that we already have or as we become more active will have, effectively the sort of co-operation we need with the other departments. The Department of Manpower, is one of the most important. Others are important too, such as Industry, Trade and Commerce, Transport et cetera. We have every reason to believe that we will have close, effective, satisfactory co-operation.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): I do not wish to ask an unfair question, Mr. Chairman, and if the witness considers this to be so I would not be the least surprised if he says so and I will let it drop. Would you care to express a view as to whether or not this whole job, involving employment in this country, could be better handled under the one head than under diverse heads?

Mr. Kent: Mr. Chairman, I do not think that is an unfair question. I will certainly answer it to the best of my ability. There is one problem and it must be handled as one problem by the Government of Canada, but in co-operation with the other structures of government that we have in this country, namely the provinces. That is the nature of our constitution. There are not any great difficulties arising from that. Federal-provincial co-operation in this field is perfectly possible.

Within the federal structure itself, there is one Government, and whether you subdivide it between departments, or between branches

within departments, is not fundamentally important. Either way, it is going to be broken down into specialties, as every big problem has to be. While it is essential that it be tackled as one problem by the Government, the co-ordination between the parts of the problem can perfectly well be applied at the Cabinet level, so to speak, rather than within one department.

In other words, if the question is whether there should be the present number of departments or one bigger department dealing with this whole range of problems, I would say no. The range of the problem is such that it requires many departments to be involved. Certainly it therefore also requires a very strong central body, the cabinet, to allocate resources between departments, to determine departmental programs to serve the overall purpose. That can be done within the machinery of government as we have it. I do not think changes in the machinery are in any way crucial to the doing of the work. Is that a fair answer to the question?

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): I have one further point. If I interpret your brief correctly, the department is sold on the theory that if there is to be equality of opportunity and employment across this country, that people must be moved. You don't say so?

Mr. Kent: No, sir.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): You seem to. Let me read to you from page 14, paragraph 2:

The point of manpower policy is to have an effective, nation-wide service to help people get jobs; to give them reliable information and advice; to counsel them; to provide grants to help them move when necessary; above all, to pay the cost of training, and of living while training, for the many people who must develop or broaden their skills before they can get new jobs in the contemporary economy.

As to Department of Manpower and because of the close liaison between the two departments—surely you subscribe to that?

Mr. Kent: Sir, I shook my head because I think the phrase "people must be moved" was, if I may say so, an unfair way of putting the proposition. What we are doing is recognizing what is clearly a fact, that the growth of the modern economy takes place in urban

areas. That is where there are going to be more jobs. Therefore, if the people who are now unemployed or under-employed in rural areas are going to become employed, it is essential that some of them move. It is not a question of "their being moved". It is their moving. And people do move, on an enormous scale.

Senator Roebuck: That is why they have legs.

Mr. Kent: All we are doing is trying to ensure they have opportunities in all regions of the country, not just the centre. If we recognize the social as well as the purely economic problem, we see that people need help in order to be able to take these opportunities—help in training, help in the actual process of moving—and it is necessary that the Government provide that help. But it is not that the Government is moving people. It is that people are moving and we want to make it easy for them.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): Mr. Chairman, my last word is a comment. I merely wish to say, as has been said many times before, that human beings being what they are, they do not easily pull up their roots from their native habitats and go elsewhere, even though the inducements may be better and even though the opportunities may be greater and the chances of improved increments are enhanced. I think this is a matter which should be kept in mind by all departments involved in this problem. Thank you very much.

Senator Cook: In paragraph 28, page 12 you say:

—there must be industrial growth. We must attract as many industries as possible to the centres within slow-growth regions which are possible locations for them.

On the first point, that there must be industrial growth, have you had any success in attracting new industries to Canada, industries which are new to Canada?

Mr. Kent: Of course, it is hard to answer that question for a new department, as we are answering for only a very short period indeed.

Industries which are completely new to Canada, in the sense that there is no production of that kind at all now? I cannot think of

an example. Industries which are new to the region? In that case, the answer is most certainly yes, there are a good many.

To take one conspicuous example, the manufacture of tires is new in eastern Canada. As everyone is aware, Michelin has recently made a decision, with the assistance of our incentives, to produce tires in Nova Scotia. I have taken that as one example, but there are many others of industries which are new to the region. I do not wish to say there is not a single example of one which is completely new to the country, but I cannot think of one at the moment. It would be rather unlikely.

Senator Cook: Is there much interest being taken by industry in the program of relocating?

Mr. Kent: Indeed, at this moment there is an embarrassing amount of interest, because we are not really organized to take full advantage of it yet. That is inevitable in the process of establishing a new department.

The best illustration I can give is to refer to some figures published by the Minister last week on the rate of approval of new industrial plants to which we are giving incentives. Under the new program we make an offer to the company. Under the old program we issued a so-called letter of assurance that we would give an incentive if the project went ahead. The number of jobs created by those plants, when they come into operation, under the offers or approvals that we have given this year, is running at four times the rate of last year. One hopes that trend will go up.

Senator Cook: Each new industry attracted makes it more easy to attract the next one?

Mr. Kent: Yes, sir.

Senator Cook: You would be rather optimistic as to the long-range effect of this program on regional areas?

Mr. Kent: Yes sir. One has to be very careful to guard against easy optimism. Certainly there are many problems, there is a good deal we have yet to learn by experience. But it is fair to say that the indications at the moment are that these programs can be effective in promoting and increasing the level of employment in the slow-growth regions, compared to what it would otherwise be.

The Chairman: On that point, Mr. Kent, when Mr. Lavigne was with us you will recall that he discussed the area in the Owen Sound

region, and apparently, that was very successful. Did your investment there attract other industries in addition to those you began with?

Mr. Kent: That is a question we will be able to answer in respect of the new program, but which cannot really to answered in respect of the old one, because you will remember that that was an automatic program. Once a region was designated, every industry in that region automatically received a grant. So that, while one might suspect that in fact some of them were attracted at the second wave and did not really need a grant because they would have been attracted anyway, the program was such that they got the grant. One cannot say what would have happened otherwise. The new program it is not automatic in that sense, and we will be able in future to tell.

Senator Inman: Mr. Kent, one page 15 of your brief, paragraph 36, you say:

While economic growth and manpower development are the essential basic programs, it by no means follows that they will operate, readily and efficiently, for the benefit of the poorest people among the employable poor.

Is that not a rather defeatist attitude? After all, these are some of the people we are very anxious to help.

Mr. Kent: I certainly did not intend it to be defeatist.

Senator Inman: It sounds rather that way.

Mr. Kent: I intended it to be realistic in pointing out that, while economic expansion is, in terms of timing, a priority program, we should not deceive ourselves and think that so long as we have economic expansion then the problem of poverty is solved. On the contrary, we have to take very special measures to ensure that, if the economic environment is sound, if there is economic expansion, then the necessary social policies are followed, the necessary program services are provided—the ones that reach out to the poorest of the employable poor.

All I am saying here is what I am sure every sociologist, every social worker, and so on and so forth, would say: namely, that one must not think it is enough to have a high level of economic growth and that then the problems of the poorest people will be solved. That is not true. Their problems are not

solved. They cannot be solved without economic growth. But they have to be solved as well, on top of the economic growth. That is all I am trying to say.

Senator Inman: I understand that, but I must say it sounded defeatist to me. In paragraph 37 you say:

It is peculiarly difficult for government policies to reach the people who are right outside the mainstream, who feel hopelessly trapped in conditions of poverty.

In the administration of your department, would it be possible for you to devise some means of reaching these poor people, or does that come under your administration?

Mr. Kent: There is no doubt at all that this has been one of the areas of failure in public policy up to now. Indeed, I was impertinent enough to suggest in paragraph 38 that perhaps it was a field in which our research organizations, our universities, had perhaps done less than one might have hoped or even expected.

What I am trying to say here is that I do not think that any of us have easy answers to this very difficult problem. Indeed, if I may presume to say so, Mr. Chairman, that is no doubt why this committee exists. It is going to make very important suggestions about what the answers should be. The role that our department will play, will depend in part on the nature of the answers that are suggested. Some of those answers, almost certainly, will result in the improvement and development of things for which we are the appropriate federal agency. There will be others, no doubt, which will concern either the Department of Manpower and Immigration or the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development or the Department of National Health and Welfare, and so on. Some of the answers will involve new things that need to be done, and these may very well be things for which our department will have a measure of responsibility.

Obviously, some of the things in this area are likely to require provincial action, and in that case there is no doubt that it will be part of our role to help the poorer provinces to improve the "reaching out" services.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, I have just one question following up on what Senator Donnelly (Halifax North) said about moving people in rural areas. I come from Prince Edward Island which is a small agricultural

province, and I do know that there there are a great many people in the rural areas, on the farms, who although they are not making an affluent living, are nonetheless, living happily and comfortably. These people would hate to be moved. Nevertheless, in this new start that is operating down there, it is my understanding that they are trying to move people off small farms in order to make larger farms. Has any thought been given to putting young people on to these farms? I do know of young people who are anxious to go back to the land, but they would need to have financial help in getting started. Has any thought been given to that?

Mr. Kent: Yes, indeed. If one wanted to express the essence of the Prince Edward Island development plan very crudely, one would say that it is a program for making it possible for younger farmers to farm bigger farms compared with old farmers farming smaller farms. To the extent that the latter is now the structure of the Prince Edward Island farm economy, this is precisely what the program it about. It is not to move people off farms; it is to make it possible for farmers who have only small amounts of land, and who are, perhaps, close to retirement, to stop farming while having a decent income. In effect, it is a policy of making retirement possible for older farmers and making farming possible for younger men with the wish and with the ability but not the money. In other words, it is financing their taking over farms but not doing what so often happens at the moment in Prince Edward Island to ambitious young farmers; namely, running a relatively small farm that he owns but, in order to make the operation the kind he wishes to run, renting pieces of land here and there with the result that he spends much of his time travelling around between these pieces of land. What we are trying to do in Prince Edward Island is to help the provincial government finance men in those positions, to help them consolidate land and get larger farms, in order to increase the real income from agriculture in Prince Edward Island. The hope is to increase the real income from agriculture in P.E.I. three-fold over a fifteen-year period.

Senator Inman: But that is cutting out the small unit, and I know of young people who are not interested in having a big farm, because down in Prince Edward Island a farm of 600, 700 or 800 acres is considered a big farm. They would prefer to have a small

farm which they can work themselves because labour is hard to get a capital is hard to get.

Mr. Kent: I was not thinking primarily in terms of a big intensive farm of 500 or 600 acres. I was thinking of perhaps 200 acres rather than 100.

Senator Inman: With a couple of hundred acres a man with the help of one other man would be able to work it. As I say, I know of one young couple who are very anxious to go on such a farm but they would have to have financial assistance.

Mr. Kent: But the P.E.I. plan is designed for that purpose.

The Chairman: That plan was presented to us by the committee in P.E.I.

Senator Fournier.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Mr. Chairman, I do not know what my feeling is this morning. Possibly I lean on the critical side although in all fairness to Mr. Kent I do not think I will be because Mr. Kent is doing his best as head of a new department. I know he does not have all the answers and I have no doubt that at the moment nobody knows where it will lead to. However, I have my doubts and reservations about this new Regional Economic Expansion Branch because it looks like we have a duplication of services. It seems to me we are getting buried in the development of new services one after the other. We have IDB, ARDA, ADA, FRED, practically all of which have been failures. Yet we seem to pick up all the old pieces and try to put them together, patch up the old tire, so to speak, put on a new coat of paint to make it shining and start off again. Again I question the need for all these. As I have said, there seems to be a tremendous duplication of services in government with everybody stepping on their neighbours' toes.

However, I do thank Mr. Kent for the brief today. It does not bring anything new. There are no new ideas. It is something we have discussed previously and it is something we already know. We have heard it all before on several occasions and I certainly endorse what Senator Carter said and Senator Connolly (Halifax North) that this committee is looking for something constructive, something on which we can work. While I hate to say this, the many briefs presented to us by government officials are just so much

more blah, blah, blah. I hope that in future when we get briefs presented to us by government officials they will bring up something constructive. I will leave it at that, but I would point out, Mr. Kent, that this criticism is not directed at you.

The Chairman: Senator Roebuck?

Senator Roebuck: Well, Mr. Chairman, I am not critical at all. I read the brief with very great interest and I thought it was one of the most intelligent submissions we have had before us. I will go further and say that the present witness in my view is one of the most incisive in his thinking that we have yet heard. Therefore, as I have said, I am not at all critical. But that is not to say that I do not have any criticism. I have one criticism, yes. When I read the brief I thought how analytical and how clear-thinking it was, but unfortunately it did not come to any conclusions. It did not finally arrive, if I may put it that way. In his address to us today he has made the three divisions of our problem quite clear; there are the unemployable poor to begin with, the poor that you have always with you, the widow and her children, the halt and the blind. We can do nothing about them except to take care of them and under ordinary conditions we shall have no trouble in doing that. Then there is the other division broken into two categories, the employable people, the men with no jobs who are quite capable of handling a job and desire to do so but are nevertheless unemployed, and then the section of the community in which we have expressed interest on a good many occasions, the working poor—the people who have jobs but whose wages are so small that they are living below with what the Economic Council has described as the poverty line. As I see it the unemployed and the working poor are really in one classification.

As I see it, this in turn boils down to the supply of labour and the quality of labour. There are three or four divisions here and you, Mr. Kent, are doing something about the quality of labour, or at least the government is and we are supplying funds for the training of people. Perhaps we are not doing enough, but we are doing something and that is an important factor. Now in the number two category and the number three category I have mentioned the quality of labour—those who are unemployable for lack of training and I think you are busily engaged in that section of our problem, are you not?

Mr. Kent: Yes, sir.

Senator Roebuck: Well, the next section of that problem is the supply of capital and what one could call the quality, I suppose, of capital; that consists of the tools with which these people may work. Much has been said this morning about the farming problem. Farming is very different now from what it was a few years ago when a man and a team of horses could handle a 100-acre farm. Today in order to compete with farms abroad and indeed with other farms in Canada too, one must have a considerable amount of capital in order to buy the kind of tools that are now necessary and which should reduce the cost of living very greatly.

Then there is the third of these divisions I mentioned and this involves the natural resources with which we work. As one reads your brief and sees what is behind your thought, I think all these points I have made are very clearly stated, but you have not said anything with regard to our natural resources, and here I think my friend is right in his criticism. What are we doing with regard to our natural resources?

Natural resources is a subject that has always strongly appealed to me, and I think you agree with me, do you not, that we have tremendous natural resources, both in area and in quality? We have the agricultural, the mining, the forest resources, and so on; and we have the natural resources of the cities—that is, the lots upon which you build houses, the places where you deposit factories, and so on. We have all these things in ample measure, perhaps in greater measure than any other nation. But is it not a fact that it is one thing to have these resources and another thing to make them available? And there are two elements in that, are there not? One is the transportation to them and the availability of labour to them; and the second is the price at which they are held.

You have said nothing in your brief with regard to what I think is the most important problem before us, the availability of our natural resources, and as I have said, secondarily—because in my judgment we have the best-educated, the most sober, the most industrious people in the history of the world—our population. Of course, it is not beyond improvement, and I think you are doing something along those lines, but what do you say about the availability of the natural resources, many of which, in my judgment, are held at prices that make them unavailable for development?

Mr. Kent: Well, sir, I think it is quite true that in the brief I have obviously not explored those problems because, if I may say so, they are not the particular regional problems...

Senator Roebuck: But they are regional. Our taxation system, our land tenure, and all that sort of thing, are local. These are general, but nevertheless they are controlled locally.

Mr. Kent: I did not express myself well, and I apologize.

We have in Canada, as you quite rightly said, very rich resources, a relatively well-educated, able and skilled working force, and so on. Unfortunately, the slow-growth parts of the country tend to be, in general, the parts where the resources are not as good as they are in other parts. For obvious reasons, where the resources are even better the growth has tended to take place fastest.

Senator Roebuck: May I take issue with you in that regard? We are always talking about the Maritime provinces as not having resources. They have land, they have forests, they have waterfalls; they are nearer to world markets than the rest of us; they have everything to make a happy and prosperous country. Why are they not prosperous?

Mr. Kent: Perhaps one could take Prince Edward Island as an example. This is a case where the resource, in terms of agricultural land, is very good. It is not used to produce a high total value of output, essentially because it has not been close to sufficiently large markets.

What we are trying to do in the Prince Edward Island development plan is to say: Okay, if economic growth takes place there will be expanding markets—in the U.S., and so on, but they are rather a long way away—and, if we succeed in the general program, there will be expanding markets in the Maritimes; and the best place from which to supply vegetables for a more prosperous Maritimes economy is P.E.I. But if it is going to seize that opportunity and play that role, young people must be helped to get on to the land and to establish farms that will produce a good living.

Senator Roebuck: And in that case that is what you are trying to do?

Mr. Kent: Yes, it is precisely in that case what we are trying to do.

Senator Roebuck: Excellent.

Mr. Kent: I think one has to face the fact, though, that probably only in P.E.I. and in relatively limited parts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia is there the base for first-class agriculture which will produce high incomes for a good number of people.

With regard to the forest resource, I think there is no doubt at all that in many ways the utilization could be very much improved. We have to recognize here that, until we have a way of getting that worked out with a province, it is a little hard for us to declare policies because they are largely in the provincial field. This is the handicap.

Senator Roebuck: They have no monopoly on our intelligence.

Mr. Kent: No, sir. In developing programs with the provinces, the future policy towards the utilization of the forests is one of the things we are searching to improve. However, as one of the members of the committee was kind enough to recognize earlier, it is a little difficult for us to talk in detail at this stage about matters which are under discussion with the provinces. The statement on policies of that kind has to come after agreement has been reached. Have I answered the question, sir?

Senator Roebuck: No, you are a long way from answering my question. We are off on a little side line here. It is the duty of the civil servant, of which you are one, not to develop policy, but there is no inhibition on your thinking, and when we are struggling, as we are in this committee, to find solutions and to recommend them, there is no reason why you should not be perfectly free in the expression of opinions, the analysis of situations and the suggestion of proposals.

Mr. Kent: I apologize if I did not make this clear. I certainly agree that in the case of the three larger Atlantic provinces, and particularly perhaps in the case of both New Brunswick and Newfoundland, which in terms of the forest resource are the two provinces that have considerable potential, there is no doubt at all that provincial policies for the leasing of timber rights and the provisions as to regeneration, and so on, could be improved in a way which would increase the amount of production and the number of people efficiently and effectively engaged in the industry.

Senator Roebuck: That is the first really concrete suggestion that we have had, that we

could do something so far as forestry is concerned, to make the resource more available to industry and, in that way, employ a greater number of people.

My thought has always been while we were discussing these questions that it comes down very largely to more jobs and less competition among the poor people for the few jobs that are available. In a country of our size with the resources we have, and all the blessings of nature that we enjoy, jobs should be available and far greater in number than those who are prepared to fill them.

We have made a little progress there, but what do you say about the availability generally of mother nature in respect of the employment of our people? What do you say about the very high price that we are now charging anybody who tries to do anything such as getting a foothold in resources, which are unlimited at the present time and totally in the hands of the individuals who have grabbed them? We are doing nothing about that. We have run the price of just placing a house in the cities up to extravagant figures. There is many a man who is not able to have a home, in consequence largely of the price that the monopolist will hold him up for before he will let him build it. Those who want to build a factory face the same difficulty.

I have pointed out two or three times what has happened in the north, where every showing of calcite has been staked, and acres upon acres are held by two or three large corporate monopolist, and in consequence our mineral development is restricted.

Is there nothing we can do there? Why are we afraid to talk about it?

Mr. Kent: I do not think we are afraid to talk about it. We have to recognize that the area of what the federal Government can do about it does depend upon co-operation with the provinces, and, therefore,...

Senator Roebuck: That is advisable, but do you not recognize the fact that every method of taxation is open to the federal jurisdiction?

Mr. Kent: Yes, but, for example, how many people hold exploration rights for minerals in a province? This is the problem you were referring to a moment ago. This is determined by the provincial Government, and not by the federal Government.

Senator Roebuck: As to the number held?

Mr. Kent: They issue the licences.

Senator Roebuck: Yes, that is right, but when they come to us asking or begging for money, as they do, we should certainly express our opinion with respect to their policies.

Mr. Kent: Perhaps we do more than express our opinion. Certainly one of the things that we are discussing with the provinces at this moment—with the Atlantic provinces—is how to increase the amount of exploration done in the most likely looking areas for mineral development.

Regarding your point that what I said about the forests was something definite—one concrete point, or one suggestion—I think it would be a great tragedy to suggest it is a specially important point, because there are many of these kinds of things, and in respect to all of them I think I can say we are fairly active in trying to take steps forward with the provinces.

Of course, we cannot isolate federal decisions. We have to arrive at suitable programs jointly with the provinces, and certainly we are trying to do that. Perhaps I might refer to the example of housing, and the cost of land for both industry and housing.

One of the things that the Atlantic Development Board did, admittedly on a small scale, was to help bring down the cost of land for industrial purposes by financing industrial parks in a considerable number of locations.

Senator Roebuck: I do not quite understand that. What did they do?

Mr. Kent: They paid large shares of the costs of providing industrial parks, whereby serviced land for factory building was available at a much lower price than it would otherwise have been.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): But that did not reduce the price of the land. The Atlantic Development Board made up the difference between the high price paid for the land, and the price at which it was sold.

Mr. Kent: It offset the high cost of the land.

Senator Roebuck: The monopolist got his price, and the public paid a portion of it.

Mr. Kent: Clearly, we cannot wait until a countrywide device for lowering the cost of land is found. Change in the slow growth regions would be even slower to come than

the facts of life make it in any event. So all we can do, given a structure of general policy as it affects the price of land, is find devices for offsetting that high cost and lowering the effective price for industrial development in the slow growth regions. That has been started by the A.D.B., and we hope we will be doing it on a large scale, and that is the main thing. We hope that we can do it here and now within the framework of the national situation, in order to get faster growth where it is most needed.

Senator Roebuck: I think I have badgered this witness long enough, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: No, what you actually did was to point to something to which I was going to refer. Here we have, in my opinion, one of the most knowledgeable and capable men in the Government service that I have met for many years.

Senator Roebuck: Hear, hear. I agree with that.

The Chairman: He is a great source of information, and I think he is a challenge to this committee. Forget about the brief. Let us get down to realism. We have been in some provinces and we have read many briefs, and there are some things that have registered with us. We have a couple of hours, and here is an opportunity to talk about some of these things that bother us.

In the course of our moving around the country, and in the briefs submitted to us, we have heard such things as this example. In one province a man who is 70 years of age operates a farm in the summer, and in the winter he takes a manpower course, and that is the end of it. He spends three, four or five months on that manpower course, and then goes back to his farm. The following winter he is back again on a manpower course. I emphasize the fact that he is 70 years of age.

In another place it has been said to people: "Well, we are very glad to have you, but you have got to wait for a class. We have twelve applicants, but we need eighteen for a class, and you must wait until we obtain eighteen."

In another place they have said: "Manpower cannot take you unless you are on relief. Go and see the relief officer, and get on relief." The applicant says: "I do not want to go on relief. Why do I have to go on relief before I can get into the manpower program?"

In another case the manpower department trains him for something in order to help him, but at the completion of the course there is no job for him in the area.

Senator Roebuck: Is a certain standard of schooling not required?

The Chairman: Yes, some education is required but that has been dropped almost completely. We did not hear much about it. I am just pointing to some of the matters that ought to be raised by members of the committee. I will raise one for you and we will talk about it later. Not too far away from here, in Pembroke, last week civil servants received for some reason or other, such as deductions, so little pay that they took their pay cheques to the relief office and received a relief voucher to augment the Government cheque. That is not a made-up story. The minister knows about it. Those are the sort of situations we encounter. You are not responsible for these situations, but let us consider them. We talk about the working poor. My assessment, or that of the committee, could be right or wrong. There is a big element of realism involved. In this country a man with four children working for minimum wages can receive more on relief than he would earn.

That is a problem. Will you help us solve that by telling us what you think?

Mr. Kent: It is the basic part of the problem, though, as many members of the committee have pointed out, it is not in itself all of the problem by any means.

Senator Roebuck: It is the most obvious part of the problem.

The Chairman: It is real.

Mr. Kent: Unless we deal with it none of the other actions we take are going to be very effective. Fundamentally the only course we can take is to find ways of increasing the demand for work.

Senator Roebuck: Hear, hear, and the basis of that is to make our resources more readily available.

Mr. Kent: It is not only concerned with making our resources more readily available. Please do not think I am saying that is not important. Of course it is important. There are limitations to achieving this availability, such as the costs involved. However, that

does not explain why certain parts of the country have achieved a much better rate of economic growth than have others.

The Maritime area, after all, was once the most economically advanced part of the country. It was the leader and a world leader in what was then one of the most technologically advanced occupations, building wooden ships. In its day this was a great science and a great art. It was advanced industry, so to speak, and the Maritimes had the resources, the people and the location to enable them to be one of the great sources in the world for wooden ships. This made them more advanced economically than the interior of Canada. It was the Maritimes then who could look down on, if you like, the unutilized resources, the open spaces, low standards of living, people struggling along in sod houses in central and western Canada when they had good homes in the Maritimes.

Therefore the fundamental action, surely, that we have to take if we are to improve the demand for work, especially in the parts of the country where that demand most needs to be increased, is to find new products related to the market. We must find where the market is, where the demand and technology is that can now produce economically, efficiently and on a much larger scale in eastern Canada.

I will confine this to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick so as to be more precise. They are located far closer than almost any of the rest of Canada to what is one of the richest markets in the world, the northeastern United States. They have great advantages in terms of their position on the rim of the Atlantic Ocean, very close to many other markets, very well placed for importing materials and resources which are not available locally. There is no inherent reason why this should not be an area in which we can find the right products to take advantage of these markets. Advantage should be taken of the fact that transportation costs are a much smaller part of the total cost of production than they were 10 or 20 years ago. There must be a basis on which the Maritimes can find substitutes for the wooden ships, the products by which they can be leaders again, by taking advantage of new technology and their proximity to markets. This is the fundamental goal which we must achieve. Important as resources are, success depends even more on finding the right products in relation to markets and technology.

Senator Cook: Is the American tariff as big a handicap now as it used to be?

Mr. Kent: Over the postwar period, culminating in the recent so-called Kennedy Round reductions, the American tariff has become much less significant than it was 20 years ago. I do not mean to suggest that there would not be many ways in which it would be nice to reduce it further on particular exports. We all know a very obvious case from New Brunswick's point of view, which is potatoes. I do not mean fresh potatoes only, but processed potatoes, frozen french fries, and so on. This is an industry which relates naturally to the resource there. Our plants are very efficient, but undoubtedly we are handicapped by the American tariff in the U.S.A. market. That is also true of fish processing. There is no doubt that we could carry the processing of fish further than we do if it were not for the fact that the American tariff favours the importing of straight frozen blocks rather than ready prepared frozen fillets. The tariff is still important, but it is much less a handicap than it was. Why should the progress that has been made not be maintained?

Senator Fergusson: Processed potatoes such as chips and other kinds are now going to more markets than the United States, are they not?

Mr. Kent: Yes. We are now selling frozen french fries in a substantial number of countries. A New Brunswick firm has a very efficient plant, which is a major producer in the U.K. market.

The Chairman: We will get back to this again in a minute. All of you will have your chance. While I have the floor for a few minutes I should like to continue. We have got off the subject a little.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): Only slightly.

The Chairman: When speaking of the golden era of the Maritimes, did we not have poverty in the Maritimes then?

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): What does that have to do with it?

The Chairman: I am trying to find out what poverty is. Mr. Kent said we have a golden era in Canada at the present time, and we have poverty. We had it then. This is not to say any reflection. The point is, it was there.

Mr. Kent: Yes, sir.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): My history books tell me there was a time when the provinces were very prosperous.

The Chairman: He said that.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): And I confirm what he said.

The Chairman: He said that. Was there not poverty there then?

Mr. Kent: Yes, sir.

Senator McGrand: The greatest prosperity was when there was a war on, the Crimean War and the American Civil War.

I was going to ask a question so I might as well ask it now.

The Chairman: You have had one chance, so perhaps you would wait just a minute. Let me get back again to the working poor, who are our major problem. The minimum wages in this country are such that they do not vary from province to province, and they are low. If what I have said is correct about the working poor, these people I am talking about work full time, all the time, 52 weeks or 50 weeks of the year, whatever is available. Do not we then face the problem whether we subsidize the person or subsidize the industry, and which is preferable?

Senator Roebuck: Neither is preferable.

The Chairman: Let us just see. Are there other solutions?

Mr. Kent: Yes, sir, I think there are. The level of wages for any man working full time depends on how strong the demand for a man's time is. If the demand is slack there will be some occupations in which people are paid very low wages indeed. If the demand is strong, even the least productive will have to be paid a relatively decent wage. Surely, fundamentally, the only way in which that situation can be changed is to find the new industries that can grow and produce high incomes with large amounts of employment in the slow growth regions. If that happens, the number of people who will be in the position of having to work for very low wages will be very much reduced.

It is quite true that there will still be people on the margin of employability, who get paid only very low wages, even in prosperous circumstances. There will still be people who, for one reason or another, are

not employable, or only marginally employable, so sure, there will continue to be a poverty problem, as there was in the past.

That is the part of the problem which, as I have tried to say in the brief and repeated in the question period, I have not been discussing—not because it is any less important than the other part, but because in terms of priority of timing, of what we have to do, the first thing must be to do all we can to increase the effective demand for work in the places where it is in this country so inadequate and limited.

The Chairman: We accept that.

Mr. Kent: This is fundamental.

The Chairman: While accepting that things are happening to perpetuate poverty, the boys and girls are dropping out of school with no training; a boy goes into a job and three years later he is back where he started at the beginning.

Mr. Kent: At least we can now train him then, whereas in the past that was not possible.

The Chairman: That is what I was getting at. He does not wait for your training. He may have grade 10, but he immediately goes out for a job because there is lack of money in the house. Perhaps the girl is ashamed to go to school in the kind of clothing she has. The boy has not got a dime to buy an ice-cream cone, or whatever else boys buy. The children cannot give five cents to the Red Cross fund that other children are giving five cents to. What do we do now? This is happening today, it happened yesterday and it will happen tomorrow. What do we do now to at least save those children from falling into the same trap?

Mr. Kent: They are in that trap at the moment. The kids at school now are dropping out of school because of the inadequate incomes of their parents. If each year we can improve the employment and income of their parents we lessen the problem compared with what it was the year before, and so on, and we gradually get it down. However, coming to the centre of the problem, the thing we could do in addition to that would be to carry back what the federal government has already done, in effect, in the case of the adult or late teenager. We provide an income to the individual to enable him to take training through the training allowances program. We do it indirectly in the area of post-second-

ary education. There is the student loan program, which provides not an income but cash to the student, who has reasonably good prospects afterwards, who is prepared to borrow. That is not an ideal solution but is certainly an improvement on nothing.

Presumably it would be possible, if a province were prepared to do it—and I am not discussing whether or not there should be federal help, but it would be the province that would have to take direct responsibility—to provide some type of schooling allowance for the kid to stay in school. There is no doubt that that would be one direct way of improving the situation in the short-run before the advantages of economic expansion have trickled down.

The Chairman: I hope honourable senators realize that I was not reading from the brief. This is the sort of answer we want. While we are on this we will just stay with it for a few minutes. I think that last answer is the most valuable one you have given all day, although you have given many valuable suggestions; that one has real meaning in it. We are now at the point where we are talking about providing something for the children in order to have at least a fair chance at saving them. At the same time, if you carried that one step further, as I hope you would, is there not a social responsibility—although you do not have to use my terms—to provide for the parent that basic income, or what we consider a basic income?

Mr. Kent: Well, I am not sure. Obviously this committee would not exist if there were not a sense of social responsibility to try to end the situation in which the parent does not have an adequate income. Whether it follows from that that this problem can be effectively tackled by what would, in effect, I suppose, be fundamentally a social assistance measure related to need or to income on a much broader scale and moving to a guaranteed income—

The Chairman: That is what I am talking about.

Mr. Kent: Whether the guaranteed income is the effective way to do it—that presumably is one of the most important conclusions the you may come to. As to whether it is the right conclusion, I would have to say—and am not trying to hide behind the civil servant's position—that I honestly do not foresee one way or the other. It is a very difficult problem.

Senator Cook: That makes two of us.

The Chairman: No one on this committee is sure about what will likely work. There are brains outside this committee thinking about the problem too, certainly as good as any of ours.

You have seen what other countries have done. I realize that the Americans have made a great number of mistakes in approaching their attack on poverty and we will try to avoid them. Yet, you have at this particular time, a declaration by the President of the United States on guaranteed income and you are aware of that. You remember the committee that President Johnson appointed and Mr. Heineman headed, which brought in a report within recent months recommending a guaranteed income. As late as last week, the American Committee on Health and Welfare recommended a rather high guaranteed income. President Johnson's committee consisted of businessmen and people in the universities and the last one on health and welfare also consisted of people mostly from that field. There are three agencies of what we might call royal commissions, with two of them studying poverty, as we are doing, and bringing in recommendations. It does affect me when I read what they have to say as applied to their people and how we could be applying it to ours. How does it affect you?

Mr. Kent: There is no doubt at all that certainly the conclusions that other people have arrived at always influence one to some extent towards the same conclusions. But the problems surely is that there is a certain danger of guaranteed income becoming a catchphrase which, in itself, does not mean very much. It is a label that is applied to all sorts of different programs. As many people have pointed out, there is a sense in which we already have the machinery for a guaranteed program existing in Canada through the structure of the Canada Assistance Plan. It would be very easy to include that in the label, if provinces so choose.

The Chairman: That is welfare if you apply it to the Old Age Security in that sense. The guaranteed program is, after all, a federal one; it is not welfare at all.

Mr. Kent: But, the Canada Assistance Plan surely could be operated...

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Kent: ...similarly to what is often labelled a guaranteed income.

The Chairman: It is not at the present time, but it could be an instrument.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): I am wondering what the chairman means. I know that we are more or less just talking philosophically.

The Chairman: I hope not.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): What does the chairman mean by a guaranteed annual income? Is that for all of those willing to work or one for everybody in the country, whether he wants to work or not?

The Chairman: The chairman has often expressed himself on that and today...

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): I withdraw the question. I have had enough philosophy for today.

The Chairman: It is not philosophy we are talking about, but real things. It is not being philosophical when we speak of a guaranteed income, not at all.

There is one more thing. You remember some time ago the Prime Minister suggested that on some of the farms in the country it might be well for the Government to accumulate large areas for park and other purposes and give those persons a reasonably decent income for their lives. Do you remember what it was?

Mr. Kent: It was, in effect, an early retirement plan.

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Kent: Was that not the suggestion?

The Chairman: That was the suggestion.

Mr. Kent: It was just a suggestion.

The Chairman: By the way, what I think of a guaranteed income is exactly what is being done under Old Age Security. There may be variations of it and that is what I had in mind.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): The philosophy I was referring to is not yours, Mr. Chairman; it is Mr. Kent's and I did not direct that question properly.

Mr. Kent: I wonder if I might just make one comment in regard to your last question. Early retirement plans could wonderfully supplement the social effects of economic growth. They could do as much as anything,

perhaps, to ensure that the benefits of economic growth were spread to the people who could not effectively participate themselves. This is true in rural areas, but not necessarily entirely rural. After all, one of the main early retirement plans that has been introduced so far is the one that the Crown corporation associated with the department, DEVCO which reports to the minister, has introduced in Cape Breton for the miners. This appears to have greatly lessened what otherwise was an appalling situation. It is a precedent that may well be one of the most important to follow up.

The Chairman: I remember when we had those Sydney youngsters before us. You would have thought that they came out of Rockcliffe. They were just that bright and sharp. I said to one of the people from there, "How come these nicely dressed, pleasant-appearing, fine youngsters are coming up from Sydney? I thought it was an area that has depressed". He said, "You know, Senator Croll, you have forgotten that this is a union town". I remembered very quickly when I got that answer.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, I should like to come back to my original line of questioning, but before I do there are one or two supplementary questions which I wish to ask.

The Chairman: We have lots of time.

Senator Carter: I think Senator Inman raised the point in the brief on page 15 about how difficult it is for a government policy to reach the people who are outside the main stream, in other words, the people who feel hopelessly trapped in conditions of poverty. Mr. Kent suggested that research was needed in this area and he was disappointed that the universities had not done some research into this problem. It seems to me that this type of research is necessary for your department and I would say almost vital. Are you going to have this research done or have you taken any steps to have it done?

Mr. Kent: No, sir, because if one is going to get the best results as quickly as possible, we must concentrate first on the thing that is most needed to be done. I am not saying that the others do not also need doing, but the thing that must come first in time is to increase the demand for work and the number of jobs. This is the first problem.

Some hon. Senators: Hear, hear.

Mr. Kent: When I say that, I wish to emphasize again that I do not mean the other problems are not important, because they are vitally important. They are very important, if I may say so, to you in your committee. But in terms of what we in the department should do at the moment with the money that the Government of Canada gives to us—no, sir, this is not a priority problem for us.

Senator Carter: It is a question of money. You have a certain amount of money, but it is being spent on other things. This has a low priority in your expenditures of your funds at the present time.

Mr. Kent: What I am saying is that if one is going to achieve practical results in Government or anything else, there is no use in trying to carry the burden of all the problems at once. You must choose the problem with which you can make the most progress here and now and which is the most urgent one in terms of timing and concentrate on that one, rather than spread the resources too thinly.

Senator Carter: Is this in your list of priorities at all?

Mr. Kent: In ours? No, sir.

Senator Carter: At any point?

Mr. Kent: It is academic to draw a list of priorities for the department too far ahead when there are so many other things being done in related fields, for example by this committee. There could be a point at which this should be a priority concern for us. I will be, if other people will not do it. But I hope that other people will have done it long before it comes to us. If others do not, we will have to.

Senator Carter: That is what I am trying to get at. You seem to stress its importance. Now you are saying it is important but it is not as important as many other things. I answer to Senator Connolly I think you said that you are decentralizing, setting up an office in each provincial capital.

Mr. Kent: That is right.

Senator Carter: I would like to know what principles you are following in developing your programs for the various areas and regions. Are you developing a grand design which you take down from Ottawa to the

provincial capital, or does the provincial government draw up a grand design and submit it to you for approval, or are the local people involved and tied in to this?

Mr. Kent: I apologize, but I am going to give a fairly long answer to that as it is not a simple question. The way we do it varies from province to province and from case to case.

We are not at this moment really drawing up grand designs, because a grand design takes a long time and we want to get some things moving fast. The Government has provided some money for us to spend next year and we want to spend it, effectively. If we did not decide on any details until we had created a grand overall design, people would be waiting quite a long time for effective action.

What we are doing is drawing up, with the provinces, a series of particular plans. They are against the background of a strategy, certainly but only in very general terms. We are trying to draw up particular plans in particular places, programs of particular kinds.

How we do that varies a good deal. There are one or two cases where, in order to get fast action, we in effect draw up a program here in Ottawa and then go down to the province and discuss it with them. "The province" means—if the province so wishes—not just the provincial government but the municipality involved, and so on. We have done that in some cases, because in order to be practical you have to, if you are going to get reasonably quick action.

In other cases, it has worked the other way. That is to say, the province, or a local municipality or group of some kind, has drawn up a plan, a program, and come to us.

The other case, the third case, and what is obviously the preferable one, is that from the very earliest stage our people work with the province and work with the people of the area concerned in drawing up the program, starting together from the very beginning. That is the ideal, obviously, but one cannot always wait to work that way. If we also get some reasonably good plans, either by starting drawing them ourselves or by our looking at something that somebody else has prepared, we will do it that way.

Senator Carter: That is for this year, but this year you are new and you are going to start. But apparently the department is going to go on from year to year, and there is

probably a five or ten-year program. Have you not made up your mind as to which is preferable, and if there is not a local organization in existence at the moment, and you want to go ahead this year and you do the best you can, but there is no reason why next year you should not have local organizations studying their own problems and coming up with plans. If you are ever going to make any success you have to tap the natural resources—as Senator Roebuck has pointed out—you have to tap the human resources. Most of our problems, ARDA and so on, that is where they failed. Some people were sitting behind a desk who did not know anything about the area they were supposed to help, they sent down and drew up all the plans and arranged the expenditure of the money.

Mr. Kent: You have to tap human resources. I agree completely with that. But I would broaden it, too, and say you have also got to tap human resources in the sense of the knowledge of industry, technology, and so on from many parts of the world. If we are going to get real economic growth in the slow-growth regions, the need is not only that we should not sit in an office and draw up little plans in our heads. We should make sure that the ideas are coming from other places—from the people on the spot, yes, but also we must make sure the ideas are coming from industry, from people outside the slow-growth regions, too.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): Mr. Kent, would you consider urging the provinces to spend these moneys after consultation with the municipalities, to make it a joint enterprise?

Mr. Kent: The only programs we can support are those which have been agreed in detail with the province. If they are social capital plans, infrastructure plans, then most certainly the province—it has no choice, really—must work with the municipality at an early stage.

The best method—I come back to what I said earlier—is to have all of the parties working together from the earliest possible stage. For the longer term plans, certainly, we are working with the provinces now, since we have got time. We are using what is obviously the preferred method. At this stage, in preparing long term plans, we are talking to the province concerned in a joint effort concerned with general issues. Undoubtedly, we will get down to more detail in the long-term plans,

but we are not doing that yet, because there is only a limited number of people and it is more urgent to do the shorter term plans. But in regard to the longer term plans, next spring, as we get to that stage, there will be side people in other areas and in industry and so on.

Senator Carter: What I was trying to get from you was a clear statement of policy. Is this your problem? You are the federal Government, putting up the bulk of this money, and you are in a position not just to leave it up to the province as to what way they will use it. But, as a matter of policy, is it that the people in the area to be helped will be involved in having their own committees and their own study groups. We have been trying for years to do something in Newfoundland. We have had ARDA and FRED and so on. Now, they have a local area community of their own, area development committee, with wonderful ideas that the bureaucrats in St. John's or Ottawa would never think of. That should be a fundamental part of your policy. You are in a position to insist on it.

Mr. Kent: I am not sure whether one would want to say "insist on it" in all circumstances. That attitude can sometimes mean that you don't get anything done. Certainly, it is our policy to try to achieve things in the most effective possible way. I don't think "insisting" is necessarily always the most effective way of getting the co-operation needed. Active encouragement is much better.

Senator Carter: Should it not be a stated policy so that the people on the other end can say, "this is the policy and we want this"?

Mr. Kent: There may be some types of programs or plans where local participation is not possible. There may be some perfectly good reason why it is not. I cannot think of an example at the moment, but there may be. We should not say that we will never look at anything unless it has been started with a local group. That would be restricting what a province could do.

Senator Carter: I am not saying that they should start it. I don't know where it should start. I am thinking of the end results. Somehow these things should come before the people concerned before they are implemented.

The Chairman: Mr. Kent, the most successful undertaking, as I recall from our previous evidence, took place in the Gaspé. It was a

question of community participation with emphasis on the last two words. Apparently there was an attempt to begin things at a top level and that attempt failed; but when it got to the community level, participation was ample and excellent results were forthcoming.

Mr. Kent: I am sure what you are referring to is part of the FRED plan for Gaspé. But, while there is no question that we are all agreed about this, there are many types of plans or programs. There is no question that one type of program, to be effective, has got to be based on local involvement from the earliest possible stage and that, unless people have been in on actually conceiving the ideas themselves, it will not work. I agree with that completely. But there are many other areas of activity in which that it not how things work.

For example, suppose a major industrial company decides to put up a plant in a particular area because it has found that area to be the ideal location. It will have made its local inquiries very quietly in order to avoid letting its competitors know. When that plant goes in it will transform the whole area completely. There are all sorts of things that we are going to have to do in terms of roads, sewers and so on. These things are going to revolutionize the lives of the people in the locality and, inevitably, because this is life, there are some who are going to be disturbed; somebody would sooner keep his house where a road is going to be, and that sort of thing.

In a case like that, we cannot go and consult locally in advance. The company, once it has made up its mind, will buy the land and proceed with its plans, and there are all sorts of consequential plans which will have quietly advanced quite a considerable way before we can possibly talk to anybody locally. One has to be realistic. There are those situations too.

Senator Cook: The fact is that the department operates only for a productive purpose and the mere request for money by a local committee is no guarantee of productivity.

Senator Carter: Surely that can be explained to the local people. They are not stupid. They can understand whether a thing is productive or not. But what I am concerned with is the general principle. We should make it our policy to be in a position to tap the ideas and resources of the local people who have first-hand knowledge of the problem.

Mr. Kent: I am in complete agreement with that, but I cannot take the position that w

should lay down as a principle the suggestion that before we do anything there must be local consultation from the start. There are some types of projects in which it is simply not feasible to do that. What I am thinking of, particularly, are the industrial expansion programs, the building of new plants.

Senator Carter: Look at the case of the steel industry in Cape Breton. The industry closed down its plant, despite the fact that you consulted with them, and that was the end of it so far as they were concerned. However, the local government took over and set up its own local management and, instead of having losses of thousands of dollars, as in previous years, they made a profit.

Mr. Kent: The provincial government took over the plant.

Senator Carter: Yes, but they set up a local management committee. However, I don't wish to belabour the point. What I am trying to get is a picture of what you envisage. How do you envisage your plan to work? I haven't got that yet. I understand the growth centres, yes. You take a city such as Halifax and you give it an incentive to get industry in in order to get the growth out. But where are the plans for other centres—the small centres, the rural communities, where people can live and still have a decent standard of living? It seems to me that your whole plan is geared to developing an urban centre wherever you can and have the people trickle in there from the outside. Is that not a fair statement?

Mr. Kent: No, I don't think it is a complete statement. Certainly, what was not done in the past and which is the major new thing to which we have to give priority now, is the encouragement of the larger urban growth centres in eastern Canada. We are certainly giving priority to that in terms of timing. It is by no means the only thing we are doing, however. We are not discussing with the provinces, even at this point in time, merely plans for a few major urban growth centres; We are discussing plans for some smaller communities as well. That is most definite. We are discussing what needs to be done in those smaller communities. It is exactly the same kind of thing, in terms of roads, sewers, schools and so on.

Senator Carter: Are these regional communities you are referring to, or areas where several communities can participate in the

growth together, where they can be based on the resources, as Senator Roebuck pointed out?

Mr. Kent: They are areas covering several smaller communities, most certainly.

Senator Carter: Well, if you consider the growth centres, and I will use Halifax as an example, its population being approximately 120,000 people, every year the labour force is expanding because children are growing up and entering it, and you have to have a rated growth of 3 or 4 per cent just to provide jobs for the expanding population of the city. Have you figured out any rate of expansion that you require over a period of years in order to absorb the people you want to take in from the rural parts?

Mr. Kent: Let me repeat that it is not "people we want to take in", but "people we expect will be looking for jobs in the city". I am afraid I do not have the figures in my head, but, certainly, statisticians have made all sorts of projections of growth rates for Halifax and other places as well. Those growth rates don't mean much, though it is useful to make projections like that because they give you a rough idea of the approximate magnitude you have to be prepared for. But they are not what is important; the important thing is to get industrial development as fast as you can—there is no danger of getting it too fast at this point—and then the rate of growth will follow.

Senator Carter: But the rate of growth has to exceed the rate of growth of our population and the rate of growth in outstanding areas.

Mr. Kent: Yes, it has to be rapid.

Senator Carter: I am doubtful because it will take a little time to do it. I was in India recently and their problem there is that their population is growing much faster than their industry.

The Chairman: Have we finished with questions?

Senator Carter: I would like to finish by stating a proposition and then asking Mr. Kent the question whether the proposition is economically feasible and whether his department is giving consideration to the matter and whether it is likely to take some action.

First of all, my proposition is that this trend towards large urban growth centres where 80 or 90 per cent of the population is located in 7 or 8 or perhaps a dozen monster urban centres is not good. The rest of the country is underdeveloped. Therefore it is not good for the cities themselves and it is not good for the country as a whole, and in my view as a matter of national interest and national policy it should be stopped. At least some effort should be made to stop it. To expand my proposition let me say this; there seems to be a cycle—you have a growing city and industry comes and locates there, creating jobs; as a result people come in and increase the population. As you increase the population you create a housing problem, the price of land goes up, the industry itself creates pollution of the air, and in turn you have transportation problems which means that you have to provide subways and transit systems. To sum it up it creates a whole host of problems. Meanwhile the industry locating there considers the cost benefit ratio which involves their capital investment, cost of operation, labour and profit. They usually locate in these large cities because they are the centre of a market and their decision is guided by the play of economic forces. But these other costs are not counted but are simply passed on to the people and to the nation. The result is that now we have to spend billions of dollars in Canada to offset these growing local costs that could have been avoided in the first place. For instance, if an industry instead of going into Toronto and causing problems there had gone to some other area nearby where land was cheaper, where the air was purer and not polluted, where it would have not added to transportation problems and would not have created housing problems, such expenditures would have not been necessary. It seems to me that government surely can come in here some place. The only advantage of locating in Toronto is that there they have a labour supply, transportation and a market. Perhaps government could subsidize transportation costs, for example, to encourage industry to locate in a different area where they will not create these housing problems.

That is my proposition and I would like your reaction to it, whether you feel it is economically feasible and also whether any action is contemplated?

Mr. Kent: Well, the Government of Canada is implementing vigorously, at least as vigorously as we can, the legislation passed

by Parliament last summer which provides 25 per cent of the capital cost plus \$5,000 per job created for plants to locate in regions outside the communities you are talking about, Toronto, Vancouver and so on. Now this is doing something positive to recognize the factors you are talking about, it is an attempt to get growth in areas other than the really large cities. But I think it is very important to be clear about the fact that this argument applies in relation to the super-big cities, it does not apply to cities of tens of thousands or even several hundreds of thousands. The economic locations where industry can develop more than it has done in the past are—for the most part, though there are exceptions to this—the medium-sized and large towns, such as St. John's, Halifax, Saint John and other communities of this type. Industries are not located in small isolated communities except where the industry is one that has a resource directly related to it.

Senator Carter: Then, I want to make this observation; in your brief you point out that in a large city like Toronto, the people who migrate there do not have skills and so they take unskilled jobs for less pay and create ghettos and pockets of poverty. Surely there would be much less chance of that happening if they were to move to a smaller centre.

Senator Cook: But they also move to the larger centres because that is where the children want to go and because that is where the action is.

The Chairman: The assumption seems to be that people who come from the less developed areas to the larger centres wind up as problem cases in those larger cities. But that just simply is not true as can be seen from every statistic. In the vast majority of cases these people are looking for work, they are trying to get work and they do find work. In the great majority of cases they are successful. I live there and I know something about the Toronto area. I do not know too much about other areas but I think we are assuming something that just is not so if we accept the opposite. It is true that a percentage falls, but that is the percentage that would probably fail any place.

Mr. Kent: I do not think this has been fully researched.

The Chairman: I think you are right, it has not been fully researched, but I have spoken

to welfare people and other people directly concerned, and that is what they have told me.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I wonder if I could ask Mr. Kent a question. Is the high cost of living and the high price of everything today a factor which contributes to the creation of a certain degree of poverty in Canada? Yes or no?

Mr. Kent: Obviously yes. That is the factual answer. But if I might supplement it in one small degree, I would say that it does not follow that lowering the cost of living will be an effective cure for poverty.

The Chairman: Have we finished with questions?

Senator Roebuck: I want to make an observation before we finish. I have been very interested in what you say about human resources and improving them, but we must not forget that human resources are useless in the matter of production unless we also have natural resources at the same time, and those natural resources must be available at a price which makes them economical to use. In my view the key to this entire situation is taxation.

The Chairman: We have now concluded our meeting, Mr. Kent, I want to thank you profusely for giving us the benefit of your knowledge and experience and for the manner in which you presented it. You have been most helpful to us today and we appreciate it very much.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

BRIEF TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON
POVERTY

OF THE SENATE OF CANADA

SUBMITTED AT THE REQUEST OF THE
COMMITTEE

BY TOM KENT

DEPUTY MINISTER OF REGIONAL
ECONOMIC EXPANSION

27 NOVEMBER 1969

1. The Committee has asked me to discuss the relationship between the problem of poverty and the work of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion.

2. The department came into existence in April under the terms of the Government Organization Act, 1969. This does not mean, of course, that all our work is new. The Committee has previously received briefs describing the past activities of the Atlantic Development Board; the Area Development Agency of the Department of Industry; the Rural Development Branch of the former Department of Forestry and Rural Development.

3. These three agencies had all been created about six years ago. They were responsible for various aspects of the growing concern of the federal government for regional development. In one sense, the new department has evolved from those agencies. But the government has made it plain that its reason for changing the structure is much more than administrative tidiness, important though that is. The creation of the new department represents a new level of concern, a new level of priority for measures to lessen the economic and social disparities between parts of Canada.

4. Accordingly, the department has been engaged in preparing new measures and working out new plans with provincial governments. This, as the Committee will charitably understand, creates certain difficulties in appearing as a witness. This submission has to be limited to a general discussion. It cannot

anticipate concrete programs that are currently under negotiation with provincial governments.

5. When the intention to create the department was formally announced, in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of this Parliament, it was said that we would be charged with responsibility for ensuring that people in all areas and regions have as equal access as possible to the opportunities of Canada's economic development.

6. It might be helpful to relate that responsibility to the three categories of the poverty problem that you, Mr. Chairman, identified in your opening remarks at the first meeting of the Committee on April 22.

7. You distinguished, first, the people who are unavoidably and completely outside the labour force. For that purpose, you included, with the elderly and the disabled, the mothers who are heads of households and cannot go out to work themselves because the children are too young. You suggested that this whole category accounts for about a quarter of the people now suffering poverty in Canada.

8. Obviously, the new department is not going to be involved in the solution of that 25 per cent of the problem. You have defined, in this first category, the people who cannot participate directly in our economic development. Their problems are the same wherever in Canada they live. The solutions necessarily are transfers from the producing members of society. That is to say, they call for programs of income maintenance and provision of services without charge to the individual. Those are not regional matters, and they relate to economic expansion only in the indirect sense that the more expansion we have, the easier it is to find resources to help those who cannot help themselves.

9. Your second category, Mr. Chairman, is the working poor. They are the people who will be directly helped by the department's programs. Before discussing them, however, I would like to say a word about your third category, because they are a middle group from our viewpoint. They are not out of the labour force in the necessary and final sense of the first category, but they are for all

practical purposes unemployable at this time. You described them as the hard core "welfare-ites". The extent to which they remain dependent on income maintenance can be regarded as a measure of the task that remains for measures of social rehabilitation. But the urgency and drive that can be put into those measures obviously depends on the extent to which employment opportunities are available for people who can be rehabilitated.

10. In other words, we can't expect to have really effective programs for these hard-core cases unless the general level of employment opportunities is high. The first people to benefit from that will be some of the working poor. But then there will be the conditions in which it will be possible also to take more effective action for your third category. I would emphasize that I am not suggesting that full employment alone will cure the hard-core welfare problem. I am suggesting that direct measures to deal with it can have really good success only in conditions of high employment.

11. So we come to your second category, Mr. Chairman, the people you described as the working poor. They are in the labour force. Not all, of course, are working. Some are defined as being unemployed. Others are not, because they see no chance of getting regular employment and therefore don't report themselves as looking for it, though they would be if they saw the chance. Many are working part-time, casually or seasonally. Some are working full-time, but on very low wages or as the operators of marginal farms or of small fishing boats.

12. You suggested, Mr. Chairman, that this is the largest part of the poverty problem, perhaps about a half of the total. It is the part to which measures of regional economic expansion are most directly relevant. It is also the most tragic part of the problem, in the sense that deprivation is more tragic the less reason there is for it.

13. People outside the labour force are necessarily dependent on the rest of the community. How fully they are relieved from poverty is essentially a matter of how much the rest of us are prepared to pay: it depends on our sense of social justice. Solution of the hard-core welfare problems also depends on the community's willingness to make a special effort for such people. It requires rehabilitation efforts that are often long, difficult and expensive, and by no means certain of suc-

cess. For the working poor, the essential nature of the problem is quite different. They are willing and able to do a job. Admittedly, what they can do is not a highly skilled, highly productive job. But it is enough to produce a living wage for a good many of their fellow-citizens. In other words, the curing of this half of the poverty problem does not call for any sacrifices by the rest of us. The demand is not for social justice. It is simply that we should organise our economy more efficiently, to make full use of the human resources we have, so that the poor can produce the extra goods and services that would remove their poverty without any transfers from anyone.

14. Stated in that way, the problem is very simple. The solution, obviously, is not. But I think there is a widespread tendency, because taking effective action is difficult, to obscure the problem itself in all kinds of academic complexities and confusions. Of course, there are related difficulties and problems. But the main thing the working poor need is that there should be a more effective demand for their work. That isn't easy to achieve. But if the main problem can't be met, we won't help by making mountains out of the molehills of subsidiary problems. The main thing we need is more jobs. If jobs were relatively plentiful, we could rely on the ingenuity of the private sector, and especially of the working poor themselves, to overcome most of the secondary problems. If jobs are scarce, nothing in the researches and schemes of professors and consultants and bureaucrats, however well-meaning and well-informed, is going to result in any great diminution of poverty.

15. In Canada, more perhaps than any other country, the employment problem is a regional problem. We can have low unemployment rates in southern Ontario, we experience strong inflationary pressures on prices and costs, while unemployment and under-employment are, in very large regions of Canada, persistently at levels that in Ontario would be regarded as intolerable.

16. That is the situation that the new department has been set up to correct. The department's business is employment. The regions with which it is concerned are those where the incidence of unemployment and under-employment is high.

17. Without repeating what the Economic Council has already said, I should pause to note that, of course, creating employment is

not identically the same thing as fighting poverty. Regional development is not, in itself, the same thing as a broad attack on poverty. While the incidence of poverty is greatest where employment opportunities are poorest, where economic growth is slow, in absolute numbers there is a great deal of poverty within the affluent regions.

18. In that connection, however, I would mention one of the points on which further research might be very helpful. I wonder how many of the working poor in, say, Toronto are second-generation Torontonians. Our rapidly growing cities, with their generally plentiful employment opportunities, have attracted many people from abroad, from rural areas, from the Maritimes. They have moved to the opportunities, and most have quickly done fairly well. But some have not. It may be that a considerable proportion of the working poor in a city like Toronto are migrants who, without having become hard-core welfare cases, have not yet made their way at the earnings levels of their new environment. If I may make a suggestion, that is a matter which might well be explored in the research work for the Committee.

19. To the extent to which migrants from other parts of Canada are a significant proportion of the working poor in the richer regions, measures of regional economic expansion are relevant to more than the poverty that exists in such high incidence in the slow-growth regions themselves. If we improve opportunities there, part of the benefit may in time show up in the form of less poverty to disfigure our generally prosperous cities.

20. However, while that is a point of some significance, I would not want to make a great deal of it. I am in no way disagreeing with the Economic Council's view that we need to do a great deal directly about poverty in the richer regions and their cities. Regional economic expansion is certainly not in itself the whole of a war against poverty. Equally certainly, it is one of the main campaigns within such a war.

21. Regional economic expansion is concerned with creating jobs where they are most needed. The social ideal might be that Canadians should have good opportunities to earn their living at comparable standards wherever they live from sea to sea. Like all ideals, however, its practical application has to be compromised with other objectives. A

prosperous, progressing economy is increasingly an economy driven by rapid changes in technology and in the directions of demand. Especially in a country as thinly populated as ours, such changes are bound to involve considerable shifts in the geographical pattern of activity.

22. In blunter words, we cannot have economic progress if people do not move. The sensible objective is that we should try to see that economic growth takes place without calling for an impracticable amount of mobility and consequently meaning that in fact many people get left out of the opportunities.

23. If that objective is accepted, the main thing we have to do is to break the circle of inter-acting forces that have for so long held many regions in a state of slow economic growth, inadequate employment opportunities and low earnings.

24. We therefore state our goal as being that economic growth should be dispersed widely enough across Canada to bring employment and earnings opportunities, in what have been the slow-growth regions, as close as possible to those in the rest of the country.

25. For this purpose we have to design and to execute, in close co-operation with the provinces, a series of development programs adopted to the different needs of various regions and areas.

26. There are, however, some common characteristics. Canadian settlement began by people spreading thinly across large areas, to farm and fish and log and mine. But for a long time now, economic development has involved extensive movement from the countryside into secondary and tertiary industry in towns and cities. This is a nation-wide trend. The big difference between the fast-growth regions and the slow-growth regions is that in southern Ontario, for example, there have been plentiful new employment opportunities to draw people into fast-growing cities, whereas in regions like the Maritimes these opportunities have been much fewer. Consequently, while some people from the slow-growth regions have moved farther afield, those remaining in the rural parts of the regions have been too numerous and too poor to carry out the rationalization, technological and marketing changes that would nowadays enable primary industries to produce adequate incomes.

27. But while the poverty problem thus appears at its worst in rural areas, we have to be clear that the underlying reason is the relative slowness of industrial and urban growth. We can most effectively help the slow-growth regions by providing incentives for development at the points within the region that have the best chance for industrial growth. The largest improvement in opportunities for the region as a whole will be achieved by more people moving into these centres.

28. This is not, let me emphasize, to ignore the problems of poverty in rural areas. But, in order to create the conditions in which those problems can be solved, there must be industrial growth. We must attract as many industries as possible to the centres within slow-growth regions which are possible locations for them.

29. This requires stronger and more flexible industrial development grants than were previously being provided. We have started an ambitious new program. Early indications of its effectiveness are promising. Whether it will do all that we hope, only experience will show.

30. But, however good the incentive program, it is not enough in itself. The cities and towns in the slow-growth regions must be made attractive to industry. They must be able to provide the utilities that industry requires. They must be able to attract and to service growing populations, which means that they must have housing, schools and hospitals.

31. In short, if there is to be regional industrial growth, with its benefits in new employment, there must be early and effective community development plans, beginning with the major centres. The Minister has indicated that, given the limitations on the financial resources of the provincial governments in the slow-growth regions, the federal government is offering to join with them in some of these development plans.

32. While much of the initial emphasis is bound to fall on major centres, the Minister has pointed out that in some regions from the beginning, and indeed in all regions at some stage, there will be need to encourage also the development of smaller towns for industry and as trading centres. Transportation plans will also be important. And, of course, there will have to be measures for human and

resource adjustments in many rural areas—to consolidate farms; to improve land use and in some cases develop new potentials such as tourism; to provide adjustment counselling and special training and, for some people, mobility assistance.

33. This is an appropriate point at which to emphasise the close connection between regional economic expansion and manpower programs. Economic expansion creates better opportunities; good manpower programs mean that those opportunities can be taken by people who would otherwise remain in poverty.

34. The point of manpower policy is to have an effective, nation-wide service to help people get jobs; to give them reliable information and advice; to counsel them; to provide grants to help them move when necessary; above all, to pay the cost of training, and of living while training, for the many people who must develop or broaden their skills before they can get new jobs in the contemporary economy.

35. If the parts of the poverty problem are as you have suggested, Mr. Chairman, then it seems clear that the two most substantial kinds of action lie in regional economic expansion and manpower policies. They provide the pre-conditions, at least, for changing the situation of the poor. Regional economic expansion provides better opportunities where people are poorest; and manpower programs help people to take those opportunities.

36. But having said that, it is most important to make an important addition. While economic growth and manpower development are the essential basic programs, it by no means follows that they will operate, readily and efficiently, for the benefit of the poorest people among the employable poor.

37. The hard fact of experience is that, unless a very special effort is made, the people who most need the help are the people who get left out. Even the best of government programs tend to work for the people who are at least already on the margin of the economy, rather than the people below the margin. It is peculiarly difficult for government policies to reach the people who are right outside the mainstream, who feel hopelessly trapped in conditions of poverty.

38. In order to make a thorough attack on the modern problem of poverty, government needs much better knowledge as to how

employment opportunities and opportunities for training and moving to jobs can be brought effectively into the lives of the people who, psychologically and often physically, are farthest from them. This is a deep-seated problem. It is surprising to me that our academic institutions have not probed into it. In a generation that expects the leaders of thought to be close to the contemporary problems of society, this would seem to be a prime subject for research.

39. However, the point need not be laboured, because the Economic Council has already made it and undoubtedly the Committee will be examining it. It is especially significant in areas such as the northern parts of the Prairie provinces, where Indian and Metis people are a large proportion of the population. In these areas there has been, of course, some spectacular development based on the exploitation of mineral and power resources. The developments have yielded high incomes to people moving in, often for only short periods. But the native people have participated very little in the new developments while the resource base of their traditional livelihood—trapping and fishing—has become far too thin to support an increasing population at anywhere near acceptable standards of housing and health.

40. In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would sum up this submission very briefly as follows: Your first category of the poverty problem, involving perhaps a quarter of the total, relates to income maintenance and social service policies that are outside the responsibilities of the new department. For the rest of the problem—three quarters of it—regional economic expansion and manpower programs are the two general instruments that must be used. They are instruments that it is appropriate for the federal government to use, in close collaboration with the provinces.

41. I would, however, emphasize that these two general instruments will not do the whole job. Their benefits will “trickle down” too slowly and too erratically, unless the general programs are supplemented by more effective methods than we yet have for involving the poor in a readier utilisation of changing opportunities.

42. And yet, while fully agreeing with the Economic Council in its emphasis on this point, I would end with what I believe is an even more basic point. The fundamental need is that we should find ways for the Canadian economy to operate at consistently high levels of employment across the country. That will not in itself end poverty. But it is essential to creating the conditions in which poverty can be overcome.

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Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 12

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9th, 1969

WITNESSES:

From 'Up to the Neck' Newsletter, Montreal: Mrs. Ruth Keatly; Mrs. Sheila Baxter; Mrs. Catherine McLoughlin; Mrs. Catherine Hall Skahan and Mr. Robert Gaul.

APPENDIX:

"A"—Brief from 'Up to the Neck' Newsletter, Montreal.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Fergusson	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Carter	Fournier (<i>Madawaska-</i>	McGrand
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	<i>Restigouche,</i>	Pearson
Cook	<i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Quart
Croll	Hastings	Roebuck
Eudes	Inman	Sparrow
Everett	Lefrançois	

(18 Members

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969.

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, December 9th, 1969.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 10:00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Croll (*Chairman*), Carter, Connolly, Everett, Fergusson, Inman, MacDonald, McGrand, Pearson and Quart. (10)

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Staff Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

"Up to the Neck" Newsletter:

Mrs. Ruth Keatly.

Mrs. Sheila Baxter.

Mrs. Catherine Avon McLoughlin.

Mrs. Catherine Florence Hall Skahan.

Mr. Robert Gaul.

The brief presented by "Up to the Neck" was Ordered to be printed as Appendix "A" to these Minutes.

The biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.

At 12:15 p.m. the Committee adjourned.

ATTEST:

Frank A. Jackson,
Acting Clerk of Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Ruth Keatly: Mother of three (3) family head, welfare recipient. Mrs. Keatley was born in Ottawa—raised in Brownsburg, Quebec. She formerly worked for Bell Telephone of Canada as a clerk. She's a voluntary worker for U.T.T.N. Newsletter. Mrs. Keatley also has helped to present a brief to Quebec government on the welfare Bill 26.

Sheila Baxter: Immigrant from England, now Canadian Citizen, as well as being mother of 4 of her own children, she also has 2 foster children. Mrs. Baxter was active in the Westmount Tenants Association. She is voluntary worker of U.T.T.N. secretary as well as reporter.

Catherine Avon McLoughlin: Family head with 5 children. Canadian citizen. Mrs. McLoughlin is voluntary worker for U.T.T.N. and is presently the editor. She is a welfare recipient.

Robert Gaul: Married, 1 child, employed as shipper, has been active in Tenants Association for the past 2 years. In spare time he does lot of work helping poor families on his own, going about visiting needy families and assisting them in various ways to obtain a few of the necessary things that are not available to them through social agencies.

Catherine Florence Hall Skahan: Separated. Welfare recipient. Mother of 3, oldest is 16, Miss Hall is age 44—born Montreal, she served as Telephone Operator with the R.C.A.F. at the end of WW 2, then took up training as a secretary and worked at Canadair Limited, for 6 years until retiring to raise her family. Her husband served in the R.C.N.-V.R. for 6 years and is an alcoholic. Two years ago she was active in a welfare group which the Urban Social Re-development Project helped to form. She has been a member of R.C.A.F. Association for 5 years, and also is a volunteer worker for "Up To The Neck".

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, December 9, 1969.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 10 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, we have a brief this morning from "Up to the Neck" newsletter, of Montreal. On my right is Mrs. Ruth Keatly; next is Mrs. Sheila Baxter; next to Mrs. Baxter is Mrs. Catherine Avon McLoughlin; then Mrs. Catherine Skahan, and Mr. Robert Gaul.

Mrs. Keatly will open the hearing by making a statement, following which she will answer questions. In the event Mrs. Keatly is unable to answer she will call on various members of the representative group.

Mrs. Ruth Keatly, Voluntary Worker, "Up to the Neck" Newsletter, Montreal: Mr. Chairman, senators: I am Ruth Keatly, the pokesman for "Up to the Neck". First I will describe the "Up to the Neck" newsletter. It is a citizens' newspaper which reports on citizens' groups in Montreal and endeavours to be a voice of the poor people. "Up to the Neck" is staffed by volunteers of welfare and low income recipients and is produced monthly. We plan to introduce offset printing and employ people who are presently on welfare. The newsletter will then be produced weekly.

We wish to thank the senators for giving us the opportunity of coming here this morning to present our brief and give you our definitions of poverty. We hope you understand that we cannot be objective about poverty. It is too close to us, as we live constantly in poverty. If some of our ideas sound rather harsh, it is because we have to find a solution to this state of affairs.

We represent the welfare poor, the working poor and the completely broken down poor who cannot speak for themselves.

When we receive government assistance, it is taken for granted that the fault lies with us, the poor. The myth is that there is something wrong with you if you are poor. There

has been a lot of talk about the allegation that we are too well dressed for people on assistance. Little do people know that usually everything we wear has been given to us or has been home-made. There just is no money for store-bought clothes. Our children have to wear hand-me-downs. Why should our children not have new wardrobes like other children?

We are here today because we know that in this affluent country poverty can be completely eliminated. Statistics and committees will not even alleviate poverty. We need action and on many levels.

(1) Society has to change its values. A human being should be more important than the almighty dollar. In our profit-motivated economy somebody has to be a loser.

(2) We need more money, not social services. The people know what they require and should control their own lives and needs.

Our Health Minister, John Munro, has made a startling discovery—that there are people going hungry in Canada. If you think we have come here with a chip on our shoulders, full of frustrations and anger, you are right. Don't you think we know what hunger is? And don't you know that the lack of proper nourishment can cause mental and physical retardation? Why didn't someone ask us, "the poor"? We have known this for years!

Now the Government is going to launch a four-year study on hunger in Canada. Meanwhile our children are going hungry. Do you think more studies will satisfy the poor? Hasn't it come to your attention that all across Canada the poor are in the embryonic stages of organizing? Hunger and oppression breed hatred and violence. Threaten a cub and the tigress will claw you to death. Our children are being destroyed by the economic system. Do you expect us to sit idly by and accept your definitions of poverty and your band-aid solutions? Our children are rebellious now, and they turn their anger on their families. When they realize how helplessly we

are trapped under the present structures, on whom will they turn their anger?

The education system maintains the status quo. Our children are fed into the educational machinery and spit out at the other end in neat little pre-packaged boxes to be fed to the country's economy.

As for our legal system, we all know there is one law for the rich and one for the poor. Our penal institutions are debtors' prisons, and many people go to jail because they are poor.

The housing situation in this country is critical. Where do you live? On the moon? Your present concept of public or subsidized housing is not the answer to our needs.

The poor are powerless at this point in time, but by organizing we have a potential force that you had better recognize. We want control of our lives. We are exploited by everything around us.

The guaranteed annual income is a necessary measure, but not the total answer. The people must control their lives, their schools, their communities. We cannot do this under our present social, economic or political structure.

In 1968 or 1969 the federal government gave the Province of Quebec a very large sum of money for welfare. The money that the federal government gives to the provincial government does not reach the people in total; somehow in the delivery much of it disappears. The money is not distributed as evenly as needed because of the subjective decision of the social worker. We should be given the right to which we are entitled. A guaranteed income or a negative income tax approach would give us this right. If the province controlled the system our money may well be used for some other priority programs, such as road building, baseball stadia, and who knows, even a restaurant.

It has been said in Montreal that the government does not want to advise the citizen of his welfare rights because they could not afford to pay if the citizen demanded his rights. Therefore, a more sane and reliable method to support the Canadian citizen is for Ottawa to grant him his economic rights because of the province's—and I can speak only for Quebec—poor economic position to guarantee anything.

Senator Carter: Are we having briefs from the others here?

The Chairman: No, they will join in when questions are asked.

Senator Carter: Mrs. Keatly, you ended up by putting a finger on a lot of our problems when you spoke of provincial control of education. That is one of the barriers we are up against, because the federal government can enter this field only indirectly; under the Constitution the federal government is prevented from doing it, you see.

Mrs. Keatly: But I believe that Premier Bertrand is trying to get complete control of everything in Quebec. The federal government has a loud voice and I believe it should be able to stop this and control the country of Canada.

Senator Carter: Under the Constitution it is difficult. What is your opinion, then? Do you think all welfare should be controlled by the federal government. Is that your proposition?

Mrs. Keatley: Through a guaranteed annual income or negative income tax. It would be a help, it would be a start, although it is not the complete answer.

Senator Carter: What you are saying is that the federal government could provide a floor, a minimum income, and if the provinces want to improve on that it is up to each province but the federal government should guarantee an income. Is that what you mean?

Mrs. Keatly: Subsidize it.

Mrs. Catherine McLoughlin: I agree that I cannot see any other way. I hope we are Canadians first. I know it is not the answer and you agree it is not the answer, but it is a start, the negative income tax. I do not really think the provinces should kick in afterwards. What we really need is day care centres and some form of medical aid. That is what kills the poor. I should like to work, but I cannot; cannot afford the medical bills. It boils right down to that. I can earn \$60 a week, but have five children and I cannot.

Senator Carter: I have another question but did you want to enlarge on that?

Mrs. Catherine Skahan: I would like to elaborate on that question. You asked whether we thought the federal government should give an allowance in the form of a guaranteed income or a negative income tax and then have it subsidized by the province. Was that your question?

Senator Carter: I was asking the question trying to clarify what Mrs. Keatly said. I know what your brief advocates, and I pointed out that we are up against this barrier that under the Constitution the federal government has no jurisdiction over welfare problems at all. The federal government can only get in through the back door by agreement with the provinces, who can keep us out altogether if they want to. I was asking what your solution was, what you have in mind. Do you think that through a guaranteed income the federal government should put a floor on incomes, should guarantee everybody a minimum income, and then let the provinces, if they want to, add to that on their own, let them do it? Is that what you are advocating?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes. Right now you are giving the provincial governments large grants of money, which we are not seeing anyway, so this would be a start, if from the federal government we did have the guaranteed annual income, as long as it is on a decent scale.

Senator Carter: If you read the newspapers, you will have seen that Mr. Bertrand is disputing the right of the federal government to do this. This appeared in the papers yesterday, reporting on the present conference. Mr. Bertrand says the federal government has no business in here at all.

Mrs. Keatly: But we are all Canadians.

Senator Carter: He is saying, "Give us the money and we will spend it".

Mrs. Keatly: We are all Canadians first and then classified as Quebecers.

Senator Carter: I know and agree that we are all Canadians. I think we should be doing it, but I wondered if you realized that there is a barrier, which we have no way of overcoming at the moment until some change is made in the Constitution, or until the provinces agree to let the federal government do something. I just wondered if you realized that.

Mrs. Keatly: We realize it, but we think it is time that the Constitution was changed, because we are in a bind in the Province of Quebec.

Senator Carter: The Constitution is an agreement between two parties and one party cannot just change it on its own and do what it likes.

Mrs. Skahan: I should like to elaborate on that. We have been going to the Quebec Gov-

ernment now for two and a half years asking Mr. Cloutier, begging him, to do something to help our children to make things better for them, to give them a decent education, and moneywise, and he has just been putting us off and putting us off. Bill-26 has gone through and we still have not seen any change. There is no more money in our pockets. We are tired of fighting Quebec, and that is why we are here, if the federal government is going to channel so many millions of dollars, as they gave a tremendous amount of money to Quebec in 1968 and 1969 for poor welfare. They have channelled all this money through the province for welfare, which is not distributed to keep the people adequately, so it is time for a change. We do not see it, we are not getting it, and we have actually been on our knees begging him, but nothing has been done.

Senator Carter: What are you suggesting then? What are you suggesting the federal government should do?

Mrs. Skahan: If the government came out with a guaranteed income or a negative income tax approach, it should be adequate so that the person is not starving, so that people can buy clothes for their children to keep them in school. Then if the province wants to add to it they can, as some provinces are going to add more. Quebec is one of the lowest for welfare payments in Canada. If they keep this up the Quebec kids will still be hungry and uneducated, and still sub-standard to the rest of the country. If it is merely increasing the guaranteed income to \$1600, which is starvation, it is hopeless, useless, and we would not want it.

Mrs. Baxter: I understand you feel that federally your hands are tied, and that is the answer I hear from all these people in Toronto. Do we have to become militant, and fight for this right?

Senator Carter: You want to make sure whom you are fighting. Do not fight us; we are on your side.

Mrs. Baxter: I am not so sure yet.

The Chairman: Maybe I should say that when Senator Carter tells you that we are working in the interests of the poor he means that we would not have undertaken this whole project if we did not feel and act that way. You can be assured on that. I think you have a right to the question, but I would like to disabuse your mind of that thought.

Senator Carter: I wanted to point that out that education, too, is purely provincial. I want to come back to another question, because I have read your case history here in which you give several examples of working people whose allowance was cut. You spoke about a man whose wife left him. He was getting \$85, and when his wife left they reduced it by \$50. What I would like to ask you is have you heard about the Canada Assistance Plan?

Mrs. McLoughlin: Do you want me to answer it?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. McLoughlin: Well, you cannot get any information. I have no idea of anything at all. I believe Quebec wants to put everyone on the same thing, so I am on welfare and she is on needy mothers' allowance.

Senator Quart: I think you should substantiate that statement with records. Have you applied to Mr. Leon Cantin?

Mrs. McLoughlin: Who is that?

Senator Quart: He is one of the directors of welfare. I am from Quebec also. Have you any figures to substantiate what you have said, that the federal Government grants so much to the Province of Quebec. Do you have a list showing the distribution. In one of your statements, Mrs. Keatly, you said they distribute this money to agencies and welfare organizations, and the social welfare workers there raised their own salaries to exorbitant levels, and there was very little left for the poor. Therefore, one of my questions is: Do you think the administrative costs of these agencies equals what they receive from the government? That is what I have been discussing with a group in Montreal, and I know that there was practically nothing left for monetary assistance to the poor. You cannot blame any government for that; you must put the blame back on the agencies. There must be some sort of supervision. If you feel that these agencies are giving you only counselling, and it is not adequate, then blame it on them.

The Chairman: Senator Quart, I think you speak of voluntary agencies.

Senator Quart: No, I am speaking of government agencies.

The Chairman: Government agencies?

Senator Quart: Yes.

Mrs. Keatly: We, ourselves, realize that most of the money is spent on administration, or somebody is cheating the poor, somewhere along the line. We are not blind and completely stupid. We know what we need in order to live, and how these agencies are run. They are no help to us. We can phone up and say that we need a homemaker, or this or that, and they will give us a run-around on the telephone, and send us to 50 places before giving a direct answer. People on welfare are physically exhausted, and do not have time to run all over the city. They want to know what they are entitled to.

You mentioned the name of a gentleman, but we have never heard of him and do not know if he exists. This is what the poor person has to contend with day after day.

Senator Carter: When you go to an agency they should send you somewhere where you can get all this information.

Mrs. Keatly: They will not tell you where to go, but will say, "I am sorry, we cannot help you."

The Chairman: The evidence Mrs. Keatly is giving is the same kind of evidence that we have heard wherever we have gone, that these people are being sent hither and yon and hardly ever know what their rights are. It is one of the main problems we will have to deal with.

Senator Carter: I would like to follow this up. Can I take it that neither one of you fine people has heard of the Canada Assistance Plan, or has any understanding of what it is?

Mrs. McLoughlin: Vaguely.

Mrs. Baxter: It is something not available to the poor.

Senator Carter: It was a new departure on the part of the federal Government. There are many welfare programs in what we call the social security program, and there is the social assistance for people between the ages of 65 and 70. The federal Government pays the whole shot for people 65 and over. All of these programs that I have mentioned were made in accordance with the means test. They pried into your affairs, and if you had a certain income you did not qualify; you had to be below a certain level. If you did qualify you would get assistance only up to whatever the scale was. The Canada Assistance Plan came in and did away with this means test.

and substituted a needs test, so that what a person will get will depend not on his income but on what he needs. That was the spirit behind it.

So, even if a person were getting the old age pension of \$75 and the guaranteed income of up to \$78.20, and said that one was enough, and then if he had drug bills and other things so that he needed \$150 then under the Canada Assistance Plan he could get enough money, to bring it up to \$150, and the federal Government would pay half of it. We do not know how the provincial government in Quebec is handling that. I know how they handle it in my province and I do not like it. We do not know about Quebec and we would like to know.

Mrs. Keatly: All I know is that since 1962 no welfare recipient has received an increase, and our new rates are coming out since Bill 26 has been passed. What I understand is that a mother with three children can get \$208, and be entitled to earn \$50. But if she is physically unable to work, or if it will not pay her to work when she has to pay for baby sitters, clothing, and transportation, or if she is not prepared to work for \$50, she will not get any money over the bare \$208. This is not right at all.

Senator Carter: But they will not pay this unless you ask for it.

Mrs. Keatly: There is the old age pension. I believe people in Toronto are entitled to \$20 supplementary, in addition to the old age pension. The old age pensioners do not know this. I do not see, if they were taxpaying citizens and are entitled to it, why they should not get it automatically. When they are worn and sick they should not have to go to social welfare agencies for \$20 which belongs to them.

Senator Carter: It seems that no one asks for this, and no one knows anything about it. It is obvious that they do not know about the Canada Assistance Act. You say here that the Government should pay children over 14 so that they will stay in school. Have you heard about youth allowances.

Mrs. McLoughlin: It is not available to people on welfare. I cannot get a bursary for my children because I am on welfare.

Senator Carter: It is not a bursary?

Mrs. McLoughlin: Nothing at all. That is what I was told.

Senator McGrand: I have two very short questions which need very short answers. Regarding lack of medical care, are you not able to take your sick children to the out-patient clinic of a hospital? If a child is really sick, you can take him there, can you not?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes, but I am talking about adults, because I take my children to the children's hospital and they are covered.

Senator McGrand: The same applies to adults.

Mrs. Keatly: Some adults can go to the hospital, but they will charge a fee. You pay a certain percentage of the prescriptions. There are other cases in which I do not pay a fee, and pay a quarter on prescriptions.

Senator McGrand: There is a service available if it is needed. The service is free, but not the prescriptions?

Mrs. McLoughlin: They do not give free service. A doctor has to decide how sick you are. If you have a definite disease they can put a finger on, they can treat it. If you have no actual symptoms they will not let you go through a screening clinic.

Senator McGrand: This is difficult for me to understand, because it is not very long ago that anyone could walk into the general hospital on Dorchester Street if he were sick, or thought he was sick. And at that time the Montreal General treated a larger number of out-patients than any other hospital, with the exception of Massachusetts General. I cannot understand why a person who is in an accident or is ill cannot go to an out-patient department.

Mrs. McLoughlin: That is different, but if there is something wrong with me and it cannot be seen—if I have headaches—they will not look at me. Of course, if it is obvious, they will see me.

Senator McGrand: I cannot understand why this change has taken place.

Mrs. McLoughlin: They have no money, they say.

Senator McGrand: These clinics were for poor people.

Mrs. McLoughlin: The Montreal General is very close to bankruptcy, and they have just a very bare necessity.

Senator McGrand: Well, that question is answered. I have another short question. Are

most of the people you mentioned—your friends who are in trouble—native Montreal people, or are they from outside of Montreal? Have you any idea from what parts of Canada they come? Do you know where they were born, and spent their childhood?

Mrs. Keatly: I myself am from outside Montreal, from Brownsburg, Quebec.

Senator McGrand: That is close by.

Mrs. Keatley: I have a girl friend from England who has been in Canada a couple of years. I would say the majority are from Montreal or its vicinity.

Mrs. McLoughlin: Some are from the Maritimes, and Gaspé. The French are from Gaspé, and from Fredericton. The coloured people that I know are from Fredericton, and the French that I know are from Gaspé, although not all of them.

Mrs. Skahan: I have met a lot of people who were born in Montreal and the due to unfortunate circumstances, like losing a husband, were left with children, and they remained in Montreal. There are a lot of us in that position.

Mrs. Baxter: With respect to the previous question, how is a poor person who is sick to go to an out-patients department? If he is lying in bed with a ruptured appendix, or in some great discomfort, how would he go? Would you like to be taken out of your bed to an out-patient clinic, or would you like a doctor to come to the house, and have the money pay for it?

Senator McGrand: You have asked me a question. If I were lying in bed with a pain I would rather have my doctor, if I had one. But if I did not have a doctor, and could not afford one, I would go to where the medical aid is. I have practised medicine for 37 years. I know there are very few people who cannot be moved from a home to a doctor, even with a temperature of 102. They can get someone to bring them.

Mrs. Baster: It reaches 40 below occasional in the winter.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask a few questions about rental and public housing. Do any of you live in public housing?

Mrs. Skahan: Yes, I and Mrs. McLoughlin do.

Senator Fergusson: Do you have any complaints about it or do you find it suitable?

Mrs. Skahan: No, I don't find it suitable at all.

Senator Fergusson: What do you not like about it, outside of the stigma that we all agree seems to attach to it?

Mrs. Skahan: There is no privacy, for one thing. Another thing is that it is too small. There are no covers on the cupboards. Cupboards are very small. There is no place to keep anything with a growing family. There are six apartments and we all share the same stairway. There is no locked door downstairs so that we have a gang in every night playing and making noise. There is no peace and quiet. There is no solitude. There is no peace.

Senator Fergusson: There is nobody in charge to keep things quiet?

Mrs. Skahan: They have a guard who is supposed to make the rounds. He is not a policeman. He is simply a guard. He has a big project to cover so that we don't see him very often. You can call him up, if you like and tell him to come over, but by the time he gets there the damage is already done or it is too late.

Senator Fergusson: What do you think would be better in public housing?

Mrs. Skahan: Public housing is fine, if people have a say in the way it is built. If it is built to their needs, to their requirements, and is suitable to their families. If they have their own entrance—I don't mean separate boxes, but, you know, the semi-detached style. If they have their own entrances and if they have a tenants association, so that they have a say in running their own affairs. For instance, there is a veterans project in Montreal, which has a tenants association that is run very well, and the people who live there are happy with it.

Senator Fergusson: Are the tenants associations able to give ideas which are accepted by the people who run things?

Mrs. Skahan: Yes, that is correct.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you very much. I wonder if you could tell us, any of you or all of you, how much it costs, or what proportion of your allowance you have to pay, for rent.

Mrs. McLoughlin: Mrs. Skahan and I pay the same rent, but she gets more for her money than I do, because she has fewer chil-

dren and yet we have exactly the same house. I could never understand how they figured that out. I have five children and she has four, I think.

Senator Fergusson: But how much of what you receive in allowance has to go for rent?

The Chairman: What percentage, approximately?

Mrs. McLoughlin: I pay \$32 out of \$170 for rent. And that does not include light, or anything else.

Mr. Robert Gaul: Mr. Chairman, on the subject of public housing, it is true that it is known as a marked area. As you go along you can pick out the poor-class people from the rich.

As Mrs. Skahan suggested, there are a few things that could help in the area of public housing. If the people who do the building could approach the people who are going to live in the buildings and get a rough idea of what kind of places rooms they need, that would be very good. As it is now, there are families living in houses that are not fit to live in.

Senator Fergusson: Would any public housing that is being built now, coming under the legislation, be not fit to live in?

Mr. Gaul: You can go into some houses and you will find that one person has a neat and tidy place and her next-door neighbour will have a real slummy mess. As a result you classify them all as the same kind of people. You don't say that she is better than the other lady. What I was wondering is whether the Government could force some kind of janitor service or supervision of some kind to keep places tidy. That would be one thing.

When you get into a rental scheme in public housing that is one thing, but other people on allowances live in places that are not part of a housing project. Mrs. Keatly, for instance, is paying \$80 a month rent out of the \$170 she receives, and that doesn't include heating. I know of others who receive \$160 and pay \$85 a month.

And there are lots of complaints about the housing being not fit. Could a government or legal representative force some of the landlords to do minor repairs to some of these welfare family homes? They seem to have the idea that since the tenant is on welfare the landlord is not obliged to repair the place because the landlord might not get the next

cheque. On the other hand, if he doesn't get his cheque then the tenant is out the next morning.

I know of one family living in a house where the ceiling fell down through the neglect of the landlord. The landlord tried to get the tenant to pay for it. When I called the Board of Health the landlord was forced to pay \$1,000 to repair the house. The people involved, the tenants, were so scared that they didn't want me to get in touch with the Board of Health, and they were annoyed when I did so, because they thought I was taking an awful chance on their part. Of course, now they are satisfied, but they were just taking a chance.

These people literally live in fear. They are afraid to call anybody, legal or otherwise.

What I want to know is if the Board of Health could pass around and check these people and check the places where these people live to see if there is plaster falling down on staircases and so on, and to check the appearances of the houses. Because the people inside may very well be living cleanly but when you open the door and find plaster falling down you judge the people from what you see. Isn't that correct?

Senator Fergusson: There are regulations such as under the Board of Health that could be used, if the people were not afraid to use them. Is that what you are saying?

Mr. Gaul: Yes. They are living in fear. Could there be a law? Everybody seems to have laws out for different things. Could there be a law enforced to make landlords look after their places? Could the Board of Health drop in and visit these welfare families? I am sure they can get the names and visit these homes. After all, these landlords are collecting \$80 to \$90 a month, which is just as good as rents from anybody else, but just because a tenant cannot plaster up or paint up or whatever...

Senator Pearson: What is the difference between the landlord and the public housing?

Mr. Gaul: With the public housing at least we know that it is owned by the Government, even if there is no one to talk to. But if Mr. Jones was obliged to keep his property clean, at least the Government could say, "Okay, Mr. Jones, you must keep it clean or paint it."

Senator Pearson: The municipal authority has some control.

Mr. Gaul: Yes, the municipal authority, or let's put it as the Government representative from different areas. Slum areas, wherever you go, are slum areas. It doesn't matter. There is another area that is just being planned on being demolished now, and some of these houses, where they are paying higher rents than I am paying, if you were to go and see them they are just living in a house that is not fit to keep a dog in. That's about the size of it.

Senator Inman: You spoke about somebody having to get out. Is there no form of notice that tenants would have to get?

Mr. Gaul: I think where some of the people are living they do not sign a lease, so they figure if they get mad at the landlord or the landlord gets mad at them for anything and they approach the landlord, then, the next month out they go. And so they live in fear of the landlord and in fear that he will throw them out. I can give you the names of some of these people because I have many cases that I know of.

Mrs. Keatly: There is also the problem if you are evicted of finding another place within a half-decent rent range plus the fact that every suburb of the City of Montreal is charged differently. You can pay the same amount of money in Lachine as you would in another area but your cheque will be dropped \$20. Then there is the problem of having your cheque transferred.

Senator Fergusson: But why would your cheque drop?

Mrs. Keatly: Because each suburb has a different rate.

The Chairman: Perhaps honourable senators would like to look at page 5 of the brief which Mrs. Keatly has given me permission to indicate is her own budget. Perhaps the committee would like to question her about it because I think this is a very lively subject. You will notice that she is not living in public housing; she is renting and the first thing there is her rent which amounts to \$80 as against the 25 per cent that the other witness indicated.

Senator Pearson: Does the \$80 a month give you accommodation with bathroom and water-heating facilities and things like that?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes, I have hot water and lights and heating, but the lights and heating

I pay for myself. As I say, I pay for my heat, and I have a six and one-half.

Senator Carter: How big is the building? Is it an apartment building?

Mrs. Keatly: It is actually three different stories and they are more like flats.

Senator McGrand: How many rooms do you have?

Mrs. Keatly: Six and one-half.

Senator McGrand: And you pay \$80 a month?

Mrs. Keatly: \$80 a month, not heated.

The Chairman: You said you had how many rooms in yours?

Mrs. McLoughlin: Five.

Mrs. Skahan: I have five rooms.

The Chairman: These others have five rooms and Mrs. Keatly has six and one-half.

Senator McGrand: What area are you living in?

Mrs. Keatly: N.D.G. St. James.

Senator McGrand: That is not a slum area.

Mrs. Keatly: No, but it is not a classy area either. It is an area of lower income families.

Senator McGrand: When do you receive your cheque?

Mrs. Keatly: I receive my cheque in the beginning of the month—it comes on the first Friday which can be the first, third or the seventh. When the cheques come in and other expenses are paid, I have \$37.29 until my family allowance cheque comes in on the 20th.

Senator McGrand: You have \$37.29 from welfare?

Mrs. Keatly: I have \$37.29 from welfare, plus my \$18 family allowance which comes in on the 20th which gives me a total of \$55.29 a month for food.

Senator McGrand: With that you buy food for yourself and there children?

Mrs. Keatly: And of course it has to take care of any transportation and clothing need. That is what is left after I pay my bill and everything.

Senator McGrand: That \$55 has to pay for food and clothing?

Mrs. Keatly: And cleaning materials, clothing, food, drugs or anything else that comes up. Personally I spend it all on food because I am lucky and people give me clothes.

The Chairman: You say that the Montreal Diet Dispensary says you should have \$90.58 for food.

Mrs. Keatly: Yes, that is what they say. Lately Mrs. Agnes Higgins has done work on this and she has revised her budget. This is what a family of 4 needs for absolute necessities.

The Chairman: But you have \$55.29 for food.

Mrs. Keatly: For everything, after I pay my bills.

The Chairman: That gives us some idea of the situation, where you have three children, of the normal expenses to feed and clothe them.

Mrs. Keatly: To be quite honest I have not had the money to clothe them, but I have been lucky because my mother is working and has helped me out with clothing and beds when I needed them. She had to buy them for me. I definitely know I need more money because to start off with my children are not getting what they need in the way of food. We live on porridge, cream of wheat, peanut-butter sandwiches for lunch and maybe ham-burg or sausage or a little chicken for supper.

Senator McGrand: There are people who believe in doing a lot of their own cooking in their home. Do you prepare all your own food?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes, I make my own food.

Senator McGrand: Do you make your own bread?

Mrs. Keatly: I have tried it but I find that I am paying more for it that way by the time I put in my milk, margarine, eggs, etc.

Senator Fergusson: She is quite right on that.

The Chairman: Senator Fergusson agrees with her. Let me follow this up for one second. Do you know any other people in a similar situation to yourself with respect to allowances who have approximately what you

have in the way of money for food for yourself and your children?

Mrs. Keatly: I believe that there are many who are in the same situation as I am. Maybe there are some who are worse off than I am. I went to see an alderman and succeeded in getting \$20 extra.

Senator Fergusson: What about the item at the top of page 6 where it says "I should have a minimum of \$90.58 for food." Do you think that would be a reasonable amount to have?

Mrs. Keatly: If I had \$90 I would have \$45 a month more and that would be a help. But that would only cover my food.

Senator Fergusson: Do you think it would cover everything that was necessary in food?

Mrs. Keatly: In food, yes.

Senator Carter: But you would still be short on clothing.

Mrs. Keatly: I would not have the clothing. There are other things also. I have a child who has had pneumonia three times during the last winter and spring. She was a little over a year old. Then when you have to take her to the hospital, I have to degrade myself and telephone the police and they say "well, now, it is not really all that serious." Then I tell them that I am on social welfare and then they will take me. Otherwise I have to go around to the neighbours and borrow bus tickets.

The Chairman: I asked you if there were people with you, that there were. We hear gave the answer, which was agreed to by the people with you, that there were. We hear across the country that if we decide on a guaranteed income and give you X number of dollars, you would not know how to handle it.

Mrs. Keatly: I beg your pardon, but I think I can budget much better than anybody else.

The Chairman: That is the point I am trying to get at. That is what we hear, but we do not believe it. Are other people budgeting in a way similar to the way you budget?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes they do, because they have to. Otherwise they cannot live. They would go about two weeks without anything.

The Chairman: From our investigation we are sometimes amazed at the amount that people on welfare are able to manage with. It is so little, yet we hear the other story.

Mrs. Keatly: It took me about a year and a half to learn to do it, I am afraid.

The Chairman: But you are really short; how do you get along? That is what is bothering most of us.

Mrs. Keatly: It is not so bad at the beginning, but I find about nine days before the next cheque is due, my large welfare cheque if you call it large, I am down to practically nothing. I become a nervous wreck. I have even had to borrow money from neighbours to carry me through because it is practically impossible even budgeting the way I do.

The Chairman: How old are your children?

Mrs. Keatly: They are five, four and just turned two years.

The Chairman: If there is a lack of food in the house, how do you explain it to the children? Do they know that there is this lack, or do you cover it up somehow so that it does not get across to them?

Mrs. Keatly: They are rather young to realize that as compared to anybody else, because they have not really been in anyone else's house to eat. The big problem is meat; I try to make it up in potatoes, bread, and other things.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I am afraid the witnesses might get the wrong idea from something you said. You said: "If we decided to give you..." but we cannot decide to give anything; we can only recommend it to the Government.

The Chairman: I am sorry, Senator Fergusson; you are quite right.

Senator Fergusson: They might think from what you said that we might be sold on their idea and be able to give it to them tomorrow morning. I just wish we could.

Mrs. Baxter: You asked if we know other welfare recipients. We know many similar to Mrs. Keatly who are intimidated because sometimes when a person like this gets up publicly and protests they are threatened that their cheque would be cut off. I hope that we who are here will have the protection of the Senate.

The Chairman: Yes. If anybody bothers you or intimidates you, let me know.

Mrs. Baxter: It is a fact.

The Chairman: Do not worry about that. Say here what you want to say. No harm will come to you as a result of this. I hope some good will come of it, and I feel sure that it will.

Senator Pearson: Do you live among French Canadian people in the same area?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes.

Mrs. McLoughlin: I am a Quebecer from way back.

Senator Fergusson: You said that the coloured people that you know come from Fredericton, New Brunswick. I come from Fredericton, and I am interested. Do you know many?

Mrs. McLoughlin: About two or three of them.

The Chairman: Families?

Mrs. McLoughlin: Yes, families.

Senator Fergusson: Have they come there looking for work?

Mrs. McLoughlin: Yes, one has been here about 15 years, or longer. She was married here and she is looking for work.

Senator Fergusson: Is she doing all right?

Mrs. McLoughlin: No, she is doing very badly. She and her husband separated, and she went on welfare. She took a chance and works all week. She cleans house all day Friday and Saturday. She asked for this supplement, and they would not give it to her unless she charged her husband with I do not know what, but she would not do it. There is no point, she does not want him in jail, so they refused to even talk to her.

Mrs. Skahan: May I also answer the question which you asked Mrs. Keatly in my words? My children are older than Mrs. Keatly's and I have been on welfare longer so maybe I have a little different attitude for you. When the children are getting older you cannot hide the fact any longer that you are poor and cannot give them the proper amount of food. A day comes when you have to sit down and tell them we have not got it. I have only got a welfare cheque and I am doing my best to bring you up. You just have to trust in me that things are going to be all right and try hard in school. It is difficult, because the still do not seem to be able to understand why they are second class citizens. We

ould they have to take this kind of thing? Why should they be any different than some of their relatives and friends they go to school with?

For instance, if you take them to visit relatives' houses they come home and become very depressed because they have seen on the outside what is better. They know this and when they arrive home their faces grow long, and they feel very depressed. It takes them two or three days to get over it because they are not satisfied with what they have after they have seen how other people live and eat.

Another matter that is very pressing is that they are more demanding, for instance, in material things such as sports and clothes. This is a great expense. I think we all know, and let us be honest about it, if most welfare recipients can take a steady part time job it helps them, but they cannot do it all the time. We are too tired to take a steady part time job because we are already depressed over having to live this way for many years and we just do not have any energy left. The odd one we might have the chance to clean someone's house and make \$10, or do a little odd job in order to provide extras. We do not publicize this, because we do not want to have money taken off our cheques. This is the only way that we can possibly survive, by making a few extra dollars to put extra food on the table, but it is still not adequate.

We are not lazy; we work harder than many people who just go to work from nine to five, because it is harder for us to do our work without the proper equipment to start with. Then when we try to do work outside we are too tired.

The Chairman: Is your eldest a boy?

Mrs. Skahan: No, she is a girl.

The Chairman: You worked for some five or six years and held a steady job with Canada, did you not?

Mrs. Skahan: That is right.

The Chairman: Could you earn considerably more by working than you would receive as a relief?

Mrs. Skahan: I figured this all out many times and it would not be worthwhile, because, you see, you have to have somebody away with the children. You cannot leave the children alone in the summer and there are many school holidays—mid-term holidays, teachers' conventions, and so on—and at

times the children are sick. Therefore, if you take a steady job you still have to have money to pay for somebody to fill in between when you are not there. In order to afford the cost of hiring someone to come into the home, take care of the children, and help at home, you would have to make a pretty high salary—perhaps around \$150. I think we figured a person would need about \$150 a week in order to come out on top. You have your clothing in order to go to work, and your bus fare, lunches, and you are not home to cook and to prepare foods with cheaper cuts of meat, which has to be boiled on the stove all day—that is, if you want to have the cheaper cuts of meat. You cannot do this while you are in the office so the result is that you are picking up a little piece of meat on the way home which you can fry, and something for the dessert instead of cooking it, because you do not have time to cook. It comes out in the end that you are no further ahead unless you go way over \$100 a week.

Senator Fergusson: Regarding day care centres, you make it appear that day care centres would not help very much.

Mrs. McLoughlin: They would be of some kind of help. I have older children between 10 and 15 and they could do certain things, but I cannot leave the 10- and 11-year old children alone. They would kill each other. They are hateful. It is a terrible thing to say, but they are. They turn on each other, and you would not believe it.

Senator Fergusson: Do you think this is because they are deprived?

Mrs. McLoughlin: It is frustration. They cannot take it out on anyone else. They hit each other, and I mean hit. You have to keep them apart, otherwise they tear each other apart.

Senator Fergusson: I want to say that I am very sympathetic in regard to this presentation and I admire these people very much for coming before the committee. They are telling us a lot of things that we do not ordinarily hear, and I think it is very valuable. Even if you question our sincerity, I am sure that the members of this committee are deeply impressed by what you have told us, and we do appreciate your coming.

Mrs. Keatly: I know of a woman—I do not want to mention any names, so as not to embarrass her—who goes to the store and buys bull and brings it home, boils it and

makes stew out of it, and that is what she lives on.

The Chairman: Out of what?

Mrs. Keatly: Bull. It is male beef, which is cheaper.

Mrs. Skahan: It is not even cow.

Mrs. McLoughlin: Male beef. Going back to day care centres, there are a great many young women who maybe are not quite as mature as an older woman, and they find these problems much harder. This is where a day care centre would help her. A young girl, maybe 20 or 22 years old, who has one, two, or maybe three children, has got to face this plus the fact that she is tied to the house continuously, year after year. If she goes out she takes her children with her to get her order, and that is about as far as she goes. I know that the day care centres are necessary.

Senator Fergusson: I gather from what you say on page 15 that you would be prepared to pay something for that service. You suggest \$1 a day regardless of how many children you have. You do not think that it has to be something supplied entirely free.

Mrs. McLoughlin: We do not want to be continually given something. We are willing to pay what we can, even if we have to pay for transportation and clothing. We do not want charity; we are willing to do our bit.

Senator Fergusson: It would be worth it to you if you had to make some payments.

Mrs. McLoughlin: Definitely. I feel that the low income families are in great need of help—the poor working man with four children who brings home maybe \$70 clear. He needs help too, and sometimes the wife has to go out to work. I do not think they should pay a fantastic amount. They should be able to go and get help too, and be judged on their take-home pay. The charges should be on a reasonable scale. If you are going to charge fantastic rates then there is no help.

Senator Fergusson: On page 9 you mention that having a psychologist or perhaps even a resident psychiatrist, would be another way by which the low income children could benefit.

Mrs. McLoughlin: There is a school on Park Avenue called Jean Jacques Olier School. It is in a poor district, but one based on the new comprehensive school idea. They have this

psychiatrist in the school who finds the problems with the children before they develop into problem children. There is another school, St. Patrick's, and there the children are competent children. They are not problem children; they have problem parents. In the Jean Jacques Olier School they find the problems right away, and the children are promoted, I believe, according to their knowledge. I believe book learning is not really the thing any more, and this is a very progressive school and it is working fine.

The Chairman: What is the age of the children?

Mrs. McLoughlin: It is a French Catholic school, a normal grade school from kindergarten to Grade 6.

Senator Pearson: Mr. Skahan, with respect to your statement there about earning a little money outside every once in a while, do the public housing people increase their rents? They find that you are making a little extra money, just the same as some landlords do?

Mrs. Skahan: Yes, that is correct. I feel like the little puppy dog running back and forth to the rental office everytime I make a few dollars and reporting it.

Senator Fergusson: In other words, they try to keep you in the same hole all the time.

Mrs. Skahan: Yes, this is the case. You will notice from page 16, that I gained half of what I made. That was my total gain, because you see my welfare cheque from Quebec was also decreased by \$10. You lose your supplement as soon as you make something. Your supplement comes off. Then you are on the minimum allowance and only getting the minimum from the province. You lose that, and then your rent goes up percentage-wise, that you feel you are not really getting anything.

Senator Pearson: You are frustrated all the time?

Mrs. Skahan: Yes. You cannot do it without reporting, for you would then have to live in fear, and if you do that it does not pay. It is better to be honest about it than to live in fear.

The Chairman: If you earn a certain amount of money, do they not permit you to have half without deductions?

Mrs. Skahan: Do you mean the provincial government?

The Chairman: The welfare department.

Mrs. Skahan: It depends. One of the problems is that we do not have a handbook in layman's language or any sort of regulations at our hand from the provincial government telling us what we can do and what we cannot do, or what the rules and regulations are. This is one of the things that most people here want to do. We want to form citizens' rights groups so we can help people to find out what their rights are and more or less force the governments into supplying information in layman's language so that everybody will have at their hand what their rights are, what they can and cannot do. The way things stand now, if you call a Government office and ask for this kind of information, they are very evasive and do not want to give you a direct answer.

Mrs. Keatly: I believe right now that you are entitled to make \$300 extra a year supplement. But, this is before you have paid for everything.

Senator Pearson: You keep the \$300?

Mrs. Keatly: If you want to work for three months, so long as you don't go over \$300 a year.

The Chairman: Without deductions?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes.

Mrs. Skahan: Is this something new? Please tell us what you are talking about, because we don't know anything about it.

Mrs. Keatly: People on social welfare are entitled to make \$300 a year.

Mrs. McLoughlin: This is not what was told to me.

Mrs. Keatly: You see, this is the trouble. Everybody is told a different story.

Senator Inman: Could you make that \$300 in three months or would you have to spread it over the year?

Mrs. Keatly: I understand you can make it in the three months so long as you don't work the other nine months of the year.

Senator Carter: I can understand their confusion, Mr. Chairman, because they are mixed up with so many different levels of government. There is the city, the province, and then the federal Government which comes in with family allowances and part-payment of

the other. It must be terribly confusing to people to sort all of it out and know where one ends and the other begins. Have you thought of trying to do anything about it yourselves? You are running a little newspaper once a month. Have you been able to use that to get things straightened out for the people among whom your paper circulates?

Mrs. Keatly: We have been able, as far as new clinics opening up, to tell people where to go or, if there is any injustice done to a particular family we print that and try to get backing so that somebody does look into the matter. But we have the same problem even working on the newspaper of phoning and finding out things.

I wrote and asked the city of Montreal for information and rates on welfare payments in order to publish them in the newspaper, and they would not answer my letter. And phone calls from similar workers were treated in the same way. They were given rude replies. We are never able to get the facts from Quebec or Montreal so we can publish in the Citizens' Newspaper exactly what a person is entitled to or what his rights are. This information is not available.

Senator Carter: If you cannot get it from them, is there not a social welfare agency or welfare council in Montreal from whom you can get the information? They must have one there.

Mrs. Keatly: We have had a social worker write letters for us and help us organize a trip. He let us do most of the talking, but he got the money to support us and he got the bus loads down and he has tried himself and got no answer.

Senator Carter: A social worker?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes.

Senator Carter: Who was employing him? The Government or the city?

Mrs. Skahan: He was unemployed at the time. He had left the Catholic Welfare Bureau.

Senator Carter: But is there any agency such as the Welfare Council in Montreal? They have a big one in Ottawa. They must have one in Montreal as well. Have you tried to contact them?

Mrs. Baxter: There is not a standard rate, it would seem. It depends on who you make the particular plea to. If you are a small, quiet, timid person, you are going to get a

small allowance. If you are loud and aggressive and go in swinging, you get quite a bit more than the timid person. They don't have standard rates so it is as much as you can get. So you get as much as you can by being aggressive.

Senator Carter: I don't quite understand that.

Mrs. Keatly: No family is, even with the same amount of children, getting the same amount of money. Each is distributed differently.

Senator Carter: Because there is an income ceiling, and it depends where they come in.

Mrs. Keatly: But it is not judged with rent and heating and that in mind. Somebody could be paying less rent and have the house heated for that and another person may be paying more rent and will not have the house heated. It depends on who you know and if you are willing to fight and really go at it.

Senator Carter: I can understand that there would be variations, because we don't have complete justice, but, certainly the Welfare Council should be able to give you a good deal of information, if not all. Certainly, they should be able to give you enough information to give you an idea of just what is available and under what circumstances.

Mrs. Keatly: Just to give you an example, apparently we have been entitled to \$75 dental care, which I only found out in September, and I found that out through going to study Bill 26. It covers it totally or in part, and I found that we were entitled to \$75, which nobody knows about.

The Chairman: Just following up Senator Carter's question, and never mind what the Welfare Council tells you or anybody else tells you, you have the tenants organization and some of you belong to it. You have had some effect from it; at least I gather so. It is up to you. You speak well here today, and I assume you speak well at other places. In the course of your efforts, can you not collect enough information to indicate, for instance, your present knowledge that you are entitled to \$75 dental care? If you print that in the sheet that you have, then, say, 50 people learn about it and they come in and make their claim. Have you not really done a good deed when you do that?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes.

The Chairman: Have you printed that?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes.

The Chairman: Can you not obtain from various groups of people your own information as to how much they receive as between comparable families and indicate that there is a difference between what one receives and another receives and print that? That would be valuable information for these same people, wouldn't it? So they can come in and say that here are people who are receiving so much and we are receiving only so much. Isn't that the sort of information you should get out?

Mrs. Baxter: If I may say so, this makes me very angry. The social workers are getting all these big salaries, and the Members of Parliament are getting big salaries, and we are all volunteers not getting paid a cent—and would like it that way—but they are all getting paid huge salaries and you are telling us that it is our job to find out these facts.

The Chairman: No, I am not telling you that at all, but you seem to be lacking in a great deal of information that you should have in one way or another. When Senator Carter asked about the Canada Assistance Act I should point out that it has been on the books since 1966 and it is my view one of the best social acts we have in the whole of Canada. You may not perhaps recognize it under that name, but it is on the books. The point I am making is that there is information available that should be gathered and made known to the public. And you have a method of getting information to the public that is not available to everybody.

Mrs. Baxter: So why don't you take a full page advertisement in the *Star*, and advertise it?

The Chairman: It is not a matter for us to take a full page to advertise it, or to advertise it at all for that matter. It is not a question of what there is to advertise. Administration is done at various levels, municipal and provincial and there are reasonable variations on the basis of age, and rent, and public housing. But now you tell us there are also variations for no reason at all. It is hard for us to appreciate that.

Mrs. McLoughlin: Mr. Chairman, I would like to say first of all that there is a great deal of variation, but whoever succeeds in getting more than another has obviously

pushed for it and asked for it and if you think that they are going to tell everybody about it, you are very much mistaken. If somebody does go along and make comparisons, well then they will cut down the one who has more rather than raise the one who has less. What is one going to do about it? I know that Kay gets more than I do but I know if I say anything about her they are going to cut her down rather than give me a raise, so what I will gain by that? I will gain nothing. Another thing to keep in mind is this; you want to try being of French descent and having an Irish name. I belong to no agency French or English. I am switched from English to French and French to English. Some times I think that maybe I don't talk the right language because people cannot seem to hear what I am saying. I wanted to go to work and I said "O.K. I will go to work"—I have been a teacher—"if you will help me with a supplement or let me have a woman in my home. Back me up for six months." The Catholic Welfare said they never heard of such a thing and that I should go back and look after my children. The French agency said "if you don't want the children, we will take them from you." So, I am not taking a chance on that again.

Mrs. Skahan: I would like to make some corrections. The first one is with regard to the dental services and the \$75 that was mentioned as being available to welfare recipients or dental care in Quebec. I checked into that by calling the Quebec provincial office or the Catholic Welfare Bureau and they have a copy of the Quebec welfare regulations there and as a service to anyone who calls up they give you over the telephone a reading of the regulations. I asked about the dental services and it turns out that the \$75 available is only for dental plates so that does not take care of the children and does not in fact take care of many of the adults. The other correction I want to make is with regard to your mention of a tenants association. Did you mean that or read this in the "Up to the Neck" newsletter?

The Chairman: No, but I thought there had been mention of a tenants association.

Mrs. Skahan: Mr. Gaul and Mrs. Baxter worked with the Westmount Tenants Association two years ago. I have been told that for welfare recipients in subsidized housing there is no tenants association and people are afraid to start one up because they might jeopardize their own position.

Mr. James Smith: Mr. Chairman...

The Chairman: What is your name?

Mr. James Smith: James Smith. I am also connected with the newsletter. You were asking about the Canada Assistance Plan and as I understand it in Quebec there is full autonomy on how to use the plan. From what you say I gather that it was envisaged at the start to cover a whole raft of services, is that correct?

The Chairman: That is right.

Mr. Smith: Under the Quebec Plan, they have limited it and the uses to which the money is put. It is not covering the services for which it was intended. They have limited it by putting in various things and by leaving out other parts of it. I cannot quote exactly the parts they have left out but there was a story in the *Montreal Star* this summer about the misuse of the Canadian Assistance Plan for Quebec and how it does not cover all the services it was supposed to cover. There is another thing too that I should mention and that is the lack of information that we are able to get. There was a newspaper story at the end of Expo saying that with the winter coming on, Montreal welfare would have to investigate the applicants very rigorously because of the increase due to seasonal unemployment and so on. All I can say is that if they increase the rigours of the investigation so as to cut down on these applicants, some people are going to go awfully hungry in Quebec because they are being discriminated against because of the seasonal aspect and because of people applying during the winter and fall. For one thing, the city does not give any information as to the services available and this is in an effort to cut down on the number of applicants. As far as other information and other welfare agencies in Montreal are concerned they are doing the same thing because they fear everybody will be applying. So you see what we are up against. I have here the clipping about the Canadian Assistance Plan.

The Chairman: Yes, Senator Quart?

Senator Quart: Mr. Chairman, from the very beginning I have always felt that in most cases a co-ordinating council is what is needed to dispense information. Now, Mrs. Baxter, you come from England?

Mrs. Baxter: A long, long time ago. I am a Canadian citizen now.

Senator Quart: Well, in England during the war, and I think it has been carried on in peacetime, there was the Women's Voluntary Services. That organization spread right through Canada and the other countries of the Commonwealth. They had their headquarters in Montreal and did nothing else but dispense information to the people who applied, particularly with respect to dependents of armed forces families. The way they carried it out was wonderful. I thought they were still operating, but on a very much smaller scale. So far as I can see we need a co-ordinating council.

Mrs. Baxter: Where did they get the information if nobody else can get it? What strings do they have?

Senator Quart: They would definitely find out the law and the various agencies, and have it all ready. That was our one hope during the war when people were all mixed up with one, two or three children. It worked terrifically.

We have letters from Montreal naming these agencies. I assure you we would have a lawsuit if I divulged what one of the letters said. It depends on what person you go to in an agency whether you are going to get what you want.

Do you go to rummage sales and places like Neighbourhood Services for clothing?

Mrs. Baxter: Actually my hat came from a rummage sale.

Senator Quart: We have a Neighbourhood Services store in Ottawa, and it is great.

The Chairman: The article makes reference to appeal boards across Canada. The point that is made is one we have heard in all our hearings, that the Canada Assistance Act had provision for appeals. That is, if I were a recipient and was not satisfied with what I was receiving from the welfare department then I had a right to appeal to a higher authority. It indicates that several provinces have set up their appeal boards. Manitoba, British Columbia, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland have methods of appeal. The article indicates Quebec is still writing up appeal legislation, 15 months beyond the date on which it promised, in a written agreement with Ottawa, to have appeal procedures established. It was part of the overall agreement that they would establish appeal procedures so that any of these ladies who are here, or anyone else, who was

dissatisfied, could appeal to a board of people who are knowledgeable and concerned. The appeal provisions are not available in Quebec, as they are not yet available in some other provinces. Some provinces have not lived up to the agreement which, had as its purpose a very good arrangement for people such as you.

Senator Quart: Do you have only one copy of that, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Yes. I will have copies made for you.

Senator Carter: I have several questions Mrs. Baxter, how long have you been on welfare?

Mrs. Baxter: I am not on welfare. May elaborate?

The Chairman: She is a volunteer.

Mrs. Baxter: My husband is working and have a large family.

Senator Carter: You have never been on welfare?

Mrs. Baxter: No. We have a tenement flat. We do not have a car. We have food in the refrigerator. We have shoes on our feet. We live very moderately. I go around the sale with my friends and we manage. However my husband can be laid off his job at any time, and I can be evicted from the flat, my furniture can be seized for nonpayment, and would have to go on welfare. Where will I be then, just because my husband has been sick or his job has been taken over? Why should this be so in Canada? Why is there no security?

Senator Carter: I answered your question right at the beginning.

Mrs. Baxter: We need a minimum income.

The Chairman: There is another matter we ought to make very clear now. I hope Senator Quart will understand it. I am sure I express her views as well as my own. We are not suggesting that any of you should look for rummage sales, nor that you should look anywhere other than where other Canadian citizens should look. You should have the same dignity, and regard for your personality and the same rights that other citizens have. If you go to a rummage sale, that is your own business and has nothing to do with welfare. The provision the country should make for you.

Senator Quart: Yes, I agree, but I still say there are people not on welfare who go to rummage sales and it is no indignity. It is no indignity if a person wants a bargain, and goes to Neighbourhood Services. It is just good housekeeping.

The Chairman: In Winnipeg and Vancouver we heard the complaint made by women such as the witnesses that there are sales that they could take advantage of but they have no money except at a certain time of the month. If they had a few dollars in their pocket they could take advantage of the sales on the tenth or the fifteenth of the month.

Senator Carter: I picked the wrong witness. I want to speak to somebody who is on welfare. Can I assume that the rest of you are?

The Chairman: Speak to Mrs. Keatly; she says she is on welfare.

Senator Carter: Do you have the same welfare officer or social worker, or whoever visits you? What contact do you have with the various welfare agencies at different levels of government? Do you have different people, or is there just one person who contacts you?

Mrs. Keatly: Two years ago I telephoned many agencies when I had to go into the hospital. I wished to find out if I could get a homemaker. A social worker from the Montreal General Hospital telephoned me to tell me that as my children are Catholic and I am Protestant I could not be assisted. Every agency in Montreal said we cannot help you. As a last resort a girl friend, who had a very large family of her own, took my children, but at first she did not think she would be able to. I am afraid that turned me away from them all. They are not going to help me so I am not going to bother crying, begging, and becoming a nervous wreck over it. I do have investigators visit me, but they are not the same ones.

Senator Carter: Are they from the city?

Mrs. Keatly: They are from the city social welfare office, western section.

Senator Carter: And different ones visit you?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes. Some are very rude. One came at nine o'clock in the morning. The children were up and dressed and the beds were made. I was doing the washing, but I myself was not dressed. I was wearing a housecoat and pyjamas. He said he was from

the City of Montreal, and I thought I had better open the door instead of saying just a minute while I get dressed. He said: "It is nine o'clock in the morning; why are you not dressed?" I said, "I beg your pardon, but how many housewives stay in their pyjamas and their housecoats all day long?" I said that I had not gotten around to it as yet, and I told him what I had done and that was it. They are very rude. They keep telling you very plainly that you cannot manage on what you are getting. I asked if he was going to give me more and could he do better. He said, "No, I am not going to give you more."

I had a double window out of a bedroom for three winters where I was living. I went after my landlord continuously and hounded him, even in the summer months. He said, "Wait until the winter." I never did get it. The investigator came and I told him the situation and the remark was made to me, "Why don't you get yourself a boy friend and he will put it in." That is the type of attitude we get.

Senator Carter: Are these the only people that come to your home?

Mrs. Keatly: Yes.

Senator Carter: Is there a central office?

Mrs. Keatly: There is a central office. I belong to the Atwater section. I went down there, and at the end of April I was moving. My rent was increased to \$90, and where I was living before I was paying \$80, unheated. I said, "Will you increase my cheque to compensate for it?" I did not want the heartache of moving. He said, "No." I said, "Therefore, I will have to move." I went down and applied to have them pay for my move. They said that they did not think it would be possible to pay for it, and I said, "I can't pay for it. Do you expect me to carry it on my back?" He said, "I will make a special application to the head office of Champs de Mars and I will let you know." I was finally called Saturday afternoon. I had meanwhile arranged with a man next door to move. He had given the bill, and had contacted him to verify it, and it left me dangling on a string. I did not know if I was coming or going. Saturday afternoon, four days previous to May 1, I was phoned and finally they said that they would pay it. I got quite upset, and I broke down in tears crying, "What am I going to do?"

Senator Carter: You would only go to the office in cases like that where you have some

sort of a special emergency. Apart from that, the whole thing is a rather impersonal organization, and removed so that you do not have much contact with it.

Mrs. Keatly: No contact until they come to investigate you. I had a very high gas bill of some \$40 before I went on the new budget plan, and I went down for possible help and the answer was no. My gas was turned off. Luckily it was the middle of April, but it was still cold. It was turned off and finally I had to beg for money. Where I lived I had to make a deposit of \$35, and pay a \$5 service charge on top of that. I was not able to get that money saved up until October 11, and in the meanwhile I cooked on a hot plate with one burner.

Senator Carter: Do you feel that in this sort of setup you are just a statistic, and nobody is interested in you as a human being? Is that the attitude?

Mrs. Keatly: That is exactly the attitude. When they come around to investigate you they are just insulting and very degrading.

Mrs. Margaret Destounis: I say that the difference between poor and the middle income group is that the middle income have a choice. They can serve their children chicken noodle soup out of a can, or go to a rummage sale. The poor don't have that choice.

The Chairman: That is exactly the point we are going to hear now.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): Mr. Chairman, I have not too much to say this morning, but I do want to say this, that in my view this committee had a purpose this morning, and this is one of the better groups that we have listened to thus far in our deliberations. They have been reasonable and comprehensive. In their brief they propose that we should consider—and they do it in very reasonable terms—a grant of \$40,000 for “Up to the Neck.” I take it that is based on the feeling, that they have had it up to their necks.

I hesitate to use the word “welfare” because I dislike it as much as you do. I like the comparison you made between welfare to the poor, and grants to corporations and agencies of various kinds. I think that is well taken, because really there is not very much difference, if any. If it were possible to evolve a system under which there would be a real alleviation of poverty so that the standard of

living of people now oppressed by poverty could be raised substantially—I am going to be very direct in my question to you—would you prefer such a system of a grant of \$40,000 for “Up to the Neck.”

Mrs. Baxter: First, we will manage. You just do that for everybody else.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): You would like to see such a system put into effect?

Mrs. McLoughlin: Naturally.

Mrs. Keatly: Definitely. We are human beings, and we consider our fellow Canadians as human beings too.

Senator Carter: Could you follow that up a little bit. There is not much that we can do about this \$40,000 grant. We could probably support it. Have you taken any action about this? Have you applied anywhere for it?

Mrs. Keatly: We were at the Canadian Council of Churches on a panel—a panel called the Conference on Poverty. The churches have come to the conclusion that it is about time that they did some soul-searching and have decided to look to their fellow Christians to see if they can help rather than preaching a sermon; that it is about time that they decided to help welfare rights organizations, welfare unions, and citizens' groups, by giving them certain grants to carry out their own aims without strings attached. We are told we will receive \$5,000, but there is nothing in writing. They are all in favour of this. I believe they are going into their pulpits, and speak to their congregations. It is time that poor people were helped and they will speak to the rich guys as well as to the middle class to see if something can be done. Right now they are preaching sermons which are not helping us, except possibly with respect to occasional food. There is no long-term solution to this problem.

Mrs. Baxter: At the Canadian Council of Churches Conference I believe all the ministers, bishops, and bigshots agreed that a minimum income level was needed. These were representatives from all over Canada.

The Chairman: They will come before the committee some time after the first of the year.

Mrs. Baxter: They were in agreement that this was needed.

The Chairman: They will be presenting their briefs before the committee starting the middle of January.

Mrs. Keatly: I do not know if it is proper to bring up another subject at this time. I read in the *Montreal Star* recently—but apparently this has been going on for years—that if you are a parent of an illegitimate child your child has no rights whatsoever. He can fall off a balcony, which is improperly secured due to the lack of the landlord's repairing it, and can die or be crippled for the rest of his life, and the mother cannot do a thing about it. As far as I am concerned, we are living in a Christian country, and they are fellow human beings, the same as you and I, and it is about time that something is done.

The Chairman: Mrs. Keatly, I think you are referring to a case that was decided in the courts.

Mrs. Keatly: That is right.

The Chairman: That case turned on other things.

Mrs. Keatly: This lady was lucky she had people helping her, and that she was able to get to a court. How many times does it happen that the people don't get to a court?

The Chairman: I am aware of those cases. This is one of those cases that turn on a technicality. As a matter of fact, the law did decide that since the child was illegitimate, the one who sued did not have the legal right to sue. That was the effect of the judgment.

Mrs. Keatly: But this is also one of the problems that the poor people have. They have legal problems.

The Chairman: We have had the matter of legal problems brought before us very forcibly, in both Manitoba and Vancouver. We are looking into that very seriously. We think it is a real problem. As a matter of fact, one of the members of the Committee who has been asking many questions on that sent to me a newspaper clipping this morning about this. It is headed: "Do it yourself divorce costs British Columbia university student \$37." The lady was able to do it herself. The senator's suggestion was that this committee should send that on to the legal authorities across the country and ask them why they do not make that kind of information available to people generally through legal aid societies.

We are not unaware of the problems, but we are short on solutions. You have been

very helpful this morning and have opened our eyes to some things. As we go along we learn new things that we ought to know about.

Mrs. Skahan: Mr. Chairman, the matter of youth allowances was mentioned, and we don't seem to know anything about that. Who pays youth allowances?

The Chairman: Senator Carter is quite right. There is a youth allowance, and I thought in the province of Quebec they had made extensive use of it—even more than in other places. I am a little surprised from what you people tell us that it does not seem to be used. I intend to find out something about that. But I am sure the youth allowance has been available across the country. It is quite possible, Senator Carter, that it may have disappeared into the Canada Assistance Act along with other things.

Senator Carter: It is a separate piece of legislation, I think.

The Chairman: But under the Canada Assistance Act they took in measures respecting the blind and crippled, and tried to bring them under one administration. It may be that something has happened here. I am not too sure, but I will look at it.

Senator Carter: I have three more questions, Mr. Chairman. On page 11 of the brief it is mentioned that social organizations collecting money are spending up to 80 per cent on administration. You say that that is a rumour, at least. Is this just something that is nothing more than a rumour or is there any substantial evidence to back that up?

Mrs. Baxter: The Red Feather came out with a statement that it took 50 per cent just for administration, not counting the other things.

The Chairman: In Montreal?

Mrs. Baxter: Yes. It took 50 per cent for administration, and there was more added on to it so that it comes out to 80 per cent.

Mrs. Skahan: It was also said on television that it was 80 per cent. Moreover, social workers have said that. So it is rumoured. You hear it here and there and elsewhere. I think there is a lot of truth to it.

Senator Quart: It was in the *Ottawa Citizen* here as well. And what you are talking about in Montreal, definitely was so. It was exposed in quite a few issues, for about a period of a

month, that 70 per cent of the funds of one particular group was spent on administration—on salaries. And that was in the Montreal papers.

The Chairman: Well, we are definitely going to make some inquiries, and find out about that. We will write to you and tell you what answers we receive to the inquiries.

Senator Carter: My second question refers to page 7 of your brief about six lines from the top. You ask why are not stronger steps taken to make a husband who deserts his wife pay for the assistance of the family. Have any of you had experience in that, and, if so, can you tell us the details so that we can understand them more.

Mrs. Keatly: I wrote that. I don't believe a woman who needs help, or a family that needs help, should have to sign a warrant for non-support against the husband when he deserts. There is a reason why he deserts, and it is usually financial. Also, an unwed mother has to name the father before she can get help. I don't think that is right. If the city sees that she needs help, the city should be able to take action without involving the woman, because some of these women are scared to death that they will be beaten up, because the husband gets drunk and so on. Also, the children sometimes grow up and accuse the mother by saying, "You had our father put in jail", or "You had him arrested".

Anyway, a man from Quebec can move into Ontario and even if you take his address to the social welfare officer, all the officer will say is, "I am sorry, but I can't touch him. When he is in Quebec again, we will go after him." But he can stay in Ontario for the rest of his life and live with another family—and leave them too, if he cares to—and he just goes off scot-free.

The Chairman: Senator Carter, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women is dealing with this particular point.

Mrs. Keatly: Marriages are being thought less and less of, I think, and it is about time we did something about it. People should think twice before they get married and the husband should think twice before leaving.

The Chairman: People should think twice before getting married.

Mrs. Keatly: Yes, that is what I have already said.

Senator Carter: The third question bothering me—and it has bothered me ever since reading that budget on page 5—is where you wind up with a total of \$55 a month for food. How do you manage for clothing? That is what I cannot understand.

The Chairman: How do you manage to get by?

Senator Carter: How do you really manage?

Mrs. Keatly: Well, at the beginning I have \$37. I usually go to Steinberg's and get canned vegetables, a supply of potatoes and Quaker oats and Cream-o-Wheat, and perhaps a dozen or two eggs for the month. There is no such thing as bacon. In the summer it is cold cereal and soups, bread and the cheaper cuts of meat. If I told you my diet it might make you all sick. I get chicken giblets at 29 cents a pound and make stew out of that. Hamburg, where I buy it, is three pounds for a dollar, and, if you look around, you can get sausages for three pounds a dollar. Chickens are about 39 cents, if you get them when they are down, and for my stewing beef I buy blade roasts at 59 cents a pound instead of stewing beef at 89 cents a pound, and I cut up the blade roast myself and stew that. That is how I get by. And we have peanut butter sandwiches. In the last two weeks we have been eating mostly peanut butter sandwiches and macaroni.

Senator Carter: But that is only food. How do you manage for clothing?

Mrs. Keatly: Like I said, I have girl friends who give me clothes that they are finished with.

Senator Carter: Yes, you are lucky that you have friends, but there are others who do not.

Mrs. Skahan: Many times the children do not have clothes they need and they just have to go without them. For example, the children have to go to school in wintertime with just running shoes because they don't have anything better to wear. People say, "How do they do it?" and the answer is simply that we just have to do without.

Senator Carter: But what I am leading to is this; the argument against uniforms for children is that they all look alike, at least so far as little girls are concerned. That is the theory behind it and you are against it.

Mrs. McLoughlin: Not exactly against it, but the more affluent children like all chil-

dren nowadays wear slacks, but the mothers want dresses and so they buy them nice dresses. Now at the rummage sales you can buy nice dresses and we can buy nice dresses for which we may pay a quarter. But you cannot buy a uniform for a quarter. Again, my daughter wears leather boots because I was able to buy a pair of leather boots at a rummage sale for 70 cents but I could not afford to buy plastic boots, and I would not get a pair of plastic boots for 70 cents. They are very nice leather boots—a little crooked, perhaps, but very nice.

Senator Pearson: Dealing with the question of recreation, what is the situation with regard to recreation for the children?

Mrs. Keatly: Mrs. Skahan lives in central Montreal and would like to answer that question.

Mrs. Skahan: Well, there is very little available in our area. There is a community centre with a few indoor sports but it is not large enough. There are no little league ball teams or hockey teams in the centre of the city. I have two sons who are going on 13 and 11 respectively and particularly the older one is very keen on hockey. The only ambition he has at the moment is to get into the NHL and be a hockey player but he has no way of joining a team. I don't know where to turn to. And he should be getting into it this winter. But what do I do? Where do I go?

Mrs. Keatly: I have a four-year old son who wants to play hockey even though he cannot even skate yet. But the problem is if I did want to get him on a rink there is only one rink for small children to skate on and another rink for the big boys, but he cannot go on the big boys' rink with a stick and he cannot go on the little boys' rink with a stick.

Senator Pearson: Where do they get the skates?

Mrs. Keatly: They don't have skates. They are hoping to get them for Christmas, but I don't know too much about how that will work out.

Senator Inman: Coming back to the subject of housing again, I think one of the ladies said there was only one entrance. Do you mean that that is the main entrance and that when you enter the individual apartment the door opens right into the living-room?

Mrs. McLoughlin: From the front door there is a small hallway which does not amount to anything.

Senator Inman: But when I go and knock on your door, does that door lead into the living quarters?

Mrs. McLoughlin: Yes. There is a little stairs and a stoop. So you open the first door and there is a little apartment. It is in fact just like an ordinary apartment building; there is no difference except it is not as neat or clean.

Senator Inman: Yes, but when you get to your own front door, does it lead right into your living-room?

Mrs. McLoughlin: No, it leads into a little hallway.

The Chairman: Ladies, I think you have made a very important contribution this morning. We are satisfied that nobody can teach you anything about shopping and budgeting. That is a very important point. You know what can be done with money and you know how to handle it because you have learned in the very hard school of experience. It is not the kind of experience that Canadians should be subjected to in any sort of circumstances. We thank you for coming here and giving us the benefit of your experience. Normally we are reticent about invading your privacy, which is as important to you as it is to anybody else, just as is your personality. You came here freely to talk to us with the hope of helping a great number of others. We are very glad you did that. On behalf of the committee I extend to you my thanks.

Mrs. Baxter: Before you finish, Mr. Chairman, may I ask one question concerning the brief. What is going to happen to the brief?

The Chairman: Your brief has been considered and will be printed in our proceedings.

Mrs. Baxter: And what action will be taken?

The Chairman: The action will come after we have heard from many more people and have made recommendations to the Government.

Mrs. Baxter: But what form will the action take?

The Chairman: It will take the form of a report by the committee with recommendations which will be made to the Government, upon which we hope the Government will act.

12 : 28

Special Senate Committee

Mrs. Baxter: I ask because so many agencies in Montreal told us we were wasting our time in coming here.

The Chairman: I assure you that you did not waste your time in coming here.
Whereupon the committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

BRIEF ON POVERTY
PRESENTED TO THE
SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY
BY
UP TO THE NECK NEWSPAPER,
MONTREAL, QUEBEC

November, 1969

This brief was mainly written by three mothers who are heads of families and one male member of UP TO THE NECK Editorial Board.

Ruth Keatley—on welfare, has three children, the oldest is five years.

Catherine Hall (maiden name)—on welfare, three children, the oldest is sixteen.

Robert K. Gaul—Is employed as a shipper. He has been active in tenants associations for the past two years. In his spare time he does a lot of work helping poor families on his own, going about visiting needy families and assisting them in various ways to obtain a few of the necessary things that are not available to them through Social Agencies.

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b) WHAT UP-TO-THE-NECK IS

A non-profit newspaper which is operated by the citizens of downtown Montreal.

Volunteers handle editorial and production duties.

The paper is distributed by mail. Some copies are placed in clinics and Communities Centers etc. Recipients are asked for a donation of \$1.00 per year to help defray expenses but a great many copies are distributed free.

WHAT UP-TO-THE-NECK IS DOING

- 1. Supports and reports the activities on the citizens groups of many areas.
- 2. Has provided a forum for our readers.
- 3. Has published cases of injustice.
- 4. Has received favourable publicity from local media, which have followed up our stories and brought pressure to bear on the proper points.

WHAT UP-TO-THE-NECK WANTS TO DO

- 1. Remain an independent voice of the people.
- 2. Expand our distribution.
- 3. If possible become a weekly so that we can publish more up-to-date news.
- 4. As a weekly, we would require full-time paid help, and would use our volunteers as they are low-income and welfare people.
- 5. Help to train the youths who are "drop-outs" of school.

WHAT UP-TO-THE-NECK NEEDS

Some Government support by way of a Grant which would be used in the following manner:

1. We would employ as many low-income and welfare families as possible as this would give extra income for those in need.

2. Other projects like the one mentioned, given Government support, would help those in need in this rich country of ours. The Grant we are requesting is \$40,000. This may appear out of proportion but when given a second look the items that would have to be purchased would quickly add up. Printing equipment, supplies, salaries, etc. We hope the Senators will give full consideration to the amount we are requesting.

b) Preamble

UP-TO-THE-NECK is a poor peoples newspaper published in Montreal by citizens who are interested in trying to improve their posi-

tion as well as that of their neighbors. This is the first brief we have submitted to our Government and would ask the Senators indulgence if we are too blunt and would ask them to understand that this is a problem which we face daily and find it extremely difficult to be objective.

We hear so much being said these days about the unemployed not wanting to work because they are better off on welfare, that they are lazy and don't want to work. We don't hear anyone saying anything about the health of these people or their mental stability, the lack of employment or lack of education or training. Then there are the young people who are turning hippie. The Mothers alone trying to raise their children properly and give them an education, so tired being Mother and Father on such a small welfare allowance that they have no energy left to take a part-time job when the children do reach school age. The rich society blame the poor for their plight. Five million people living below the poverty level in this supposedly affluent society, and they are always getting the blame for it? This is not an affluent society, it is a sick society, and if the Government had taken steps years ago to prevent it all these things would not be happening today.

Many people are saying that they do not intend to let poverty exist any longer. That low-income and welfare citizens are organizing into groups all over the city here and in other cities and that if the Government does not do something soon to wipe out poverty that they will be joining all groups together across the Country and make sure that the Government listens to their demands.

c) What is Poverty

The following is our definition of poverty.

Poverty is relative. What some consider very poor could be luxury to another. True poverty is being aware of what you want but being unable, because of opportunity to obtain this. In this respect and by this definition of poor, no one region or category can be established. At least one half of all Canada is poor when compared to the

actual wealth available and the expectation of our country and the small population. Poverty will continue to increase as skills learned become obsolete and machines become more sophisticated. Re-training and education of young people will fall further behind.

HIGH INTEREST CHOKES POOR

The low-income family, (a family in which the man has a job and brings home just enough money to feed and clothe his children, pay rent and keep up with the utility bills) is often caught up in a terrible web:— *The web of high interest credit.* The income isn't enough to save anything, so as soon as a large bill comes in or an appliance is needed, the man has to take out credit. This is the beginning of the tangled web that he may never be able to escape from. Most of his monthly payment goes to pay off the original amount which he borrowed, so even though he is paying regularly, the actual balance of the loan never seems to become less. By the time he may be making a livable wage, his credit payments will keep him poor. Finance companies always charge very high interest; what many people don't realize is that banks charge much less interest and a man does not have to own property to get a bank loan—just a steady job and a good credit rating. On the other hand, there are people on welfare, Needy Mothers, etc. who have no income, or credit rating. These people are forced to seek credit from a door to door collector—who extends to them household items at far higher prices than in a regular store—and get away with this, as they are the only people who will extend credit to poor people. The poor people have nowhere else to go to ask for credit.

The low-income man seems to be forever making the rich man richer.

d) Welfare

Welfare is a dirty word, it should be wiped out, as the people on welfare are made aware of their menial status. Most people conveniently forget that "Welfare Recipients" receive only a small part of the welfare budget. Subsidized Farm payments, railways, highways, the Arts and more, are as much as a part of welfare.

To give an example—in Montreal's city budget for 1968-69

Place des Arts.....\$ 1,488,651
Mtl. Council of Arts..... 358,161

A total of.....\$ 1,846,812 for Arts

against \$4,179,551 is assigned to Social Welfare.

URBAN SOCIAL REDEVELOPMENT
PROJECT DOCUMENT—OCTOBER 1968

Taken from Le Dossier sur l'Assistance sociale au Québec—La Presse, September 25, 1968.

Welfare recipients in Montreal:

Persons unable to work.....	13,075 — 90%
Medical reasons.....	78%
Other reasons.....	12%
Persons able to work.....	1,526 — 10%
Under 40 years.....	3%
More than 40 years.....	7%
Total.....	14,601 — 100%

A PERSONAL BUDGET PRESENTED BY
ONE OF THE MEMBERS MAKING UP BRIEF
WHO IS ON WELFARE—A MOTHER ALONE
WITH 3 CHILDREN.

Income:—

Welfare cheque.....	\$ 170.00 monthly
Family Allowance.....	18.00 monthly
Quebec Family Allowance.....	105.00 yearly
Yearly Allowance—\$2,361.	

Expenses

Rent.....	\$ 80.00
Gas (Budget).....	20.00
Lights.....	6.00
Milkman.....	20.00
Phone.....	6.71

	\$ 132.71
Welfare cheque.....	\$ 170.00
	—132.71

\$ 37.29 for food
until 20th
of the
month.

From the 1st of the month I have \$37.29 for food until my Family Allowance cheque comes in on the 20th which is \$18.00 to last me until the 1st of the next month for a family of four.

Total for food \$55.29

According to the Montreal
Diet Dispensary I should
have a minimum of.....\$ 90.58 for food
—55.29

\$ 45.29 short for
the bare
necessities
in food.

Foster Homes

Foster parents are entitled to many different things which the natural parents are not: Such as free dental care, special transportation, prescriptions, professional fees and glasses. They also receive the following amount monthly per child.

Children 0- 9 years: \$49.50—
.60 pocket money

Children 10-15 years: \$60.30—
\$2.40 pocket money

Children 16-17 years: \$69.00—
\$3.00 pocket money

Clothing

Children 0- 9 years—\$ 96.00 per year

Children 10-15 years— 120.00 per year

Children 16-17 years— 144.00 per year

While the natural parent receives \$10. to \$12. a month per child. We are told \$3.00 a month is included in our cheque for clothing, which would be \$36.00 a year. What can you buy today with that amount. We don't want Foster Parents to receive any less but why should the natural parents settle for less. Many of us are mothers alone who have all the worry of bringing up our children by ourselves. If they are sick we have to worry and struggle on the bus with the rest of our family to get to the hospital, where we can wait up until four hours to be seen. We have no husband around to talk to or help us with our problems. To make it worse we do not receive enough money to feed and clothe our children.

Why shouldn't our children be able to wear store-bought clothes instead of hand-me-downs. We also worry if our children are going to grow up retarded or with some dreadful disease due to lack of proper nourishment. It also should concern society because our children are going to be working and running the country in years to come. Why aren't there stronger steps taken toward the husbands and fathers of these children. They should be made to help pay part of the assistance to the mothers. Now they can move to another province and even if you give the welfare office his address nothing is done to him. If the Government was a little harder on them they may think twice before getting married and before leaving their families. In the new Welfare Regulations for Quebec (Bill 26) it states that a wife no longer has to sign a warrant for her husband's arrest before receiving welfare and that if a welfare officer

sees the family is in need he can sign a warrant. We agree with this and it should be the same all across the country.

e) Education

Schools in poor neighbourhoods are too often the ones with poorer facilities and inferior staff.¹ But even the better schools in Canada are underachieving, forcing young people to conform and doing more harm than good. Schools try to turn out a commodity rather than an educated person. Schools are understaffed and the over-worked teacher can do no more than be a highly paid baby-sitter.

Children in poorer districts are constantly made aware of their lack of money by thoughtless teachers who require one copy-book for this and another for that. Uniforms and other external requirements add nothing to students' education and in less affluent areas are a major cause of drop-outs. Two and three hours of homework exhaust any student and to the poorer, less fortunate ones, who must work after school, this imposes an unbearable burden that is more brutal than in Dickens' time.

The destructive and calculated brutal treatment that continues in so many ghetto classrooms should be discontinued. Insults and strapping are, in the present society, unnecessary and contribute nothing to a student's education and serves only to foster resentment against the establishment and educators. In a day where higher education is the only instrument society has against growing unrest and perhaps anarchy schools turn out "not even well-packaged items but dehumanized and unsalable commodities." Schools in our inner city are mostly old and without the newer teaching aids. Children are not given credit for outside activities; teaching textbook French to children who are already more proficient than the teacher, or else History to those who were born in European or Asian countries and know the country in a way the teacher never can.

Some recommendations suggested are: a bonus paid to better teachers who would be willing to work in the less affluent (ghetto) districts. Smaller classes with a teacher-assistant to do the routine duties. The classroom should be a place where students can work, not just sit listening; where a teacher can help and guide, but the onus should be on

the child to learn. Vocational schools should be raised in importance and a DEGREE should not spell instant brains, prestige or promotion. Services are the Commodity of the future and more people will be required for personal service than ever before and for this training and not a university degree is required. Think what a saving to the taxpayer apprenticeship training could mean.

A psychologist and perhaps even a resident psychiatrist is another way in which the low-income children could benefit. The Olier School on Park Avenue has benefited greatly from this kind of co-operation.

Students should receive a monthly allowance from the Federal Government to insure that he can stay in school and not be forced into the labor market. It should be offered and not given only to those who apply for they are usually the ones who are less in need and have greater knowledge of what is being offered to finance students. Student aid is something of which the slum dweller has little knowledge and no one rushes to tell them about this aid. A common factor of persons on Welfare is that in about 90% of the cases the recipient has about grade six or less education. Better qualified people would lower the cost of welfare and raise the standard of living of all Canadians as well as giving better and more qualified services. The Parent Royal Commission has already proposed the "Institutes" with which to solve this problem.

f) Housing

It has often been written that inferior housing appears to condition people who live in these circumstances to feel dirty, unwholesome and inferior but unfortunately the reverse does not hold true. Although we heartily agree with the first we wonder if perhaps... When poor people are given Public Housing they are immediately suspect, rules and guards and penalties abound, they're fair game for every would be dictator. Any psychologist will tell you that such treatment only conditions people to act in a destructive manner. Public Housing is used to assure taxpayers that their money is helping the poor. But what about Community housing cooperatively owned, where there is no stigma attached, and people would not stick out like sore thumbs.

Some answers 1. Don't destroy low cost housing until it has been replaced. New buildings should be put up on vacant lots.

¹ OUR GENERATION: "Poverty in Canada" by Brian Knight. Pg. 13.

2. Make Government funds more easily available for non-profit housing corporations, in the way people can own their own homes, to have a say in the development of their communities. People should have a right to purchase their own homes, through a system that their rent is applied to the purchase. They would have more pride in their community and their home if they owned their dwelling and would take better care of their property, maintenance wise.

3. Homes for families with children should be built with separate entrances on an attached town house style, to give people more privacy and solitude.

4. Cooperative houses could be built with labor supplied by the people who would live in them on land RENTED from the Government. This would provide low-cost housing, designed for the people who would live in them, as well as providing employment for a great many people.

Canada is willing to pay 100 million to 150 million dollars to launch a satellite in 1971, why not use the American ones and use that money for housing in Canada? The reduction of our Armed Forces in Europe is indeed good news, and we hope that some of the \$146 million a year can be used to raise the standard of housing in Canada. The necessity of adequate housing for Canadians would encourage our Representatives to support a Government subsidy on housing and would come nowhere close to the amount spent by the Government on "National Defense."

Federal Deficiency payments to B.C. fishing industry was \$4 million and a huge quantity was bought for international relief. All this money could be used for housing in Canada and at the same time would employ so many of the present unemployed.

g) Recommendations

1. NEGATIVE INCOME TAX

With the introduction of a Negative Income Tax or GAI with three thousand dollars minimum for a family of two and \$6,000 at the break even level, it would give anyone who has the health and mental stability to work and make more to improve his or her standard of living, become a tax payer and give them some human dignity. We are thinking here of the figures given on a Negative Income Tax in the Canadian Welfare Council Magazine—March, April 1968 edition.

We have all heard our Prime Minister say that the Government cannot afford a Guar-

anteed Annual Income or Negative Income Tax at this time. A case of being able to afford a "Just Society" of a "Sick Society". It is time we stopped asking ourselves if we can afford charity and asked ourselves if we can afford poverty! However, we do have some suggestions of what we think should be done in the interim.

2. TAX EXEMPTIONS

In 1949 a tax exemption of \$1,000 for a single person or \$2,000 for a married person was adopted. The value of one thousand dollars in 1949 has decreased to \$620. today. If the government were to increase the tax exemptions to make up for the dollar devaluation, they would have to make the exemptions \$1,600 for a single person and \$3,225 for married people. However, this would not make the poor man much better off because he is paying a much higher percentage of his income in hidden taxes, sales tax, social security contributions, etc. For example, a person with an income under \$2,000 pays a total of 60% of his income and a person with an income of \$10,000 pays a total of 34.7% of his income for taxes. It would not hurt the Government to bring the tax exemptions up to \$2,000 for single people and \$4,000 for married people, which would still only contribute a little towards sharing the wealth.

Some people say they do not think people living in poverty should be given any more money, because they will have to pay more tax and they are paying enough now. What they don't realize is that if we wiped out poverty they might end up paying less tax as there would be less sick, undernourished and uneducated people for them to subsidize. Another thing they don't realize is how much they—the middle and upper class are being subsidized by the Government. Everyone receives welfare from the government in one way or another.

A family head earning four or five thousand dollars a year and paying income tax is only taking the food off his table and doing without proper housing to pay tax. Thus many Mothers and wives have been forced to leave the home and go to work to supplement the Father's income. This course of action causes two problems in our society.

1. Children are neglected because mother isn't there when they get home from school with their problems, and because she has no time to spend with them in the evening or on weekends.

2. Working wives are absorbing jobs on the labor market, therefore leaving many men and single women unemployed.

Here, we would like to take this opportunity to suggest taxing capital gains to balance out the wealth a little.

3. INCREASE FAMILY ALLOWANCES

In 1945, for a number of economic and social reasons, the Government brought in the family allowances. A rise in prices of 60% since then has destroyed the purchasing power of these allowances. These allowances should be doubled or tripled for those earning an income, and for families where the head of the family is a female or a man who is disabled or blind and unable to work they should be quadrupled. Children of these families who are deprived because of unfortunate circumstances should be given every chance of an education instead of forcing them to be school dropouts and therefore increasing the number of people depending on the doling out system for their entire life.

4. FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO KEEP YOUNG PEOPLE LONGER IN SCHOOL

After the age of fourteen all children willing to continue in school should be given an allowance by the Government to allow them some independence and relieve the cost to parents. This would encourage them to stay in school and thus become more of an asset in future years, if only because when they earn more, their income tax will also be more. There should be no room for criticism from some who would say this would be too expensive if the increases are accompanied by the following two changes in the tax regulations:

1. That the allowances be regarded as income and taxed accordingly which is not the present practice, and

2. That the present exemptions of \$300 in the personal income tax for each dependent child be reduced as family allowances are increased.

By taxing the allowance, the very poor, who pay no or little income tax, could retain all or most of their increased allowances, whereas the very wealthy would have to repay up to 80% through their income tax. With such a system, those in greatest need would receive the most assistance.

5. MORE TRAINING BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR YOUNG AND OLD

Manpower Services are not adequate to meet the demand for training today. Many Air Force, Army and Navy bases are lying idle, to name a few—Lac St. Denis, Sommerside, P.E.I., Ville LaSalle Navy Base. Courses in Electronics and computers etc. for men and secretarial, designing, nursing assistants, etc. for the girls and women could be established.

6. DENTAL

Measures should be taken to save the teeth of the nation. Only if you have an income of over \$5,000 can you afford to pay dental bills to keep teeth in repair, otherwise you lose them. We would like to see the Government run dental clinics for those who cannot afford a dentist and fluoridation to save the babies' teeth from needing very much dental care. Then in some years you could do away with the dental clinics.

7. DAY CARE CENTRES

One thing we need urgently is day care centres for the *low-income family* where the wife would like to work to help her family live a little better but can't pay the babysitter fees. Also if the Mother would like to go out for a day away from the children to do a little shopping or visit a friend.

For the *unwed mother* who would like to keep her child and go to work and be able to bring her child home each evening with her. This may also help cut down on foster homes.

For the *welfare family* who just cannot get out without her family due to the lack of money for the babysitter. Every human being needs variety and a chance to get away from the daily routine. This would help the whole family as we wouldn't feel we are almost being forced to stay in the house continuously and like it. It would help our nerves and in turn we would be less likely to end up nervous breakdowns.

We need day care centres on a very large scale as there are 28,000 people on welfare alone in Montreal. This is not counting the low-income family. They would have to be run on a reasonable scale. If it is going to cost us as much as a babysitter it would be of no advantage to the people. For instance for a family on welfare \$1.00 per day regardless of how many children you have. For the working mothers, that could be judged by the weekly scale, the amount of children mother has and her take-home pay.

Right now we have so many social agencies which do very little to benefit the poor person. They collect millions of dollars which we see very little of. We must assume it is spent on administration (a rumored 80 per cent). We have never been given a direct answer as to where it goes. Cut down or abolish these and take the money for day care centres, better housing and better schooling.

n. CASE HISTORIES

A guaranteed annual income would be an investment in human beings and would give people human dignity; being able to live with dignity is a very important factor to a human being. The following are a few cases of people on welfare who have had their dignity jeopardized:—

1. Mr. A. has four children ages 4 to 11. His wife, an alcoholic deserted him. He receives \$109.20 old age pension, and \$36 per month from Quebec Health and Welfare to care for the children. He takes care of the children himself. He pays \$40 for rent, \$6 for electricity, and \$14 a month for fuel and has to buy a stove to heat the place. He had no stove when we spoke to him on October 2nd. When his wife was living with him, he received \$86 per month from Health and Welfare. They took \$50 off his allowance when she left.

He wrote to Quebec several times, visited the local office and also visited the City Welfare Office but they said they could not do any more for him.

2. Mr. B. is living with his wife and eight children, he has been sick but when he felt well enough, he looked for work and couldn't find it. He is at present taking a course in dry cleaning through ACEF. The welfare pays him \$182 per month to keep the ten of them.

3. Mrs. C. has been raising her 3 children alone for nine years. In 1967 she was receiving \$150 per month from Quebec (Needy Mothers Pension). There wasn't enough to eat, so she took a part-time job as a bus monitor on the children's school bus which netted an average of \$50 per month for a ten month year. The minimum allowance for a mother with 3 children in Quebec is \$135 a month and you are allowed to supplement you income by \$1,000 per year. The amount Mrs. C. could make on the bus was \$500 a year.

The Quebec government reduced her allowance by \$10 to \$140 a month on account of her part-time job. Living in the Jeanne Mance Housing Project, she had to pay an average of \$16 more for rent a month.

End result from her working on school bus:—

Although she was earning \$50 a month, it cost her a total of \$26 a month for extra rent and Quebec Needy Mothers allowance—total gain \$24 a month. When school was out, the allowance of \$140 was all she had to live on. She ended up on tranquilizers to lessen the worries and has been making frequent visits to the hospital clinic since that time. The hospital wrote to Quebec and had her allowance increased stating that she was in poor health and could not supplement her income.

This lady says, "If you try to put \$1.00 worth of food on the table the government takes .50 off; if you were making money for luxuries that would be alright, but for food and necessary winter clothing—no".

4. Mr. Fernand Goyette has 14 children. He receives \$225 per month from City welfare. Recently his daughter who is a widow went to live with him and his wife bringing with her 4 children. He applied in July 1969 for an allowance for his daughter and 4 children. Three months later he received \$60 for the daughter and 4 children. Cheque stub enclosed herewith (photostat copy).

5. Mr. E. is blind. He receives a blind pension and his wife receives a Needy Mothers Pension. They have 4 children. Last year their 18 year old son left school to get a job. Mrs. E. informed the Needy Mothers Pension office that he was working and they deducted \$20. per month off her cheque which is very much in order. However, later the husband received a letter from Quebec Government asking where the son was working and how much he was making. Mrs. E. then phoned the Needy Mothers Quebec Regional office in Montreal and asked why they sent her husband the letter. Their answer was that "the son has a responsibility to his parents to pay them a certain percentage of his pay towards their keep." She asked how much percent? She was not able to get them to give her an answer as to how much percent they meant.

The son has now enrolled in night school and has had to pay \$150. for his course plus the cost of his books. This boy is doing his best to make his own way in life and we don't think any child should be responsible for his parents' keep, percentage or otherwise.

6. Mrs. F. lives alone with son 19. Two years ago her son dropped out of school before finishing 10th grade because he was hungry and found a job. Mrs. F. was receiving \$69. per month from City Welfare. She has a steady income from her ex-husbands pension of \$75. per month. She is sick and attends hospital clinic regularly. The hospital said she needed \$25. per month for medicines and special diet but the city would only give her \$15. for these necessities. Now the boy has decided to return to day school as there is no future working in a parking lot and he wants to join the police force. Mrs. F. called the City Welfare office and asked about receiving welfare again until the boy is finished school. She was flatly refused on the telephone, it would be impossible they told her. She spoke in French on the first call. A few moments later she called back speaking in English and asked to get in touch with the welfare appeal board. The same man answered and said "This is it". The lady told me of this happening and I advised her to get a medical certificate from a doctor at the hospital clinic and to bring it to the Quebec Needy Mothers Office. She said she would. The case is still open.

APPENDIX "A"

BUDGET OF A MODERATE LIVING FAMILY OF 5

A level of existence that should be considered a right for every citizen of a country as rich as ours.

	Monthly	Yearly
Rent.....	\$ 125.00	\$ 1,500.00
Food.....	200.00	2,400.00
Utilities.....	20.00	240.00
Fuel.....	20.00	240.00
Clothing.....	47.00	574.00
Household Supplies.....	8.00	96.00
Replacements.....	10.00	120.00
Transportation.....	20.00	240.00
Religion.....	3.00	36.00
School Supplies.....	3.00	36.00
Recreation.....	10.00	120.00
Entertainment.....	20.00	240.00
Personal Allowances.....	20.00	240.00
Telephone.....	7.00	84.00
Gifts.....	12.00	144.00
Vacation.....	25.00	300.00
Medical and Dental.....	25.00	300.00
Reading Materials.....	10.00	120.00
TOTAL.....	\$ 585.00	\$ 7,030.00

APPENDIX "B"

We agree wholeheartedly with the following:

EXCERPTS FROM ECONOMIC COUNCIL ANNUAL REPORT

Too little attention has been devoted to possible means of offsetting this tendency to underinvest and to developing more appropriate levels of investment in human resources, especially among the poor. It is important that this be done in ways that enhance rather than inhibit labour mobility, for in an age of accelerating technological and other change, our economic system will need increasing mobility if it is to function well.

Economic stabilization policies, too, have considerable relevance for the dimensions of poverty. The use of these policies to achieve sustained and balanced economic growth will tend to hold down and reduce the level of poverty over time. At the same time, serious or persistent inflationary pressures may require restriction of the growth of total demand through restraining fiscal and monetary policies in such a way that unemployment increases. In such a case, the poor may be caught in a situation of diminished employment opportunities, rising taxes (overall tax system in Canada is regressive at low-income levels—that is, the poor are relatively overtaxed) and diminished availability and increased cost of credit. All tend to fall more heavily upon this minority than upon the rest of society.

Having a more marginal attachment to the labour force, whether through their lower levels of skills, more-checkered employment histories, higher incidence of sickness, or for whatever reasons (studies have revealed a whole cluster of variables that may be responsible), the poor feel the impact most heavily when unemployment rises and job opportunities become relatively scarce.

Under such conditions, it is low-income families particularly who are faced with difficulties in finding jobs and obtaining credit. Some are compelled to seek welfare assistance, and growing welfare costs typically emerge in this situation. In short, the burden of maintaining price stability may tend to fall

particularly heavily on the poor. In this context, a recent study in the United States has concluded that while some of the poor may be seriously hurt by inflation—notably the elderly poor—more of them are hurt by high unemployment.

THE EFFECTS OF POVERTY ON THE POOR

Some of the effects are quite visible and obvious. Poverty breeds ill health. It engenders a sense of hopelessness and frustration. It frequently means interrupted employment, unrewarding jobs, poor housing and inadequate food. It presents the poor from participating adequately in the life of the society.

Some indications about the ways in which the poor are deprived and about the degree of their deprivation can be gleaned from an analysis of the 1964 DBS Survey of Urban Family Expenditures. Chart 7-1 displays the relationship between the expenditures of the poor and the average expenditures of the nonpoor. In absolute dollar terms—the difference in the amounts spent—the poor are most deprived of sufficient food, clothing, shelter and transportation. However, viewing the expenditures of the poor as a percentage of the expenditures of the non poor, those living in poverty are most deprived, in a relative sense, of transportation, of recreation, of furnishings and equipment, of reading material, of medical care, of personal care, of clothing and of items to complement the formal education system.

One of the most important consequences of poverty is that it affects the ability of the poor to invest in themselves and thereby to lead more productive lives within the economy. This is illustrated by the lower relative expenditures on categories of goods and services which are particularly important as a basis for skilled and effective labour force participation, such as expenditures on education and reading.

A Family's inability to invest in itself is likely to have particularly serious consequences on young children whose potential abilities are largely shaped in the years of early childhood. There is accumulating evidence to suggest that children of low-income families in Canada are most unlikely to have adequate access to needed resources in their early years. Even the possibility of significant child nutrition problems, seemingly so improbably in this country, must be taken seriously. A provincial minister of welfare recently stated publicly that some of the chil-

dren in his province were too ill-clothed and ill-nourished to attend school. It is now well established that malnutrition in the early months of life will not only impair physical growth but may also damage mental development. From the infant born in 1969 to the school drop-out of 1985 is the short span of years that may comprise a poverty generation, and improved understanding of the experience of poor children in Canada is urgently needed if poverty is to be effectively eliminated in Canada in our time.

In the past there has been much concern about the deeply indebted poor. Yet, it is important to keep in mind that ready access to credit for the poor may also be a vitally important factor at certain times to facilitate improved income-earning capacity. For example, credit may be required for the purchase of a used car that may be needed to get to work or for something as ordinary as the purchase of stockings or clothing for a woman seeking to return to work and may make all the difference in a family's progress out of poverty.

The fact that the family is the most common economic unit in our society is often forgotten, and the importance to society of the family's economic viability is frequently not fully realized. A family operates in many ways like a business firm selling a product on the market. The inadequate incomes of families in poverty put such families in a position similar to that of managers of firms whose costs exceed revenues. Unable to increase production and sales for various reasons, and unable in the long run to continue even a level of maintenance costs that would permit continued sales, a firm may ultimately be forced out of business. From the viewpoint of the economy as a whole, this may be a desirable result, especially if it frees resources that have been relatively inefficiently used to flow to other, more productive uses. In the case of the family, however, the social and economic consequences for society are quite different. While a firm may go out of business and disappear, the family remains. If the potential abilities of members of the family remain undeveloped and unused, the family members may not only become virtual nonparticipants in the nation's social and economic life, but also a continuing burden on the society. If society is to benefit from the potential abilities rather than merely support the costs of poverty, the adults in the family must be enabled to participate in the labour force currently and to *prepare their children to do so*

in the future. Thus the concept of a minimum standard of living must be based on a definition of the family NOT merely as a consuming unit, but also as a producing unit. In our society, a substantial portion of the total investment in human capital is undertaken by family or individual initiatives. Public policies are needed to encourage this private investment process, and help to insulate it against the ravages of poverty.

Queen's Printer for Canada, Ottawa, 1969



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 13

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 16th, 1969

WITNESSES:

Frontier College, Toronto: J. W. Tomecko, Chairman, Board of Governors;
Jean Guilbeault, Governor; Dr. Pierre Lapointe, Governor; Eric W.
Robinson, Principal and Ian Morrison, National Co-ordinator.

APPENDIX:

"A"—Brief from Frontier College, Toronto.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche,</i> <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, December 16, 1969.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 10:00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Croll (*Chairman*), Carter, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, McGrand, Pearson, Quart and Roebuck. (9)

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Staff Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

Frontier College, Toronto

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Mr. J. W. Tomecko, Chairman.

Mr. Jean Guilbeault, Governor.

Dr. Pierre Lapointe, Governor.

FACULTY

Mr. Eric W. Robinson, Principal.

Mr. Ian Morrison, National Co-ordinator.

The brief presented by "Frontier College" was Ordered to be printed as Appendix "A" to these Minutes.

The biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.

At 12:20 p.m. the Committee adjourned.

ATTEST:

Frank A. Jackson,
Acting Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

BOARD OF GOVERNORS:

J. W. Tomecko, Chairman of the Board. Born in Lipton, Saskatchewan; educated at Heavyland rural school and Campion High School, Regina where he was a gold medallist; University of Saskatchewan B.A. & M.A., Chemistry; McGill, Ph.D., Chemistry, 1940; University of Western Ontario, Management Training Course, 1952. Played football for Regina Roughriders including 1934 Grey Cup game; teacher in Regina, later at Loyola College, Montreal, between 1933 and 1940; executive posts 1940-65 with Canadian Industries Limited; currently Director, Industrial Research Institute, University of Waterloo. Elected to the Board of Governors of Frontier College June, 1965; elected Chairman of the Board, January, 1968.

Jean Guilbeault. Born and educated, Montreal; University of Montreal, LL.L., 1963; Member of the Bar of the Province of Quebec, 1964; former Executive Secretary AGEUM (University of Montreal Student Council); Member, Kiwanis Club of St. Laurent, Québec; President of University of Montreal Law Conventum; Instructor and Supervisor of Frontier College, 1957-1966; Governor of Frontier College, 1967.

Dr. Pierre Lapointe. M.D., University of Montreal, 1962; C.S.P.Q., 1966; post graduate studies, Psychiatry, Boston State Hospital and Harvard University U.S.A.; one year, Paris, France; at present: Directeur de Service de Psychiatrie Communautaire de l'Est, Hôpital St-Jean de Dieu, Longue Pointe, Montréal, Québec; former Frontier College instructor; elected Member of the Board of Governors, Frontier College, 1967.

Eric W. Robinson, Principal. Born, Montreal, Quebec; early education, Montreal; B.A. McGill University; High School Teaching Diploma, McGill University; M.A. McGill University; Canadian Army, overseas service 1945; High School Teacher, Montreal, 1950-3; Supervisor of Instructors, Frontier College, 1953-4; Principal, 1954. Doctor of the University of Calgary, honoris causa, 1967.

Ian Morrison, National Co-ordinator. Born, Toronto, Ontario, early education Toronto and Winnipeg; Honors B.A. in History, University of Toronto, 1965; M.Sc. (Econ.) London School of Economics, 1966; three times instructor with Frontier College; National Co-ordinator, Frontier College, 1966.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, December 16, 1969

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 10 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (Chairman) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I shall now call the meeting to order. We have this morning a brief from Frontier College. Sitting to my right is Dr. J. W. Tomecko, Chairman of the Board. You have his biography and it will appear in the record in any event. Sitting next to Dr. Tomecko is Mr. Jean Guilbeault, who is Director for Québec and a member of the board, and then Dr. Eric W. Robinson, the Principal. Sitting next to him is Mr. Ian Morrison, the National Co-ordinator and Dr. Pierre Lapointe, who is a member of the board.

Dr. Tomecko will start and then call on various colleagues to answer questions and make presentations.

Dr. J. W. Tomecko, Chairman of the Board, Frontier College: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, first of all I should like to thank you for inviting us to come before this special committee to present the brief and explain our views relating to poverty.

I would like to say a couple of words about Frontier College. I think you have a certain amount of information before you in the brief which gives a good idea of what we are doing. Frontier College is a non-profit private organization. We depend upon funds from governments, corporations, individuals, student associations, and trade unions. We get 30 per cent of our funds from various governmental bodies, but the balance comes from the money that is given by individuals and groups with an interest in the work of Frontier College and who have seen fit to lend support. This includes corporations, as well as private donors. In recent years we have been drawing heavily upon our own endowment in order to maintain our program. We have

had an endowment of about \$250,000 which we have been forced to use for operating expenses. The college is administered by a board of governors and we have two full-time staff who administer the Frontier College program: Principal Robinson and also Ian Morrison, the co-ordinator. The gentlemen who are seated with me have all been in the field working directly with the sort of problems that you are considering.

The college was founded to work with people who were not sufficiently literate to make a secure living. The original concept was that the college student would go from the university into outlying Canada and work as a labourer, that is, on the end of a pick or shovel, and then in the evening he would interest the people in the camps to participate in educational programs, including arithmetic and language skills.

As you have recognized from the brief, our history dates back to 1899. We were the only institution that had a federal charter (Frontier College Act, R.S.C. 1922). In the past we have been directing most of our effort to our "labourer-teacher" program. We have approximately 100 students in the field each year. These students are recruited from universities. You might be interested to know that Ian Morrison and Dr. Robinson do the recruiting and in the process have found that they have 15 applicants for every available position. I believe Mr. Guilbeault can enlarge on this. The only thing that we can assure them is that they are going to work hard and, they will come out of our program with approximately \$1,200 in their pockets which will enable them to carry on during the next semester or the next year of university.

Recently we have done contracted training for various governmental bodies and I can enumerate some locations—Cox's Cove, Newfoundland; Frobisher Bay, N.W.T.; Fort Hope, Ontario; Fort Smith, N.W.T.; Fort Resolution, N.W.T.; and Lennox Island, P.E.I.

In these instances we are working with disadvantaged people, including native peoples.

In the past year, we had 100 labourer-teachers in the field. Some 1,500 workers participate in courses with these instructors.

I hope you recognize that this is not an easy activity, to work all day and then have enough energy and interest at the end of the day to interest these people in courses of study.

Our instructors have had contacts with 24,000 people by way of counselling, library assistance, films, and recreation and social activities in 1969.

With a budget in the order of \$130,000, we have been able to contact this number of people. Our costs are rising.

In our full-time community education contracts at present we have 200 students, and this has cost about \$52,000 or \$250 per person.

I would be glad to answer any questions you have, but I would like Mr. Guilbeault, from the Province of Quebec, to speak. He has been a labourer-teacher himself and he is very interested in this work. He has been a member of the board for two years.

Mr. Jean Guilbeault, Member of Board of Governors, Frontier College: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Honourable senators, as a member of this board of governors, and being from Quebec, I may say we are very proud and look forward to continued participation in this national organization.

In Quebec, because the language is French, we had to make a special department in order to meet the needs in that province, especially in areas where society is not as well organized as elsewhere.

I should like to tell you how we choose our labourer-teachers (ouvriers instructeurs). We recruit through universities. The candidate must be at least 21 years of age and must have gone through one year of university studies often in a profession, not just a B.A. course but in engineering, medicine, dentistry, law, etc. In the course of our interview and afterwards, we try to find out if the candidate can relate to other people who are not of his own social standing. We inquire whether he has committed himself in his community as a resourceful leader with imagination.

Among the 200 to 300 applicants last year in the Province of Quebec, we have chosen 20. These men have been sent out into different locations and we keep close contact with

them all through the summer. Throughout the year we keep in touch with them, trying to solve the urgent problems they face in the different camps. Often these men are working in camps where their families are not living with them, as it would be materially and physically impossible for the working man to go home to his family every night. It is impossible for these men to live a normal family life. These labourer teachers must face not only the problem of teaching but also of encouraging such men to make their lives a success. Sometimes they have to deal with men in a very low state of mind. On this part of the work of Frontier College, I would ask Dr. Robinson to tell you how we prepare our field-workers and how we are trying to meet the need of the working man in outlying Canada.

Dr. Eric W. Robinson, Principal, Frontier College: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, our continual object is to improve its worker education program, as all agencies worthy of their title would seek to do.

The specific new division upon which you may wish to question us is our full-time community education service which is conducted in areas where there are people of low educational standing, with a non-viable economy, where opportunities are minimal. This service is our particular answer to meet the needs of non-urban people in Canada today.

Mr. Morrison, in association with myself, wrote this brief. It arises out of our experience, our study of the relevant Acts, and the statements of federal ministers. We must in particular mention the Department of Manpower and Immigration. We have much to say in praise of this department. Our first departure from the worker education program was financed through the good offices of the National Employment Service of the Department of Labour, a predecessor of the Manpower Department. In 1963 we were able to persuade the National Employment Service to accept Frontier College as a bona fide Program Five service.

As you will remember, the old Dominion-Provincial Agreement had ten schedules; one of them very much concerned the training of unemployed person, Program Five. We were the first ever to use Program Five for basic upgrading at the literary level.

The normal rule of thumb among educators is that the lower the educational attainment of a participant, the higher the drop-out rate. We found that we had reduced drop-outs to

less than 10 per cent, when it was actually quite acceptable in other government programs to have a 50 per cent drop-out rate.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development did a study among its adult education program people—which is available for all, I believe—showing that native Canadians in Indian Affairs programs under welfare allowances drop out at the rate of 59 per cent per program, and those under Manpower allowances drop out at the rate of 50 or 51 per cent.

With the particular methodology and approach that Frontier College has discovered through its seven years of experience, our drop-out is less than 10 per cent. Our particular claim is that we have a message for this important committee.

In our experience in conducting adult basic education programs and community education programs, we have on occasion been in confrontation, you might say, with the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Although we have discovered the splendid good-will that many manpower officers show, we have also encountered arbitrariness and rigid adherence to certain policies and practices which unarguably leave out large segments of the population of Canada who can benefit from basic training for skills development (B.T.S.D.)

The Chairman: What is the term, please?

Mr. Robinson: It is "basic training for skills development", and it is conducted with federal funds under the legislation known as the Adult Occupational Training Act.

In our brief today we are largely concerned not so much with the Frontier College program, unless it specifically interests the honourable members of this committee, but with changes in the Adult Occupational Training Act which can benefit the poor.

Perhaps, as Mr. Morrison was particularly close to this brief and close to the target population, as it is put these days, he would care to correct any inaccuracies I may have made in my comments on this brief.

Mr. Ian Morrison, National Co-Ordinator, Frontier College: Specifically with reference to the brief we have before you today, sir, this presentation is a distillation of our direct experience over the two to three years in which this act of Parliament has been in operation. If I may summarize this brief in a few sentences for you, our experience has been that those Canadians who are in most

dire need of the services of the Adult Occupational Training Act are often denied access to the programs under this act because of certain provisions and applications of the Act.

Specifically, we are referring to a very large number of people in this country who include and overlap with the poor people in Canada. We are not claiming that what we are saying today speaks for inadequacies in this program as it might affect all poor people in Canada but rather as it affects the large number of Canadians of low income and with low educational attainment who are not able to secure steady employment today and who will increasingly not be able to secure steady employment in the future as a result of lack of basic skills.

With respect to the purpose of the Adult Occupational Training Act and the present manpower policy of the Government, we have quoted in our brief from the Honourable Jean Marchand's statement which he made when introducing this Act in the House of Commons. The purpose of this Act is to make skills-training available to Canadians who missed a chance for gaining a skill in their youth, in order that they may get such basic skills as are necessary to secure employment.

The experience that we are coming to give you today is, I would say, a kind of grass roots experience, if I may use that term, in that it is the distillation of our findings in all provinces and territories of Canada, working with Canadians who have applied for access to this training program to upgrade their skills.

Our experience is that two provisions of the present act are frustrating and preventing persons of low income and low education from taking part in programs that will get them off unemployment, off welfare and into active participation in the labour force. Those two provisions are embedded in the act and it is only with some degree of experience and searching that one can find out why such a large number of Canadians are not able to participate. Principally it comes down to this: in the act no occupational training program can exceed 52 weeks. This is a provision of the act, namely, section 2, subsection (d) of the act.

We have reason to believe that this section of the act was not put together to exclude poor Canadians; but, in effect, it is doing that, sir, because in this country today, if you do not have an education equivalent to grade 10, you are not eligible to get into the very excel-

lent vocational schools that are in operation in most of the major centres across this country. That is pretty well a blanket statement from our experience. Without about a grade 10 functioning level, one is not eligible; one does not have the prerequisite to get into a skill-training program.

We have found that 43 per cent of the Canadian adult population, those of 17 years of age and over, have not as children completed more than elementary education. This level is unique to Canada among western nations. For example, in the United States the equivalent statistic is 28 per cent.

The Chairman: You mean uniquely bad.

Mr. Morrison: Uniquely bad, yes. Bad is a very strong term, but I would say that it applies. The reason it is so may have to do with the history of our country, but the fact remains that almost half the adult population in Canada has not completed an elementary education. These are data from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics quoted in our brief.

Because you need grade 10 to get into any skills-training program in this country, or almost grade 10, and because training methods to upgrade Canadian adults to about a grade 10 level can proceed at the basis of about one grade every four months—this is a generalization from the experience of Manpower centres, it means that Canadian adults who do not have an already functioning level of education above Grade 6 or 7 can not get in to such programs because the training would take more than one year for them to achieve a grade 10 level of education. That is one problem with the present act.

The second provision is, and this is uniquely discriminatory toward persons of lower income, lower expectations and lower level of education, that a person needs to have a specific or definite vocational goal before he can enrol in a Manpower program. That on the surface seems like a very sensible provision, but we find that its application to persons in the category of which we are speaking is quite discriminatory because it is unfair to expect these people to have a definite or specific idea of the occupation they wish to train for at the outset. We think that some consideration should be given to changing these two provisions in the Manpower policy so that persons who have the greatest need of support from this policy can get that support.

Senator Pearson: How do you account for the fact that Canadians are so far behind in

the matter of receiving an elementary education? You say here that 43 per cent of adult Canadians have attained less than a complete elementary education.

Mr. Morrison: Well, as you might imagine it is very difficult to answer this question. I think perhaps it may have to do with the rural nature of Canada in the past. It may also have to do with the inadequacy of past policies of our various governments, and of course I realize that education is a provincial responsibility. What is alarming is that this fact exists and the figure is so much higher in Canada than in any other industrial nation including the Soviet Union.

Senator Pearson: Is it the same across Canada or does it vary in different regions?

Mr. Morrison: It varies in different parts of Canada, and here I refer to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics publications from which we took this information mentioned in page 2, footnote 3 of our brief. Summarizing the level across Canada, I am relying on memory now, but it is something like 50 per cent in the Maritimes and Quebec, 40 per cent on the Prairies, 35 per cent in Ontario and 25 per cent in British Columbia.

The Chairman: We can come back to that at a later stage. I think Dr. Lapointe had something he wanted to say.

Dr. Pierre Lapointe, Member of the Board of Governors of Frontier College: As a former instructor and someone who was involved in a connected field, my specific interest is psychiatry and community mental health, I would stress what has been said with just a few remarks or a few points which I would like to raise. First of all I raise the question of the relationship between poverty and mental health, and the special type of apathy which is found in poor people of lower-level educational backgrounds. This has been stressed in the brief and I think it is a very important aspect. Experience in the work of Frontier College has borne out that apathy has affected very much the interest of workers in trying to upgrade themselves. I mean by this that the type of rapport or relationship which has been established with fellow workers by the labourer-teachers from the College goes far beyond the more general approach towards trying to upgrade people by offering them education. Mr. Guilbeault has also mentioned the fact that the recruitment process is quite important in our work, in

choosing the labourer-teachers. I think basically our selection process may have some relationship to our ability to identify with the poor and lower-level education people in those situations in outlying parts of Canada. Our recruiting has a direct impact on the success or the results we may have.

The Chairman: Before we start in, I think there is something of importance that the committee should know. I have just been looking at the biographical information on the gentlemen who are before us this morning, and I am very much impressed. The gentleman sitting along side, Dr. Tomecko, is a very distinguished Canadian, and I note that he has played on the Grey Cup team for Regina. Then Mr. Guilbeault is a member of the Bar with a distinguished record of academic attainments. Dr. Robinson is the same and Mr. Ian Morrison has had many years of schooling. You have just heard Dr. Lapointe who is very distinguished in his own field. For that reason this is an excellent opportunity to carry on a real dialogue with these people. I hope the committee will take advantage of it.

I will start with Senator Carter and then I have Senator Inman.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, I was very interested in this brief because earlier in my life I had some connection with adult education in my province, and I have also done a little bit of adult teaching. I would like to ask Dr. Tomecko about Frontier College. I understand from the brief that it is a private organization. Therefore my first question is; what is your relationship with the education departments of the various provinces who in many cases have adult education branches?

Dr. Tomecko: To begin with we have no financial or regular structural arrangement. In other words, we are independent as a unit which is unique in itself. We do have liaison with these people and Dr. Robinson and Mr. Morrison are closely connected with this and can give a much more succinct answer than I can. We do get financial grants from some Provinces and contracts from others such as Newfoundland and P.E.I. We also work with various federal Government departments.

Dr. Robinson and Mr. Morrison, I wonder if you would care to amplify.

Dr. Robinson: The association with the departments of education is, as Dr. Tomecko says, an independent one. We receive financial support from the Department of Education of Quebec and from the Departments of

Education of Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia, and we associate with the departments in the sense that we extend the divisions of the various departments to benefit the persons in the camps we serve and the persons in our basic education program. For example, we will refer a man or woman studying by correspondence to the provincial correspondence course and serve as a go-between, so to speak, right up to the level of students we meet in the north and in non-urban areas who conceivably—and it does happen—have university aspirations, and we will help them realize their aspirations.

Senator Carter: Are you a member of the Adult Education Association?

Dr. Robinson: We are members of both the Canadian Association for Adult Education and l'Institut Canadien d'Éducation des Adultes.

Senator Carter: You have 100 teachers, labourer-teachers, and these go out and work with the people where they find them on the job. I presume these people get paid for their labour work and you supplement their pay?

Dr. Tomecko: That is right.

Senator Carter: To what extent do you supplement their pay?

Mr. Morrison: We have a policy of a minimum income on which we advise all applicants. The policy is that for a full four months of work with us—that is four months of labour and four months representing us—we guarantee the volunteer a minimum return of \$1,200. In practice that is almost the maximum return as well, but in the case where we send someone to a very low-paying location—and we have a good number of them—Frontier College, from its own resources, supplements the income of the field-worker to bring it up to \$1,200 for a four-month period; and for a longer period we pro-rate this income policy.

Senator Carter: With respect to your courses, do you concentrate mainly on the three R's—reading, writing and arithmetic—or do you branch out into something else?

Mr. Morrison: You might say that our curriculum is in the imagination or the desires of our students. Our expertise is not in hiring professional teachers who are uniquely equipped to give highly-skilled courses in a wide range of subjects, but rather we take on

the adaptable amateurs who try to offer something of use in any subject whatsoever. Usually the majority of the teaching is in the three R's, in basic mathematics, computation skills, and in English and French language instruction and up-grading; but we do, on occasion, teach almost any subject, depending on what people want to learn.

Senator Carter: Are you, what I might call, schizophrenic—you have a type of curriculum which fits into the requirements of the manpower training program and you have another set of courses which are along the lines of the folk schools of Denmark?

Dr. Robinson: That is not a bad description. This brief is concerned with or arises out of our experience with the program which fits into this manpower training program.

The question you asked us earlier concerned our camp education program, and to supplement Mr. Morrison's remarks, in addition to the wide range of subjects offered by our instructors, they are qualified, highly literate and generally university-educated personnel and can carry out instruction in a wide range of subjects. We offer library services, recreational leadership, social development programs, documentary film discussion type programs, so ours is not only a particular program in the adult education field but in the whole field of social and cultural services also.

Senator Carter: How do you manage for textbooks? When I was trying to teach adult education groups, something like the ones you have described in your brief, I was handicapped because the ordinary textbooks for children were not really suitable—"Jerry" and "Jane" for a fellow 45 years of age—and the only textbooks that I could find were textbooks developed in the United States for Italian immigrants. This is a long time ago and things may have changed since, but I found it necessary to draw up my own textbooks. I notice you mentioned you have a contract for Cox's Cove in Newfoundland, in which connection you mentioned the herring fishermen. The ordinary fisherman level of education is somewhere between Grade IV and Grade V, and I found that if you wanted to make any real headway with these people you had to have a vocabulary built around their normal activities, and there were no textbooks available for that purpose. How do you manage for textbooks?

Dr. Robinson: This is a major problem. We answer succinctly that it is our business to make sure that whatever is germane, whatever has been published, we get, but in days gone by we relied quite heavily on the goodwill of general donations of magazines and textbooks from the public. Today we must spend a good deal more money on programs and on the specialized area of community education, and we must give our instructors and teacher-counsellors the tools to do the job, and the tools may be texts controlled reading levels and with the content oriented towards adults and adult interest. Finding these materials is our skill.

Senator Carter: With regard to textbooks, you are aware that during the war the Legion developed a whole set of textbooks in mathematics for the navy and army, and particularly for those who wanted to up-grade themselves in their trade. These books were given away when they cleared them out. Were you able to get hold of some of these?

Dr. Robinson: We got them.

Senator Carter: Oh, that is where they went!

Dr. Robinson: Yes. We found the courses in English were not entirely adaptable to our needs, as we would be forced to teach our students. "Right turn! Left turn! Quick march!" and we found the language course was not useful. In arithmetic, the texts were aimed at the adult and they still have a role to play.

Dr. Tomecko: The English one was not adaptable because the language used in the navy was not suitable!

Senator Carter: I come now to your brief. You make three main assumptions on the manpower training program. It is limited to 52 weeks' duration for any one person, and it excludes people with basic elementary education.

Senator Roebuck: It would be 52 weeks in any one year.

Senator Carter: Yes, for any one person.

The Chairman: Go ahead, what is your second one?

Senator Carter: It excludes people with basic training and education below that of grade 11?

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Carter: The third one is that it requires the applicant, or the person who wants these courses, to have a sort of specific goal. Do you think that these requirements of 52 weeks, grade 11, and below grade 7, are caused by constitutional barriers?

Dr. Robinson: This is the excuse that is given, yet in my experience I have yet to find a province which is not seeking to have the federal Government purchase these services so that they can finance and conduct basic training programs.

Senator Carter: The difficulty is that in framing an act to fit all of Canada it has to be reduced to the lowest common denominator. Once you get beyond 52 weeks you are into continuing education, and when you get below grade 11 you are getting down into the elementary grades which the provinces claim as their own special preserve.

The Chairman: This is a very vital point, Senator Carter, but do you mind leaving it for a moment. We will come back to it.

Senator Carter: Very well.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, I was wondering if these gentlemen have found that any of the dropouts come back to start over again. If they do, under what conditions do you take them back?

Dr. Thomecko: I will ask Mr. Guilbeault to comment on that. He has been getting off pretty easy.

Mr. Guilbeault: We often have dropouts in the labour camps, but they are there because they do not study anyway. Our main problem is to try to foster in them a desire for study. Sometimes it is not too difficult to get them interested again. But, there are others who, I would say, are lost forever.

In Quebec, which is the province in which I am interested, we have some arts and trades schools called *écoles d'artistes*, and we have a system by which we refer them to some counsellors who work in these arts and trades schools. These people are sent there and taught a trade. At that stage I would say that they are not going back to studies, but they are coming back for technical studies in order to be trained as tradesmen. These schools are organized by the Department of Education of the Province of Quebec.

The Chairman: Have you anything to add, Dr. Robinson?

Dr. Robinson: This is a very important question. We are very concerned about the dropouts. We would like to have a lot more research done into the question of why people drop out. On the basis of our experience I would suggest that the people who go into the basic training for skills, development courses are at the lower levels of education—grades 8, 7, 6—and they have often had a very bad school experience, or no school experience. So, there is a great tension associated with school, and this in most cases keeps them out of school, unless it is a very attractive kind of school. If they drop out from this school through a bad experience then we feel that it is confirmed in their minds forever that school is what they thought it was, namely, not for them.

The university educated person and the high school educated person does not feel that way. If he goes to school and feels he is not getting what he went there for he says: "I have a bad teacher. I am not at fault." But these other people have an inferiority complex. I could cite the example of a hard rock miner who has been injured, and who has to take up a new trade. He may have a grade 3 education, and he may still blame the teacher, but he will not go back to school to be put in an undignified position again.

Senator Inman: I am from Prince Edward Island, so I was very interested to hear what you said about Lennox Island. Is there a great amount of interest shown in this program?

Dr. Robinson: Yes, but it is not the purpose of this submission to point continually to our organization as having all the answers. But, we are suggesting that we have demonstrated that our kind of approach, which we have followed in association with the Department of Manpower and Immigration, works. This can be said of several other organizations and Government departments. We had no dropouts in our Prince Edward Island program.

Senator Inman: I know of another place in Prince Edward Island where this type of program would fit in beautifully.

Dr. Robinson: At this stage we have been invited to submit proposals to the Department of Education of the Government of Prince Edward Island for one community only, and that is Lennox Island.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Mr. Chairman, I spent a great deal of time

last night and again this morning trying to find something to criticize in this brief, and all I discovered was that these people are critical of the same things of which I am critical, and I have made my views known several times. It seems to me that this brief hits the nail on the head, and I can say to these witnesses that I spent 14 years of my life as a vocational instructor, and for seven or eight years I was a principal of a school. I would like to emphasize what is said on page 6 of the brief, because it is something with which I agree entirely. It concerns the selection of certain courses, and the damage done by poor counselling. This passage reads:

Specifically it is unreasonable to expect a "poor" person without basic education to have a definite vocational goal at the outset of training. Rather the Policy should recognize that many "poor" persons are marginally motivated and the initial B.T.S.D. training should be adapted to deal with the *Motivation* of the clients, not just formal basic education skills.

I support that. I have seen many mistakes made by counsellors in guiding individuals into the wrong training, into something they did not want to do because they did not have the motivation or the initiative. These people had the feeling that they were being trained for something they did not really like, but they were persuaded to go into it by the counsellor, and they proved to be failures. This situation exists today. In some places the counselling given by the Department of Manpower is very poor. The counsellors themselves do not have the right training. It is wrong to take a young man who has an aptitude for motor mechanics, and try to make a barber or a plumber out of him. Another point...

The Chairman: Senator Fournier, may I ask the witnesses a question in view of what you said?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Well, I know what the answer will be because I think they agree.

The Chairman: No; you raised the point as set out in paragraph 8 about the clear vocational goal.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Yes.

The Chairman: I want to ask the witnesses if they are familiar with the provision in the act that says, and I quote:

...in the opinion of the manpower officer, provide training suitable for that adult and increase his earning capacity or his opportunities for employment.

Are you aware that that is in the act and negates to some extent the clear provision if he improves his opportunities for employment or his earning capacity?

Mr. Morrison: Sir, our experience of course is that in any large organization there are good counsellors and there are bad counsellors. We have seen many applicants with whom we are personally acquainted who have not been allowed into a program or have in certain cases been misdirected notwithstanding that provision of the act.

The Chairman: Please proceed, Senator Fournier; I am sorry for interrupting.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I did not intend to change the subject, but I was touching on another matter. I have made my point, that you can lead a horse to water but you cannot make him drink. Another matter which does not seem to be treated correctly is the requirement of basic training and education. I fully agree that in order to meet the B.T.S.D. goal a candidate must have a minimum basic education of grade 12. Not too many of our unemployed young people and even adults can meet that goal. It is useless to attempt to bring a whole nation, or 42 per cent of a nation to grade 12. Therefore we have to consider what can be done to fit them in our vocational schools. It may be that this does not apply to your operation; I am quite sure it does not. You must have grade 10 to become a barber. I do not agree with that, but I am not going to elaborate. There are many other trades such as that. Another aspect we seem to fail in is the lack of attention given to a certain class who can only qualify as helpers. They will be qualified as motor mechanic helpers, plumber helpers, electrician helpers. Even if they only qualified as helpers, they would be in a much better position than they are in today. They would have 75 per cent of the trade, but they could not reach the peak. They could be very good helpers of benefit to the nation and earning better wages. However, when these people apply to the schools the door is closed to them with regard to some

of the training I have mentioned I do not agree with that. This is all I have to say sir.

Senator McGrand: This question is addressed to Mr. Morrison: you referred to low pay locations. You were referring to what you pay people to work in low pay locations. I think that is what you meant. Now, what are these low paid locations and where are they? Could you give us some examples? What is the type of problem that you find in those particular low pay locations?

Mr. Morrison: Generally speaking, sir, you would be guided very accurately in looking for low pay locations if you looked at the areas in Canada that have recently been designated under the new Regional Incentives Act.

Senator McGrand: Yes, but where are they?

Mr. Morrison: Without being too specific, fishing communities in Newfoundland are examples. There is one community where the income earned this summer by one of our teachers was less than his cost for room and board, so all his income had to come from us.

Senator McGrand: What part of Newfoundland was that? Was that in the northern peninsula?

Mr. Morrison: Yes, but a similar situation exists to a slightly less severe extent in the Avalon peninsula, along the southern coast and in all non-urban parts of Newfoundland. I cannot restrict this to Newfoundland. It applies to many of the rail locations in eastern Canada in which we work and to some mining locations. There is a generalization that income of workers in the outlying industries tends to get better the further west you go in Canada.

Senator McGrand: I want to be clear on this fact that the cost of board and room in that particular place in Newfoundland was more than he received from the company on that location.

Mr. Morrison: That is true. The background is that the fishing industry is encountering problems due to off-shore fishing by fleets owned by foreign governments. This is eating into the fishermen's incomes. This causes workers in fish processing plants to become unemployed.

Senator Carter: I wonder if Dr. McGrand really understood what you said? What I

understood you to say was that his income from the occupation in which he was engaged did not pay his board and he had to depend on what he got from Frontier College. It is not that he spent all his income from Frontier College to pay for his room and board; that is not what you said is it?

Mr. Morrison: No, in fact our policy is to have a guaranteed minimum income, and what he earned from the company in this case was exceeded by his costs for room and board.

Senator McGrand: I understood that.

Senator Fergusson: I am very much interested in this, because I have known Frontier College for a long time and have a friend who was a great supporter of it several years ago. I think you are doing just wonderful work; it certainly should help in many ways to alleviate poverty problems. One thing I would like to ask you is what motivates Frontier College to set up or establish a program? Do you look around yourselves and decide this is a good place, or are you asked by someone to go to certain places and set up programs?

Dr. Tomecko: Are you speaking of the labourer-teacher program?

Senator Fergusson: Yes?

Dr. Tomecko: I would like to ask Dr. Robinson to answer with regard to the labourer teacher. He has been in Frontier College for 17 years, 15 years of which were as principal. He is very closely associated with this whole concept and has dedicated his life to it, because we pay him 'peanuts', really, to work with us.

Dr. Robinson: Mr. Morrison will be close to the recent development in this area. However, we discovered in our camp work programs throughout the years that there were men who were highly skilled. These men will never accept unemployment; they hate unemployment and love their jobs. The only time that they will experience unemployment is when machines replace them and they have low educational standing and do not seem eligible for retraining. It could also happen that they will be injured and fall into a different category of employability. However, there are large numbers of the non-urban population who are in the category of transitory workers, seasonally employed workers,

and those who are less than seasonal, who have perhaps a month's employment at peak season. We established this new division in response to the concern we have for this class of citizen we meet in our worker education program. This program originated in communities where there was high unemployment and physical space to establish a program. An example of this is Elliot Lake, where in 1963 there were 1,000 empty houses when we rented space. The trainees came from areas with a degree of unemployment, for example, around the Moosonee area and certain other parts of Ontario.

Mr. Morrison: We are chartered by act of Parliament, we work in all parts of Canada and try to spread our resources proportionally into all provinces and territories. That being said, within each province in Canada we know we have a certain number of people we can locate, and we look for the greatest need. How do we go about finding that need? Quite often a request will come to Frontier College from a company, or someone in a union will get in touch with us and say we should be there. We say that we would be willing to come, but ask whether there is a need. Of course, the company must be willing to hire a person. We have worked in some locations for many years, so we would have to look into the past to find how we got to a community like Thompson, Manitoba. In many other places we are looking for the greatest need and we assess this need from the point of view of the community and the community request, at the same time recognizing that with, for example, a railway gang of a hundred men working in a very itinerant fashion, crossing the prairies in Canada, there is no way we can find that gang unless we deal with Canadian National Railways head office.

Senator McGrand: Have you programs in New Brunswick?

Mr. Morrison: Yes.

Senator McGrand: Where?

Mr. Morrison: One specific location is the Mactaquac Dam project. Throughout our history, our workers have been with Canadian National Railways gangs, and less frequently with Canadian Pacific Railway gangs, along all the main lines in New Brunswick.

Senator Fergusson: Was the project successful?

Mr. Morrison: From our point of view?

Senator Fergusson: Yes.

Mr. Morrison: It is very difficult to evaluate success. We were able to provide cultural, educational and social opportunities for as many as a thousand workers at a time. The Mactaquac program itself used workers who had come down from Quebec and northern New Brunswick; there was a French-speaking population working there and we were very active. It is hard to say whether it was successful.

Senator Fergusson: What I mean is, was it received with interest?

Mr. Morrison: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: And the people took part in it. I know you cannot evaluate how much good it did.

Mr. Morrison: A yardstick might be that as many as fifty people were enrolled in classes in their free time after the daily work schedule. There were about one thousand persons working there.

Senator Fergusson: That is a wonderful record. I have another question, which I am afraid shows my own stupidity. Probably I should understand this. Your objectives includes social, cultural and recreational opportunities, and adult and community education. Suppose somebody with a grade five education is taken on in one of your programs. If he spends a certain length of time in the program, can he at the end of a set period say that he has a grade six education?

Mr. Morrison: We employ standardized testing devices, and endeavour so to do. Yet we are not a provincial department of education in ourselves, so what we are trying to do most often is prepare people, if they need a formal level of education, to go to a department of education, take an examination and, get formal certification. We do give certificates of study, but we never attempt to allege that they are more than they are.

Senator Fergusson: Are they able to take a Department of Education examination? Is there provision for them to do that?

Mr. Morrison: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: Would they take the examinations held at the end of a school term, or are they given special opportunities of any kind?

Mr. Morrison: Speaking very generally, all provinces have their own regulations in this regard. It is possible for someone to apply to a province to take an examination to pass a certain grade level that is often not required for those entering a vocational school, but the vocational school may want a statement from some responsible person that the applicant is functioning properly.

Senator Fergusson: I understand about the vocational schools.

Mr. Robinson: It is safe to say that people in Canada with less than grade eight education have very little hope of ever getting certification other than our own kind of certificate, if they happen to run across our program. They cannot get a nationally recognized certificate, or a provincially recognized certificate, which is more important, if they do not have a high school education. They must have a high school level course, and then they can study by correspondence or go to night school if there is one in the community, or study with our help and write the final end of the year examination at a school designated for that class of citizen. The only hope for those who do not have an elementary education is the Department of Manpower and Immigration, and we submit such citizens do not have the opportunities they should have under the Act.

Mr. Guilbeault: There are special courses given to, say, fourth grade students to get their eighth grade, or tenth grade, certificate, plus studying the technique of their trade. This is a special arrangement made directly by the Minister of Education. We have no power to grant educational certificates. This is contrary to the BNA Act, and our charter was amended to that effect in 1932, so we have to cope with that situation.

Senator McGrand: In the poor pay locations, especially along the coast of Newfoundland, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Gaspé and so on, the average education is low. Would it be on average fourth or fifth grade, or even lower? There must be some who are close to illiteracy.

Mr. Morrison: There must be a factual answer to that, but when you refer to fourth or fifth grade level education you are getting very close to the average for the areas you describe, where in general terms many have great difficulty in reading newspapers.

Senator Fergusson: I think Mr. Guilbeault said that you keep in touch with instructors to see how they are getting on. I would like to know how you do that and what you do if you find they are not getting along very well, if they are not getting along with the people they are working with. I ask this because in one place we visited—which shall be anonymous—I was told that the person in charge was not acceptable to the people he was working with, that no check was made, that when these people were appointed they were like God and nobody checked them at all. Do you ever find anybody who is not doing a good job, and if so what happens?

Mr. Robinson: If anyone in our workers education program is not doing a good job for the company the situation is handled very quickly: He is fired. If he is effective as a worker but does not meet our requirements as an adult educator and community developer, Mr. Morrison has certain tortures and plans for him. Perhaps he could answer that.

Mr. Morrison: We do have a kind of de-selection process, if you want to use the formal term, for volunteers who are working with us, but perhaps unlike the situation you are describing, our labourer-teachers are conducting a program only for those who voluntarily wish to participate.

Senator Fergusson: So is this one.

Mr. Morrison: They register their disapproval by their own lack attendance so our field-worker has no program and that is very visible.

Senator Fergusson: I have one other question. One of the speakers referred to the fact that if someone wants to take higher education, extension courses or something like that, that you would help them to get in touch with the right people, and also that if a man or a woman wanted to participate you would help them. This is the first time any word has been said about women. I was wondering if you have any connection with women who are working?

Dr. Robinson: In your own province in 1920 there were women labourer-teachers in the fish factories. This was not continued in recent years. We have husband and wife teams in our basic education services, new community education services and it has paid dividends in enrolling women from the community in classes.

Senator Fergusson: In New Brunswick?

Dr. Robinson: Yes.

Senator Pearson: I am very interested in your brief here, especially in Frontier College. Coming from the rural areas of Saskatchewan, I have never heard of your college before. It gives me quite a surprise to know that such a group is working in Canada. I just wonder how many instructors you have in your college.

Dr. Tomecko: In the head office we have two program staff: Dr. Robinson and Mr. Morrison.

Dr. Robinson: I think you meant the field staff. We have 75 summer instructors and 25 winter instructors.

Senator Pearson: These are recruited from the universities.

Dr. Robinson: Yes.

Senator Pearson: How much training do you give them before they are out in the field?

Dr. Robinson: Our worker education program provides for three days training for our labourer-teachers and our adult basic education program is up to 10 days to two weeks. This latter program includes as many instructors as we are able to contract for. We will have very shortly 12 instructors, six two-person teams.

Senator Pearson: You are working largely in rural areas. How do you contact people in those areas who need vocational training or education or how do they contact you?

Dr. Robinson: In our worker education program the fact that our instructors are in the bunkhouse or the town site, resident with the men of the mining, construction, railway or logging operations, makes it very easy for them to become known. There are lively adult education and social services to be rendered and this program becomes known through notices, word of mouth, trade union support and managerial support.

Dr. Tomecko: I think there are two aspects to that question. One is the instructor, the student who is on site and the other is, first of all, how does Frontier College get to the site with the instructor. Which one of these do you wish answered?

Senator Fergusson: What staff would you put in after you got your contact? What sort of a staff would you have in that area? Would you only have one man?

Dr. Robinson: Yes, one man per camp or town site, but with a general trend toward two persons in a Town such as Thompson, Manitoba, where the population is 10,000 and where two instructors can be kept very busy.

Senator Pearson: Twenty-two thousand now.

Dr. Robinson: Yes, I am sorry. Hence, there is a need for a second instructor.

Senator Pearson: Are all your instructions done during the summer months?

Dr. Robinson: No, 75 instructors will serve during the summer months and approximately 25 during the winter months.

Senator Pearson: You have all heard about the guaranteed income that is being bootied around the country quite a bit nowadays. What is your opinion of the guaranteed income? Do you feel that it would help the individual to raise himself up educationally or from a vocational point of view, or would he have to go to your schools or an educational school in order to get the benefit before he could get anything?

Dr. Robinson: The guaranteed income, of course, is getting to be less and less controversial and more and more acceptable to the people of Canada.

The Chairman: We certainly hope you are right.

Dr. Robinson: I am in accord with the chairman, Mr. Morrison and members of the board, that an advantage of the guaranteed annual wage is that you less isolate the poor person. He is able to go home and make out his income tax form like anybody else and he either gets money or sends it in. This has a clear-cut psychological advantage to him, other than having to rely so heavily upon welfare and filling out forms. So many people who are poor are required to be quite literate in filling out the mass of forms, as they get into the welfare system. It is to be noted that in an earlier brief presented to this committee by the Metis Society of Saskatchewan, Dr. Howard Adams expressed some anxiety that the guaranteed annual income would become just another welfare program. We suggest

that the better educated the people are the more they are able to understand issues and to use the guaranteed annual wage as it is intended.

The Chairman: Mr. Morrison, do you have any suggestions?

Mr. Morrison: Only to point out that the guaranteed annual income proposal, as it is presently being passed around, is at such a very modest level that I do not think we should overextend, in our minds, the potential benefits.

The Chairman: You mean that the level suggested by the Economic Council is spartan?

Mr. Morrison: It is not an area where I am professionally competent, but I should have thought it is very spartan. Our own use of the figures that the Economic Council has suggested, has been put into a different direction, because we look at their figures—I am referring to the most recent study on Income Distribution and Poverty (Queens Printer No. 1100-505)—from a particular point of view. We notice that although only 20 per cent of Canadian families are living in outlying parts of the country, 45 per cent of the people below this low income level live in, so to speak, our constituency. That is, almost half of the people below that income line live in the outlying parts of Canada.

The Chairman: And the figures they suggested was to start with \$1,800—I hope no one quotes me about that “\$30 a week”—and you suggest that in the outlying districts that is spartan?

Mr. Morrison: No. We would not make such a comment.

Senator Pearson: If you get this guaranteed income, do you think you will have greater opportunities then to step up with more training than at present. The mere fact of getting a guaranteed income does not mean there is going to be anything other than a new class of poor? Do you think your opportunity to train these people for vocational training will be better with a guaranteed income, or not?

Dr. Robinson: Reading Senator Croll's summation of the work of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty up to October, he singled out the working poor as a very large percentage of the poor. We are concerned largely with this class of citizen. Then, nar-

rowed down within that group, there are those who can benefit from education but are not being allowed to benefit. They should be allowed to leave their inadequate employment, which does not give them more than a subsistence level, and be classed as under-employed and then allowed to be upgraded and retrained, if they will benefit and if there is an allowance for their marginal motivation. This is the particular class of citizen we are concerned with in this submission.

Senator Pearson: I would think that your Frontier College would have a tremendous impact on that under-employed group or on those who are not in the poverty class, that you would have a tremendous impact on that class for educational and vocational training.

Mr. Morrison: The only thing which restricts us at present is the limits on our income. We have more than 1,000 applicants at present and we could do more work with a larger income.

Senator Pearson: You would teach more people.

The Chairman: In what way is your work similar or different, or what contacts have you with, the Company of Young Canadians? Since their budget of \$900,000 seems to be up for grabs, what attempts have you made to go for it. If that question embarrasses you, you do not have to answer it.

Dr. Tomecko: When the Company of Young Canadians was formed, I think a number of people felt it would be a holding company, which would farm this money out to support organizations of a national character, such as Frontier College, who are now deeply engrossed in this sort of thing, and that we will get support from this area. Of course, this has not happened.

To answer more specifically, I would like to ask Mr. Morrison to comment, as he is closer to the question. He is 25 years old and he has been with us three years. He has a master's degree in economics and he is closer to the young people.

Mr. Morrison: On a factual point, I believe the annual budget of the Company of Young Canadians is \$1.9 million. There is \$900,000 left unspent in the current fiscal year.

Another factual point is that our cost per volunteer—which is one simple yardstick for measuring cost-benefit—is \$1,300 per person. A good number of our field-workers do not

work for the full year. The C.Y.C., on the budget of \$1.9 million—and it may be it was more—have 170 volunteers, and we find their cost per volunteer to be \$13,000.

The Chairman: As against your?

Mr. Morrison: Ours is \$1,300. We made an attempt, without success, to speak with the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on broadcasting and assistance to the arts, to make them familiar with our work, which we feel is comparable in many ways to that of the C.Y.C. We are, in any ongoing way, looking for greater support from the Government of Canada for our work. It is public information that in the past year the Government of Canada grant to Frontier College was cut from \$10,000 to \$5,000. It came from the Department of Labour. We are not sure what will happen in the next fiscal year, although we are seeking funds.

The Chairman: You attempted to appear before the committee on broadcasting?

Mr. Morrison: Yes.

The Chairman: And they did not have time?

Mr. Morrison: That is what they told us.

The Chairman: The question was in what respect is your work similar and in what respect different, and what contacts have you with the C.Y.C. Do you think you have covered all those points?

Mr. Morrison: We work with the C.Y.C. volunteers in outlying parts of Canada whenever our work tends to intersect. An example is the Great Slave Lake area, where some of our people work on contracts for the Government of the Northwest Territories and work closely with the C.Y.C. volunteers also working in that area. It depends on the area of co-operation. To the best of my knowledge, we have had no organizational co-operation at a national level with the C.Y.C. since its inception in 1965.

Senator Roebuck: I am very interested and much impressed with what we have been told. I would like to know whether you are working with the correspondence schools or with those schools which do such work. When I was in the printing business many years ago, there was a correspondence school course in printing, and they would teach you how to count EMs and that sort of thing. When I was

in Cobalt half a century ago, the Spotman Correspondence School had a representative there and they were selling their courses to the miners. These would be men who would be literate, not the illiterate men Mr. Morrison has been talking about. They were spreading culture and competence among a very large number of people. Do you work with such schools?

Dr. Robinson: The correspondence is a major direction in counselling which we give the adults we meet. Especially as we leave and if there is not a new instructor coming in for a period, to urge those who are able to take correspondence courses to do so. There are three ways to get a formal education—day school, night school, and correspondence course.

Generally speaking, they are in that order of difficulty, recognizing that there do seem to be some citizens who, when they are in their little rooms working with a correspondence lesson, take more motivation. But, as a general rule, if a man has dropped out of day school or dropped out of night school, he needs a little more counselling before you would immediately urge him to take up a correspondence course, because it is done completely alone. But it is a very important form of adult education.

Senator Roebuck: What facilities are there in correspondence courses? Does the Department of Education in Ontario have a correspondence course section?

Mr. Robinson: Yes. Every province has a correspondence course division of the Department of Education, and in one or two instances, I believe, they may have arrangements where, if there is not a correspondence course division, they will accept another province's correspondence course. There is no excuse, really, for a man to say he cannot study by correspondence, because there are good opportunities and there are two levels of opportunity—straight academic upgrading for formal certification, and then a fairly wide range of very well selected vocational courses which, by and large, do not require a high academic level. This program is splendidly co-ordinated among the provinces. For example, a person in British Columbia can study in French from the Quebec courses. There is good liaison.

Mr. Morrison: The reason is, just to balance our brief, because of financial support from the Department of Manpower and Immigra-

tion which allows any Canadian to take a correspondence course in vocational subjects from any other province in Canada.

Senator Fergusson: I believe one of you gentlemen said that the amount given by the federal Government was cut last year from \$10,000 to \$5,000. Is that so? I should like to know when you first started to receive financial support from the federal Government, how much it was, and whether it increased or decreased.

Mr. Robinson: Just briefly, in the summer of 1938 a \$5,000 grant was provided. That was increased periodically. The largest single grant was the increase from \$8,000 to \$10,000, I believe. If I remember correctly, Mr. Michael Starr was interested in raising the amount from \$8,000 to \$10,000 upon his coming to office. The Department of Labour has always been the vehicle by which we have received the federal Government grants. As the manpower and training features of the Department of Labour were moved out, we became less able to qualify under the main jurisdiction left to the Department of Labour. That is labour relations, so we have just not been able to qualify on a cost-benefit analysis.

So the Department of Labour found it necessary to cut our grant by half, and soon we will have that down to nothing. However, the Department of Labour has kindly and generously helped us to submit an appeal to the Department of Manpower and Immigration, not only to make up for our lost grant in 1969, but to suggest that we merit not just a grant of \$10,000 but a grant of \$50,000 in view of the fact that we are working in areas that do not overlap other agencies, governmental or private. We might rate much more than the \$10,000 we have received in recent years.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): There should be some money left over from the C.Y.C. this year, shouldn't there?

Senator Fergusson: You mentioned Mr. Starr. I happen to know that the previous minister was also very much interested in what you were doing. I refer to Milton Gregg.

Mr. Robinson: Dr. Gregg was one of the leading supporters of Frontier College for many years, and I wish I had thought of mentioning first that the grant was given a big lift through the support of Dr. Gregg.

Senator Fergusson: I thought that was the case, because he was interested in the college from the beginning.

The Chairman: Senator Carter raised three basic questions that you also raised in the brief. They deal with the matter of 52 weeks, the exclusion of some people from basic training and the definition of "clear vocational goal".

Those three questions really comprise the guts of your presentation as they apply across the country. Is that not correct? I asked our research staff to look at your brief rather carefully, because your work is of great importance to the country in general. The research staff had a few comments to make. In respect of the 52 weeks, they say that there is no such provision in the act, except that it is possible to limit it to that 52 weeks. The act gives the right to limit it to 52 weeks. Actually, the staff tells me that what has happened is that, although there is no regulation, no Order in Council, it appeared in the manual in 1969. Are they right or wrong about that?

Mr. Morrison: Perhaps it is the way we are using words here, but quoting from the act itself, section 2, subsection (d), defining occupational training course, which in the act are the words used to define all training courses, it means "a course of occupational training which provides not more than 52 weeks of full-time instruction or 1,820 hours of part-time instruction".

The Chairman: I see. Then in 1968, so I am told by my staff, a person could take from grade 1 to grade 6 for 16 weeks. Is that correct?

Mr. Morrison: It would very rarely be possible for anyone to start from scratch and reach a level of grade 6 in a matter of 16 weeks.

The Chairman: But he could take the course in 16 weeks, however, and then he could take grades 7 and 8 in another 16 weeks.

Mr. Morrison: In fact, sir, I think the way it does apply is this: you can only take 52 weeks in total training in any given subject. In fact, you could take 52 weeks of welding and before that have been able as well to take 52 weeks of basic training for skills development. But you cannot take more than 52 weeks of basic training of skills development.

The Chairman: But then you can go on to something beyond that.

Mr. Morrison: That is true, but our position is—and this is very central to what we are saying—our experience is that in this 52 weeks there is a real limit on what one can accomplish in academic upgrading; that is about three grades of education in 52 weeks of education, and that is on the average.

The Chairman: But what the research staff tells this committee is that the 52 week-period is an administrative decision and is not a decision made by regulation or by Order in Council of the Government.

Mr. Robinson: May I comment that the way it works, however, in locations that we can name, is that, because there is no possibility of candidate X reaching a level within 52 weeks that makes him eligible for skill courses—not academic or basic training, but trade skill courses—they will not provide for him to enter into the Manpower program at all. The limitations seem to be that he can never reach the grade level required in 52 weeks and therefore they will not purchase seats—that is their terminology—from the province to enable citizens with a very low educational standard to take training. This is quite technical, but as Mr. Morrison said it is central to our argument because it really does keep large numbers of people from being eligible for training. For example, we had reason to expect a contract to conduct a basic training for skills development course from a Community College. And they said “we would contract you, but Manpower won’t purchase the seats. The citizens for whom you are aiming the program cannot be raised up in 52 weeks to the level that will make them eligible for training, so Manpower will not purchase the seats.”

The Chairman: But that was this year.

Senator Carter: At what level is that decision made?

The Chairman: As I said, that is this year, 1969. In 1968 they did it. Let us get that clear. Did they or did they not do it in 1968?

Dr. Robinson: Again another point that is not stated here is that there is an arbitrariness to the Canada Manpower officials’ interpretation of basic training for skills development in some areas. In some areas Manpower officials may be very generous to the point where there is gossip around the community

that it is just a welfare program while in other areas, depending upon the particular thinking of the Manpower officials, this 52 weeks provision becomes discriminatory. Whole classes of citizens by the thousands are wiped out so far as eligibility is concerned by virtue of the fact that they live in that particular area.

The Chairman: Yes, but the point of this is that it is an administrative decision and that it is not part of the regulations and not part of the act.

Mr. Morrison: I would take issue with that, Mr. Chairman, on the grounds of the wording of the act itself where it says in section 2 that no course can exceed that length.

The Chairman: No course can exceed it under a particular name or designation, but what they have done, as Mr. Robinson has said, in various parts of the country is they have allowed it to carry on beyond that. At least some have and some have not. The point I want to make is that it is an administrative decision being made by some administrators, and that should not be hard to hurdle.

Dr. Tomecko: If I may comment, Mr. Chairman, there is a question of living up to the letter of the law while some people have lived up to the spirit intended in the act.

The Chairman: Actually you have had some correspondence with Mr. Couillard, the Deputy Minister, on that point. What is the effect and substance of that correspondence?

Dr. Robinson: It is not perhaps our place to suggest differences of opinion, but I think Mr. Couillard may not agree with all his own regional officers.

The Chairman: That is why I asked the question. I know he does not agree.

Mr. Morrison: This specific restriction in the Act frequently results in the fact that an officer interpreting the act is technically in error, because an officer who interprets the act to help poor people to gain employment skills is departing from the exact wording in the Act.

The Chairman: Let us get back to what Senator Carter said. The purpose of the limitation is a constitutional one. The argument put forward, and which we have to hurdle in some way, is that you could obtain education at school in the normal way, but here Man

power came in and not only allowed you to obtain an education but paid you on top of that with the result that you were in an educational system. For that reason they put in the limitation of one year.

Mr. Morrison: On the subject of constitutional limitation, the work of the Manpower Department so far as it directly contacts individual Canadians is confined to counselling, while all academic and vocational teaching done under the program is done by the provinces and territories on a cost-recovery basis. We have listened carefully to everything said in this field for four years and we have never once heard a complaint from a provincial government on the score that the Manpower Department was interfering with their jurisdiction.

The Chairman: Is not that the reason why in 70 per cent of the cases across the country they have ignored the technical points of the act and have gone along with the spirit of the act? Have they not done so because there were no complaints from the provincial governments?

Senator Pearson: But you said that this course could be arranged in such way that if a man were a welder he could go and take a course in electricity or plumbing.

The Chairman: It is really upgrading I had in mind. I thought it was an upgrading program.

Dr. Robinson: I would suggest you are correct in saying that in 70 per cent of the areas it has not been a worry, but it has been a serious worry in the other 30 per cent. At the same time I should point out that this problem has been haunting everybody. I would suggest that in the mind of every Manpower officer deeply wishing to service the people of Canada within his jurisdiction there is a constant worry about the act and its fatal wording because it is always to the wording of the act that those who reject making B.T.S.D. available in larger numbers refer in defence of their position. On the constitutional issue there is another point; it has been established that a basic training for skills development is to be purchased from the provinces by Manpower, but why discriminate against the poorly educated? Persons who have Grade 6, 7 or 8 are just about eligible, but why not give the others with lower educational attainments who have demonstrated willingness and ability the opportunity? There are many

people doing courses under the Manpower jurisdiction who have a good Grade 7, 8, 9 or 10 education, but they drop out. Some of these persons do not have the high sense of purpose in many instances whereas there are thousands of their counterparts who are poorly educated and yet who literally thirst for education. Just because they are poorly educated in the first place, the feeling seems to be that they never wanted to learn and the situation will be the same again if they are given a second chance. Our experience is that many of these persons would go ahead like a hot knife through butter.

Senator Carter: What you have just expressed is not required by the act, but really what you are saying is that this situation rises out of the attitude of a particular Manpower official in a particular area. That is really what you are saying, is it not?

Dr. Robinson: We return to Mr. Morrison's reference to the act—and may I suggest that this reference bears repeating? It is quite clear from Section 2(d) of the Act that 52 weeks only is provided, and it seems to be the argument of those Manpower officials at the regional head office level who do not wish to extend B.T.S.D. more broadly that the act does not permit it.

Senator Carter: Are you suggesting a lack of communication between the head office people in Ottawa, who know what their intention is, and the person who is out in some remote area administering it? Is there some hiatus between the two?

Dr. Robinson: We have some evidence that that description is correct; but, in fairness to all concerned, until fairly recently there has not been an acknowledgement of the fact that people with low educational standing can benefit from education; they had all been written off as welfare cases. However, a few agencies, such as our own and some fine governmental trained agents, have discovered the fallacy in this approach. But it does not seem to be widely thought throughout the manpower system that these people can benefit from education; they are still thought of as welfare cases.

Senator Fergusson: But you definitely feel they can benefit?

Dr. Robinson: We have unequivocal proof they will go on to employment and they will take heart from the fact they can study and

be successful, just as a university-educated person might be.

Senator Carter: Your contact with the federal Government is still through the Department of Labour?

The Chairman: No, Manpower.

Senator Carter: But you said something about getting back to Labour?

Dr. Robinson: We have always received our grant from the Department of Labour, and we were given a big lift when Dr. Gregg was minister and, after him, Mr. Starr. Due to changes in jurisdiction we do not now qualify under the Labour criteria, and we have been urged to submit our appeal for 1970-71 to the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

Senator Carter: Is that where you have applied for the \$50,000?

Dr. Robinson: Yes, and we hope the things we have been speaking about here will not prejudice our application.

The Chairman: It will help you.

Senator Carter: I have a lot of questions, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Senator Carter: I come back to this "specific goal" business. What is your interpretation of that?

Dr. Robinson: Of the goal?

Senator Carter: Of this term "specific goal"? How do you interpret that?

Mr. Morrison: If the question is asked, "From where does our interpretation come?" the answer is that it comes from our experience at watching applicants for entry to Manpower-sponsored programs who have not succeeded. The application form that any individual who applies to get into a program like this must complete, asks: "What is your specific occupation goal?" If the person does not have at the outset a very clear goal which he can define—that he or she wants to be a hairdressing assistant or something like that—if a person goes in and says, "I am not sure what I want to be, but I want to lead a useful life. What is open to me?" that person will get turned away nine times out of ten. So, the individual has to be either lucky enough to have a specific goal or clever enough to construct one.

Senator Carter: Let us take a person who is smart enough to say, "If I don't fill in this line, then they will kick me out, so I will put down something" and he fills in the form and says that he has a specific goal, whether or not he actually has, does anybody go ahead then and test this fellow to see whether he has any aptitude for this particular goal and that he has what he says he has in mind? Do they go any further than that, if he turns out not to have the aptitude? Do they find out that he has an aptitude for something else? What happens then?

Mr. Morrison: At least at some of the Manpower offices they have some very talented counselling people.

Senator Carter: You said "some".

Mr. Morrison: Yes.

Senator Carter: There is a weakness there, right away.

Senator Fergusson: Surely, these are questions we should be asking Manpower?

Senator Carter: We can call Manpower any time and check this out.

Mr. Morrison: They do use testing devices to determine a person's capability for differing kind of employment. However, I would point out—and this is a general adult education testing problem from a pedagogical point of view—that all these tests are very difficult to administer to persons with a very low level of education, so the very situation is loaded against such an individual.

Senator Carter: So, actually, you are working in the dark, and it does not matter much whether a fellow has a goal or not, because you really do not know he does not know and there is no way of finding out.

Mr. Morrison: There is another question or the application form, "What hobbies do you have?" I do not want to make a generalization, but I know of one particular individual, a girl from the Northwest Territories, who put down on the form that she was interested in a certain special design and, practical or kind of occupation. Because she listed "no hobbies" the Manpower officer interpreted her answer as indicating that she was not really seriously interested, not recognizing the fact that no one in an impoverished settlement in the Northwest Territories has hobbies. A hobby is a middle-class concept.

Senator Carter: The word "aptitude" was not mentioned in the brief, but I think Senator Fournier mentioned "motivation". That is something that can be developed, and it is part of the role of any good teacher to develop motivation in his pupils towards all the subjects he is teaching. A person may have an aptitude, just as Senator Fournier said. He might have an aptitude for mechanics; he might be motivated towards mechanics, without an aptitude; or he might have an aptitude for something and not be motivated. How is that dealt with?

Dr. Robinson: The teacher who does not like his students or does not have sympathy for them never really improves motivation. The teacher must have aptitude for his particular level—whether kindergarden children, or the first grade learning to read and write, university level teaching, or whatever it may be. Therefore, built into that statement that Mr. Morrison made is, I suggest, the requirement that teachers, in order to motivate, must be trained and have personality and other characteristics which make them particularly suited to B.T.S.D. upgrading; and we suggest that element is an important factor in motivating such people.

Senator Pearson: Is this not where you would call in your psychologists and psychiatrists?

Dr. Robinson: Yes, in consultation with a psychiatrist. But, again, as they would call him in many urban areas, the headshrinker is a worrisome person to have around. He would be in close consultation with the teacher, and would perhaps be guiding him.

The recruiting of the students, the teaching of them, the counselling of them, and the follow-up counselling is more homogeneous than it is in any other class of adult education. It is quite possible for many centres to offer just diesel courses, heavy equipment operating courses, the get-rich-quick and get-your-training-here type of thing, and there will be many people who will apply. But in the particular area of upgrading called basic education there are many psychological matters, and the recruiter, the teacher, the counsellor, and the follow-up counsellor should not be radically different in approach. If the recruiter is a "nice guy" and a splendid person, and the applicant is then put into a situation with a vicious, class-conscious teacher, then you have disillusion and alienation which is hurtful.

Senator Carter: Is your three day course adequate for that sort of thing?

Dr. Robinson: As Mr. Guilbeault said, it is all important to the work of Frontier College that we attract the kind of person who has special characteristics, and to whom this work appeals. We have a basis ten-day or two-week program. Our teachers do not suddenly plunk the student down in front of a great big test, the thing he fears most, the first day he is in the classroom. If you do his worst fears will be realized, and he will drop out.

Senator Carter: You quoted some statistics. You said that 43 per cent of Canadians had not completed their education in the elementary grades, and you said that the average was 50 per cent in the Maritimes and Quebec, 40 per cent in the Prairies, 35 per cent in Ontario, and 25 per cent in British Columbia. I note that these are 1965 figures. In the last three or four years the provinces have spent tremendous sums of money on education. In fact, they have practically doubled their budgets for education. Would you be prepared to revise these figures now? Do you think these figures give a fair picture of the present situation?

Dr. Robinson: We think they are fair. There may be more up to date figures and other reports, and perhaps they are subject to some updating and correction, but the ARDA studies show that in the seven designated areas the illiteracy level—and by "illiteracy level" ARDA means primary illiteracy—will be 13 per cent.

In Newfoundland the figure that is commonly discussed—and I will have to confirm this—is double that, or 26 per cent. In other words, a quarter of the population cannot function at all through the written word.

In northwestern Ontario 10,000 people are known to be primary illiterates, and in Toronto there are 15,000 such people.

These figures are taken from 1966 studies. Miss Edith Adamson, who was with the D.B.S. at the time, did a particularly effective study. I have merged ARDA's and Miss Adamson's statistics, and arrived at the conclusion that 13 per cent are primary illiterates.

Senator Carter: I have one last question. I have many others, as a matter of fact, but I should like to ask you this one. You made comparisons in respect of the dropout rate,

and I think you said that the dropout rate for people on welfare was somewhere around 59 per cent.

Dr. Robinson: Yes, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has a study that shows that in their adult basic education classes native Canadians drop out at the rate of 59 per cent if they are being paid welfare, and at the rate of something over 50 per cent if they are being paid by Manpower.

Senator Carter: Yes, the corresponding figure for Manpower was 51 per cent, and for Frontier College it was 10 per cent. Are you comparing the same figures? It may be that in different parts of the country different situations prevail. In certain parts where the people have some spare time and no other attractions they will be very glad to go to school, whereas the Manpower and welfare cases in the cities have other attractions. I am wondering if you are really comparing similar situations.

Dr. Robinson: We are comparing our community education services; not our labourer-teacher programs.

In defence of our figure of 10 per cent, we do not know how they select their students, but we suggest that it is likely that the most fit students, or the ones who are most likely to succeed, and who have demonstrated a high degree of motivation, are selected. We do not conduct our courses in that way at all. We will have a man fresh from jail, and next to him a man who has been nagged by his wife to go to school. We will have a man who is a paragon of virtue alongside a man who has a long history of misdemeanour. There is no stacking of our courses in any way. These individuals are treated on a first come, first served basis.

Mr. Morrison: We have tried to set up some of our programs on what might be called a drop-in basis, especially in some of the native communities. We do not require attendance for a five- or six-day week for a period of so many weeks. If the people are free for a few weeks then they come in, but if they are out trapping or working at some other occupation, then they are not in the classroom. So, the word "dropout" is loading the statistics in a certain way, always from the point of view of the teacher, not the student.

Senator Carter: This is not an important question, but I would like to know what is the

total amount you spend in a year on field work. I am not referring to administrative work, but to outside work. How much do you spend on active teaching?

Dr. Tomecko: In 1968 our expenses were about \$75,000 in the field, and the administrative expense was \$61,000. Are these the figures you want?

Senator Carter: Yes.

Dr. Tomecko: The field expenses in 1968 were about \$75,000, and the administrative expenses were about \$61,000, for a total of \$136,000. This gave us a deficit of \$26,000.

Senator Carter: Is all of your income derived from your endowment and Government grants?

Dr. Tomecko: In 1968 we received from governments—this will be from the federal Government, and the governments of Ontario, Quebec, and other provinces—about \$46,000, and then the railways and crown corporations gave us another \$8,400. We had contributions from other sources amounting to \$46,000. We had some income from investments and bonds—that is from our endowment, which is approximately a quarter of a million dollars—and dividends. In 1968 we had a total income of \$109,000. Dr. Robinson would be very happy to make more copies of this pamphlet available if they would serve a useful purpose.

The Chairman: Yes, we would be very glad to have them. Please send 25 to Mr. Joyce who will distribute them to the members of the committee.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I have several more questions to ask, but I do not think this is the appropriate group for them. They should be addressed to the Department of Manpower and Immigration and other organizations. This report reads very well in my mind. I think it is one of the best we have received. It is unusual, because here we have a group of educators who came to this committee to expose their problems, difficulties and ambitions to help the poor without telling us what to do. This is most unusual as it is generally the other way around. I do appreciate this brief very much.

The Chairman: Is there anything that you gentlemen would like to say that you have not already said, or put in the way you wished?

Dr. Robinson: Verbosity is an occupational hazard of a teacher. With regard to the question you asked earlier as to who these people are, where they are and why they are illiterate, it is a difficult question to answer because there are so many answers. For every illiterate there is a reason why he is illiterate. It is very important that teachers who are going to be brought in or paid for indirectly by the Department of Manpower and Immigration should have a deep, undying and honest respect for this class of citizen.

He may be a European, who is not to be despised for his culture and for not having had a highly literate tradition. There are so many people, as you know, who take a great pride in their culture, being of a highly literate tradition. It would be a misconception to think that this is confined to those of non-Franco or non-Anglosaxon background. There are very many Canadians who for various reasons have had little educational opportunity. Every profession has its weak links and in some cases this poor education may have been caused by a bad teacher. It may have been that the child was a marginally intelligent one and a year of rheumatic fever defeated him. There will be differences in opportunities by region. Whatever the result is, there are good grounds to believe that the adult illiterate is well worthy of being offered a second chance in life instead of being classed at the bottom of the scale. Post-war immigrants have a statistically higher level of education than native-born Canadians.

The Chairman: It is very interesting to hear that these gentlemen are all labourer-teachers.

Dr. Tomecko: Except me; I played football.

The Chairman: Dr. Tomecko just handed me a short list of people who have been teachers at the College: the late Chief Justice Sherwood Lett of the British Columbia Supreme Court; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Dr. Raymond Farquharson of the Medical School at the University of Toronto; Mr. Escott Reid, who is known to all of you; French and English speaking businessmen, professors, labour leaders, and many others.

What is bothering me is a sense of values. I know something about the Frontier College. I knew it before this morning. With regard to

the Company of Young Canadians, there was no one more ardently in its favour than I. I do not say that I am not still ardent. Consider their budget of \$1,900,000 and these people with \$150,000 or \$160,000 and a \$10,000 grant in support of the kind of work they are doing reduced to \$5,000. I am really troubled to hear about that. I am sure I speak on behalf of the committee. You gentlemen are distinguished and devoted people who have made a valuable contribution to our deliberations. You have been much too modest with regard to the work you are doing and the money you are asking. I am sure the committee would like you to follow up your brief with the departments, the deputy ministers and the ministers. The questions you have raised affect the whole of Canada. We have heard many of them before, but not as clearly as you have set them out. When we were in Prince Edward Island we heard of a man who farmed six months in the year entering a course. He went back to farming for six months then returned to the course. I asked how old the man was and discovered that he was 70 years of age. They did not need to tell me that it was a form of relief. That is all they could do, but that is not the purpose of these people who are with us today. It is possible to upgrade these people, but it seems we devote much attention to education at the higher levels and very little at the lower levels. It is one of the important matters that this committee has to deal with. Basically the people we are interested in need training more than anything else, at least after they have a few pennies or dollars in their pockets.

On behalf of the committee we thank you. We want you to remain concerned with what you are doing. We would like to be kept informed with the progress you make in the departments. We as a committee and I as chairman will be making some presentation to the minister and to the department. As a matter of fact, I had originally intended that you should go over and see Mr. Couillard today, but it is not possible. I do not think you have failed in your mission or presentation. You should keep going after it. Do not let go. It is not only important to the Frontier College; it is important to people in Canada generally.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

SUBMISSION TO THE SPECIAL
SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

by

FRONTIER COLLEGE

Ottawa, December 16, 1969

1. Frontier College is chartered by an Act of Parliament (Frontier College Act, R.S.C. 1922) to promote an adult and community education service including social, cultural and recreational opportunities in outlying parts of Canada. Frontier College teachers and field-workers serve in all provinces and territories of Canada. Background information on the College is to be found in the Appendix to this submission.

2. Because the constituency of Frontier College is the non-urban part of Canada we can speak with some knowledge on the urgent problems besetting low-income Canadians in non-urban areas. The Committee is aware of the concentration of poverty outside Canadian cities: 45 percent of Canadian families with incomes falling below the low income line (as determined by The Economic Council of Canada) live in non-urban areas.¹ While it is not our object to define 'poverty' for the Committee, we understand it to describe a state of desperation and hopelessness; although persons who lack dollars may not necessarily be designated as 'poor', poverty and low-income tend to coincide.

3. The Committee will no doubt hear numerous briefs offering proposals to assist 'poor' Canadians. We wish instead to draw the attention of the Committee to the present Manpower Policy of the Canadian government as it affects the poor. When the *Adult Occupational Training Act* was introduced in the House of Commons, March 3rd, 1967, the Honourable Jean Marchand, then Minister of Manpower and Immigration, stated its purpose as follows:

We want to provide a second chance to the people who need it most. These are

the men and women who missed the chance to acquire a skill during their youth or whose skill has been made obsolete by technological change.²

We suggest that a large number of Canadians who "most need" the occupational training services of the Manpower Policy are denied access to occupational training by certain provisions in the present policy.

4. Forty-three percent of adult Canadians have attained less than a complete elementary education.³ This level of education is the lowest of any industrial nation. No informed person will dispute the connection between low educational attainment and poverty in Canada today. To be without a basic education is to lack the requisite skills to secure employment in a modern economy. The number of those jobs available to unskilled workers is even now diminishing rapidly. Hence it follows that where educational attainment is lowest the individual's need for occupational training is most pressing. Yet these are the very persons who are often not eligible for occupational training under the present Manpower Policy.

5. The purpose of the Manpower Policy is to assist persons who lack job skills needed for secure employment to upgrade their skills through occupational training. There is an economic argument for such a program: each dollar invested in the occupational training program yields three dollars in economic growth.⁴ This argument was related to a human development approach by the Honourable Jean Marchand when he introduced the Act:

By making it genuinely possible for people to break out of occupations which offer only under-employment, intermittent unemployment and poor prospects we open up new opportunities for people and we accelerate the growth and development of our country.⁵

¹ *Income Distribution and Poverty in Canada, 1967. Preliminary Estimates*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1100-505), October, 1969, Table 7, page 15.

² House of Commons Debates, March 3rd, 1967.

³ *Special Labour Force Studies: educational attainment of the Canadian population and labour force, 1960-65*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics (71-

505), Table 15. Canadians seventeen years of age and over are included.

⁴ Hon. Allan J. MacEachen, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, speech to Canadian Vocational Association, Vancouver, May 23rd, 1969.

⁵ House of Commons Debates, March 3rd, 1967.

In the 1969-70 fiscal year 325,000 adult workers are to receive training at a total cost of 250 million dollars.⁶ All of these costs are covered by the Government of Canada through contracts with Provincial Governments.

6. Of course there are many 'poor' Canadians whom the Manpower Policy cannot assist. But there are large numbers of 'poor' Canadians who are able and anxious to work: those unemployed, under-employed, or seasonally employed, who lack the prerequisite education and job skills for secure employment. It is this group that the Manpower Policy fails in large measure to assist, principally for two reasons.

7. First, the *Adult Occupational Training Act, 1967*, provides that no occupational training course may exceed *fifty-two weeks duration of full-time* introduction.⁷ Perhaps the design of this provision was to exclude technological training of more than one year's duration from assistance under the Act. A most unfortunate by-product of this provision is that no person requiring more than one year's academic upgrading (computational and written language skills) is eligible for occupational training under the Act. Because almost all vocational skills programs in Canada today require a Grade Ten prerequisite education (such as welding, carpentry, electrical trades, plumbing), and because most academic upgrading centres (known as Basic Training for Skills Development, or B.T.S.D. centres in Manpower terminology) can raise a student's functioning equivalent Grade level by about three grades in fifty-two weeks, *very few persons with educational attainments below Grade Seven level can gain entry into B.T.S.D. occupational training courses*. Moreover, our experience suggests that very many adults who have attained only seven or eight years education as children *function* at a much lower level in their adult years. Such persons make up a very large element in our population. The vast majority of 'poor' Canadians able to work would fall into this category. Some persons in this category do gain entrance to Manpower programs but usually this happens 'in error' or because of a 'sympathetic' Manpower Counsellor. If we recall the Honourable Jean Marchand's remarks from paragraph (3) above we can conclude only that the Act unwittingly excludes this group.

8. Second, the regulations governing the application of the Act provide that a potential applicant for a place in an occupational training program must have a "specific vocational goal". This regulation is particularly discriminatory when applied to 'poor' people in Canada. Poverty breeds apathy. Persons who have experienced little control over their environment are in a less favoured position as regards vocational motivation. Persons without a basic education are not usually as aware of the variety of occupational opportunities available to those with job skills. To apply the criterion of a "specific vocational goal" uniformly to all applicants is in fact to discriminate against those persons who require a substantial amount of basic training prior to vocational skills training. An assessment of "general vocational goals" or a "desire for steady work" should suffice with applicants at a lower educational level—at least during the initial (probationary) period of basic training.

9. Our view, then, is that the Manpower Policy should be changed in two important ways if it is to serve the 'poor' in Canada, those in greatest need of this assistance. This argument does not require a radical change in the direction or emphasis of the Manpower Policy. The economic rationale for the present program can also be used to defend the application of manpower programs to persons of lower educational attainment. Some funds now committed to unemployment insurance subsidies and to short and long-term welfare payments could be re-applied. Each individual removed from assistance rolls, and trained for job skills and employment, would benefit the economy through greater productivity; and government revenue would increase as a consumer of tax dollars becomes a producer of tax dollars.

10. This economic argument in itself is a powerful reason for re-assessing present Manpower Policy. It is not the only argument. Our experience suggests that there are very large numbers of Canadians who would far prefer a chance for secure employment to their present cycle of under-employment and welfare. What prevents their access to secure employment is often a lack of basic education and employment skills.

11. Two changes in the application of the present Manpower Policy are necessary if it is to meet the needs of 'poor' Canadians. The present fifty-two week maximum duration for

⁶ Hon. Allan J. MacEachen, speech referred to in footnote 4.

⁷ Section 2 (d).

any occupational training course should be waived to allow Canadians with lower educational attainments access to B.T.S.D. programs towards occupational training. In addition the Manpower Policy should take into account special problems affecting 'poor' Canadians. Specifically it is unreasonable to expect a 'poor' person without basic education to have a definite vocational goal at the outset of training. Rather the Policy should recognize that many 'poor' persons are marginally motivated and the initial B.T.S.D. training should be adapted to deal with the *motivation* of the clients, not just formal basic education skills. Our experience suggests that such an approach is essential especially in working with adults at a basic education level. Not to adopt this more flexible approach is in fact to discriminate against 'poor' Canadians in Manpower programs.

12. The Government has recognized the importance of employment opportunities for disadvantaged Canadians in the Speech from the Throne, October 23rd, 1969:

During the last session, Parliament enacted legislation which will enable the Government with the co-operation of the Provinces, to set up programs to reduce regional disparities in employment opportunities and average incomes. In fact, despite the general cutback in its expenditures, the Government, recognizing the overriding urgency of these programs, has decided to allocate an increasing proportion of its revenues to them. The necessity for raising the level of employment of Canadians of Indian descent and other less favoured citizens will also receive special attention.

Attention, then, should be given to the present Manpower Policy insofar as it inhibits the Government's goal as stated in the Throne Speech. It is the view of Frontier College that the issues raised in this submission warrant serious consideration. We will be pleased to discuss these issues with the Committee now or at any future date.

Frontier College
31 Jackes Avenue
Toronto 290

APPENDIX

Background on Frontier College

The work of Frontier College began in 1899. The initial purpose of the organization was to draw attention to the fact that men

were living under bunkhouse conditions in particularly poor accommodation, with long work hours and low pay. The aim of the founders (Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick and Edmund W. Bradwin) was to persuade employers to build reading shanties solely for the use of the men during their leisure hours.

By 1901 the first instructor had accepted a job as a mule-skinner's helper and this first 'labourer-teacher' began his work with the advantage of knowing the men first hand and winning their respect first and foremost as a fellow-worker.

The work soon expanded into French-speaking Canada and across Canada with instructors recruited from universities from coast to coast. The service was provided to bunkhouse workers and later to outlying and northern communities of the mining, construction, and logging industries, and on railway gangs. During the 1930's Frontier College participated in the Canadian Government's Relief Camp program.

The College has changed its emphasis in recent years to community education in outlying parts of Canada including all forms of adult education, community development, and recreational and social services. In 1969 one hundred labourer-teachers from thirty Canadian universities represented Frontier College in all Provinces and Territories of Canada from Trepassay, Newfoundland to Dawson, Yukon. Frontier College experimented in 1963 with a full-time Adult Basic Education and Community Development program for unemployed persons. The design of this program is to provide a multi-discipline approach, including adult education and social work, aimed at functionally illiterate men and women across Canada in non-urban areas, who are ineligible for conventional upgrading courses.

In 1968-69 Frontier College conducted programs of this nature in six outlying Canadian communities:

Cox's Cove, Newfoundland
Frobisher Bay, N.W.T.
Fort Hope, Ontario
Fort Smith, N.W.T.
Fort Resolution, N.W.T.
Lennox Island, P.E.I.

Frontier College is a private adult education organization administered by a Board of Governors who are elected each year and who serve without remuneration. The

administrative staff is responsible to the Board. The College operates on an income of \$130,000 per annum drawn from the following sources: governmental grants; corporation and individual donations; university student councils; labour unions. The newly developed Adult Basic Education and Community Development Service is conducted by contract with government and community-based agencies.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 14★

FEB 21 1970

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1970

WITNESSES:

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: Mr. John A. MacDonald, Deputy Minister; Mr. Jean B. Bergevin, Assistant Deputy Minister; Mr. C. I. Ferholm, Senior Policy Adviser; Mr. F. J. Neville, Assistant Director, Community Affairs Branch; Mr. L. G. P. Waller, Chief Superintendent, Indian Education.

APPENDIX

A.—Brief submitted by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska- Restigouche, Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, January 20, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll (*Chairman*); Carter, Fergusson, MacDonald (*Queens*), McGrand and Quart. (6)

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard on behalf of the *Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development*:

Mr. John A. MacDonald, Deputy Minister;
Mr. Jean B. Bergevin, Assistant Deputy Minister;
Mr. C. I. Ferholm, Senior Policy Adviser;
Mr. F. J. Neville, Assistant Director, Community Affairs Branch;
Mr. L. G. P. Waller, Chief Superintendent, Indian Education.

(Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.)

A brief submitted by The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was ordered to be printed as appendix "A" to these proceedings.

At 12.25 p.m. the Committee adjourned until 9.00 a.m. Tuesday, January 27, 1970.

ATTEST.

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

John Allan MacDonald, Deputy Minister: Mr. MacDonald was appointed Assistant Deputy Minister (National Resources) of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources on January 13, 1964, Senior Assistant Deputy Minister of the re-organized department on January 1, 1966, and Deputy Minister on March 1, 1968; Born in Ottawa August 23, 1921, he received his early education in that City; At the outbreak of war, Mr. MacDonald joined the Canadian Army and served in Canada and the United Kingdom; In 1947 he graduated from McGill University with a Bachelor of Arts degree (honours) in Economics and took a position with the Industrial Development Bank in Montreal; In 1949 he joined the Economic Policy Division of the Department of Finance where he remained until his appointment to the National Defence College in Kingston in 1954. On his return to Ottawa he joined the staff of the Treasury Board to work on defence budget problems; He was appointed Director of the Defence, Works and Contracts Division of the Board in 1958, and two years later was named Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Board where he was responsible for the work of the Board outside the personnel policy field; In January 1963, Mr. MacDonald was seconded to be Assistant Deputy Head of the Bureau of Government Organization—the task force set up to study the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Government Organization. Mr. MacDonald is Chairman of the Northern Canada Power Commission; Vice-Chairman and Director of Panarctic Oils Ltd; member of the Advisory Council of the School of Public Administration of York University, the Canadian Political Science Association, the Cercle Universitaire, the Canadian Club, and the Country Club. He is also a member of the Advisory Council—Federal Institute of Management; He is married to the former Jean Elliott Wright; they have three children, Ian, David and Kathy.

J. B. Bergevin: Born in Quebec in 1923, Mr. Bergevin graduated with an M.A. in economics from Laval University in 1946 and began his career as an economist with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in Ottawa. He later moved to the Economic Studies Division of the Department of Public Works. Between 1957 and 1959, Mr. Bergevin was with Steinberg's Limited in Montreal where he was manager of the company's research branch and later employment manager and assistant director of the real estate department. In 1959 Mr. Bergevin served on the Technical Assistance Board of the United Nations and in this capacity helped establish a national accounts system and the preparation of an economic development plan for Tunisia; In 1961, Mr. Bergevin joined the Quebec Government where he held various provincial government positions including Director of the Quebec Bureau of Statistics, Director of Economic Research Bureau, Assistant Deputy Minister of Industry and Commerce, and Assistant Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Colonization in charge of administering the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act; In November 1968, Mr. Bergevin joined the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development as Assistant Deputy Minister (Development). In August 1969, Mr. Bergevin was appointed Assistant Deputy Minister (Indian and Eskimo Affairs).

Floyd J. Neville: Born in Pembroke, Ontario, where he received his early education—B.A. (1951) and M.S.W. (1953) St. Patrick's College, Ottawa. Gained experience in Family and Child Welfare and Corrections and Social Agency Administration before joining the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in 1957; Was District Administrator at Frobisher Bay in 1957, followed by a two-year posting as Regional Superintendent of Welfare at Rankin Inlet in the Central Arctic. In 1960 he became Superintendent of Welfare for the Eastern Arctic and in 1963, Chief of the Welfare Division of the Northern Administration Branch of the Department. He has been Assistant Director of Community Affairs Branch, with special responsibility for the Department's Social Services Program for Indians and Eskimos since 1969.

Cyril I. Fairholm: Born, Edmonton, Alberta; Educated, Alberta College, Alberta Normal School, Edmonton, Queens University, Ontario; Degree, Honours BA, Canadian History, Political and Economic Science; Public Service, In Indian Affairs administration in various capacities since 1949; Present Position, Senior Adviser, Indian Consultation and Negotiation Group.

Mr. L. P. G. Waller: B.A. (Honours), (English), B. Ed., M.A. (English Literature); Regional Superintendent of Indian Schools, Alberta, 1951-56; Chief Superintendent of Indian Education, Ottawa, 1956-70.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, January 20, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, the witnesses this morning are from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, headed by the Deputy Minister, Mr. John MacDonald. He is accompanied by Mr. Jean Baptiste Bergevin, Assistant Deputy Minister, Mr. C. I. Fairholm, Senior Policy Advisor, Mr. F. J. Neville, Assistant Director, Community Affairs Branch, and Mr. L. G. P. Waller, Chief of the Educational Development Division.

Mr. MacDonald will speak to the brief and then we will open the question period.

Mr. John MacDonald, Deputy Minister, Indian Affairs and Northern Development: Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, honourable senators, we have compiled this brief at the request of the committee. I think it is probably the most comprehensive work of its kind put together in this field—certainly, to my knowledge of the kinds of programs that have been in place for a number of years showing perspective and statistical details—that has ever gone into one place before. It is presented to the committee for its assistance, whatever assistance it may provide in the work of the committee.

I do not intend to make too many elaborate remarks. We are here to answer any questions that members would have arising out of the brief, but I think I might usefully, in terms of perspective and drawing things together, take a look at one particular part of the brief which I think tends to try to draw some inferences.

I think you would find that the material presented in earlier sections indicates that a not unimpressive attempt has been made, and certainly in more recent years, to deal with the problem of poverty among the indigenous peoples of Canada. Yet, by any definition of

poverty, the Indian and Eskimo are still two of the most disadvantaged groups in Canada.

This, surely, is the most striking implication of our review of those programs that have been mounted to deal with Indian and Eskimo poverty. In the Indian and Eskimo populations we have had groups identifiable in both size and physical location, but have failed to make major inroads on all but the most basic problems of physical distress. Yet the Senate committee, acting on behalf of the Government of Canada, is seeking ways to alleviate and eventually eradicate the conditions of poverty that may extend to embrace in excess of 20 per cent of Canada's total population. Canadians exist in poverty in all of Canada's ten provinces and the two territories, across a range of cultural groups and in communities of diverse size and character.

The central question, of course, is why, with dedication, a great deal of goodwill on the part of those working within many agencies besides our own, and the outlay of considerable funds, we have made so little progress in combatting Indian and Eskimo poverty.

Our experience as a department has led us to the conclusion that there have been, basically, three weaknesses in our approach to this matter: we have been paternalistic, even though it has been benevolent; we have tackled the problem of poverty in a fragmented and discriminatory rather than an integrated way; and we have misjudged the degree of competence required in human relationships, and in the evolution and implementation of effective policies. Although our experience has been of a specialized nature, moreover, our contacts with others engaged in seeking to alleviate or eradicate poverty lead us to suspect that paternalism, fragmentation of programs and lack of competence in framing policies and in management are not peculiar to ourselves.

That we have been paternalistic in the past is surely above dispute. From the very beginning of our relationships with the Indian

people of Canada they have been regarded as a subject people, living at a different level of civilization. To our credit we have accepted the responsibility for making certain that the necessary, rudimentary, conditions of life were present in their communities, and in our more benevolent eras we have sought to raise the level of Indian life generally to that of Canadians as a whole. Yet in doing so we have violated one of the central tenets of democratic society: that each individual has the right to the necessary degree of freedom to develop his positive potential as a human being, in his own way—and this implies the right to make his own decisions and to profit from the experience, even, and perhaps especially, where the decision is a wrong one. A group brought up in tutelage, however benevolently, is denied the opportunity for such growth, and we have impeded such growth among Indian and Eskimo people.

Part of the problem of course is that the rational approach in dealing with such people is to manage their affairs on their behalf, to give them the strong leadership they obviously require. Yet, paradoxically, there is no one group more familiar with the Indian and Eskimo people than members of our own department, and our experience indicates how much of a parody of the actual nature of the Indian and Eskimo such a description really is.

There are peculiarities of culture that differentiate the Indian and Eskimo both from each other and from other cultural groups in Canada, but once this is recognized, and once allowances made for the fact that they have, indeed, lived under tutelage for so many years, we believe them to be virtually indistinguishable from a cross section of any other group in Canada in similar economic and geographic circumstances. This of course is a very important factor. We have become convinced, therefore, that to continue the paternalistic pattern that has existed since Confederation would be a grave error, self-defeating and perpetuating unacceptable conditions.

Now, if our programs have suffered from paternalism, and we say they have, they have suffered equally from their fragmented nature. There are two different aspects of fragmentation that have broader implications than those of our departmental programs. First, in keeping the treatment of Indian and Eskimo problems distinct from the problems of Canadians generally, we have created serious problems of discrimination as well as

lowering the quality of certain of our programs below that available to other citizens. Second, viewing departmental programs as a whole and in their relationship to other public and private programs, some lack of communication among the various units and agencies, together with the very real difficulties of noting and taking into account the complicated inter-relationships of one program with another, have worked against the success of our program. Indeed, the situation is not unlike that which exists in our larger cities in work associated with disadvantaged families.

In the same sense, innumerable visits by countless separate agencies, each approaching a fragment of the total problem from its own peculiar vantage point and with its own special methods of treatment, have tended to work against the healthy functioning of the family as a whole. As a result, in terms of actual contact with a particular family, the "multi-problem" family worker has been used in place of the visits of representatives of many different agencies. In dealing with the Indian and Eskimo, we have seen most forcefully the very considerable disadvantages of a host of individual workers and separate programs working with the individual Indian or Eskimo community. Consequently, we have begun to search for ways and means to achieve a vital co-ordination of programs before their impact is felt by the individual.

As an example, the standard of housing available to the Indian and Eskimo might be considered. If viewing this problem independently of all other problems, we might well devise an approach that will permit us to provide each Indian and Eskimo family with adequate accommodation by 1975. On first examination, this would be thought to be a worthwhile goal, yet, if we provide such houses as grandiloquent gifts from a generous government, without regard to the economic prospects of a particular location and without regard to general trends in terms of remaining on or leaving a particular reserve, then we could be working at cross-purposes with other facets of our total program. Those who have become acquainted with poverty in its broadest aspects know how close are the inter-relationships between housing and education, economic development, pride in culture, pride in community, the development of institutions of local governments, health and physical well-being generally, the extent of

social security and the availability of social services, and the level of acceptability of the particular group in the surrounding community. This is just a catalogue of the interrelationships I think we are all familiar with. We take a simple subject like housing and we fall into the error of thinking that that is the be-all and end-all of any program.

This brings us to the third factor mentioned earlier, our failure in the past to realize the extremely high degree of competence in the formulation of suitable policies and their implementation, that is required in order to cope with the problems of poverty, even in as small and identifiable groups as the Indian and Eskimo peoples. The point we have been trying to draw to your attention here is that if there was an easier place to begin it would have been in such circumstances rather than as opposed to the more general problem of poverty to which the committee has addressed itself. There is something of a paradox, we think, in asserting, on the one hand, that we must reject a paternalistic approach while, on the other, asserting that the alleviation and eventual eradication of poverty will occur only if a far higher degree of policy and managerial competence is applied henceforth. Yet this paradox is more apparent than real, if it is acknowledged that strong, informed and highly intelligent leadership can succeed only if it is applied with the deepest conviction concerning the worth of human dignity and self-determination. That is to say, that the leadership aspects are not lost sight of. There is no substitute for integrity of purpose but integrity is not enough.

Within our department we have experimented with the more extreme approach of those community development workers who enter an individual community with the conviction that all that is necessary to effect beneficial social change is to begin an agitational process which, once begun, will produce over a time a healthily-active total community in which the establishment and the very poor will be working together, harmoniously, for the good of every member of the community. On the basis of our experience we are now convinced that whatever the merits of pointing out the inadequacies of existing structures, and persuading those living in poverty that they have a legitimate interest in changing the existing situation and a potential power to do so, there is both a peculiar arrogance and an incredible naïveté in the belief that extremely complex com-

munities can reach a new and healthier level of functioning with such minimal understanding and effort.

On the positive side there is an idealism existing alongside the arrogance and naïveté of the approach described above. Moreover, this essential insight is that traditional methods have suffered from the lack of involvement of the very poor themselves in the process of change, and also the real sense of distance that exists between the traditional agencies, staffed by people who tend to come from different economic, social and cultural groups, and their clients. We believe that what is needed is a recognition of the right and wisdom of letting the poor participate in those decisions which affect their well-being; that this right should be combined with an informed insight into what does produce the essential social climate that is conducive to the well-being of everyone. Not least of all, they should be made aware of the requirements of taking agreed-upon goals and translating them into systems that will work. In looking back on our performance, measured against the views now expressed above, we know that we have fallen short. Many of our people have tried and tried with the best idealism, but we must be realistic in our approach.

We have not involved Indians and Eskimos in the various programs mounted on their behalf to the degree that we should. Our planning has lacked the rigour and clarity that it might have had, and as a consequence we have expended considerable resources with far less effective results than might otherwise have been achieved. It is no serious reflection on the abilities and certainly not on the degree of commitment of our departmental staff that we now recognize that the problems with which we are involved are sufficiently complex to tax managerial capacity of a very high order, and of an order that has not always been available either to ourselves or to others.

The main point we are making, and we believe it to be a vital one, is that we should not underestimate the high degree of competence required in seeking to deal with the problems of poverty and its eventual eradication. Indeed it is the most difficult social problem facing us in this country and in other countries. There is a colloquial saying that "An army of deer led by a lion will defeat an army of lions led by a deer". Unless we can

attract into the fight against poverty some of our most idealistic people, who are at the same time among our most well-endowed in terms of managerial potential, and develop this potential in a way that will produce the skills necessary to effect social change, we cannot hope for any major success. Success will also elude us if this competence is not upheld by an equally high degree of clarity concerning the interrelated set of goals or objectives serving the one simple end of eradicating poverty, as suggested from so many simplistic labels, targets and objectives which has given rise to the view that the means were equally simple.

We have put down these views to provide a background to thinking within our own department concerning the next steps we might take not only in ameliorating poverty among the indigenous people but also in its eventual eradication. Steps taken as recently as the past six months indicate how profoundly we have been influenced by the rejection of a paternalistic and fragmented approach, and by a new respect for advanced skills in policy analysis and in managing. This of course has led to the Indian policy proposed last year which has as its goals the re-establishment of the Indian people within the community in terms of provincial structures which in the federal state directs the principle social remedial measures, the proposed abolition of such statutes as the Indian Act which, I think by any definition, reflects the paternalistic structure, and other related measures which were contained in that policy statement. I will not go into that now because I think these are well known. But, Mr. Chairman, the overview I have quoted liberally from, which is contained in the brief, is designed to give the synthesis of what we have learned by examining ourselves in this past period of time.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, I should like to compliment Mr. MacDonald on this very comprehensive report. It is a most valuable document because it goes right back to the beginning and gives us 100 years of history of the administration of the Indian Act, and the various Indian Acts and the intentions of the department towards the Indian. During those 100 years these intentions have always been good, but 100 years have passed and they have not been fulfilled.

One thing I like about the brief is that it contains a great deal of self criticism and it

gives reasons for the failures in fulfilling these good intentions. They are stated as paternalism, breakdown of programs and lack of competence in training and managing programs. Having read the brief, I would add two more to these. One would be attitudes. It seems to me that inherent in the description of what has taken place has been a superior attitude on the part of the officials who seem to have taken the attitude that not only did they know best but they were dealing with an inferior people. Also stemming from the brief I would say there was a lack of any attempt on the part of the officials to understand the cultures of the people with whom they were dealing—the Indians, the Eskimos and the Metis.

It is very clear from your brief that you have had a lot of experience with the welfare programs of the various provinces because your own departmental programs have more or less used those as agencies. Would you say from your own experience that these criticisms—your own and the two I have added—apply to welfare programs generally in Canada?

Mr. MacDonald: Senator Carter, I do not want to set myself up as an expert on welfare agencies across the country. You are quite right in the sense that I have had the contact, but not as much as some of my colleagues who are more intimately involved.

I would like to take up one point I noted in your question. There is a tendency among people discussing programs to criticize them by describing the attitudes of the officials of the department and the people involved in them. As a result, society as a whole is escaping some of the responsibility for the past 100 years in thinking that it is merely a reflection of the failure of the department. In fact, it is a reflection on the community as a whole, not only on the department, and reflects the characteristics of the society we live in. In 1945 the entire expenditures on Indian programs in this country, including the health program, was \$5 million voted by the Parliament of Canada, and I cannot recall any great screams arising from anybody about the adequacy of it. I know from my experience in the Treasury Board, on the other side of it, that the officials in this department were striving desperately to get more money, and the budget is now in the order of \$279 million on Indian programs alone, due partly to the pressures exerted by those people. There may

be weaknesses in the structure, but they reflect the attitude of the community as a whole.

In direct response to your question, subject to my limited qualifications, about other welfare agencies, my answer is: Yes.

Senator Carter: Why has it taken your department 100 years? Why have they been so late in recognizing these deficiencies in your approach to the problems? Why has it taken 100 years to recognize the necessity of consulting with the people for whom your programs were designed; and did you, in fact, consult with them with respect to this document?

Mr. MacDonald: No, of course not. I do not know why I would have. This document is a synthesis of the department's experience, and the consultation process in the department has been quite extensive.

Why it should have taken 100 years, I do not know, other than what I answered you earlier. As I have already said, the total expenditures of this department voted by the Parliament of Canada, for the Indian people of Canada, was \$5 million in 1945. We have had a fantastic increment in terms of funds. When society decides at long last that something must be done about a program it is not that easy to marshal the resources. We have tried to draw attention to the fact that one of the most significant weaknesses in the program is the supply of people who not only have the right motivation, which is easy to come by, but a combination of that and the skill to do something about it. Other agencies have had or are having the same experience today. They have had the motivation and the resources but the results have not been commensurate, and then you begin to ask questions. The people sitting to my right, and others not here today, have asked these questions too.

Senator Carter: You have mentioned the right of every individual to develop his own potential in every way, which is the key to the very success of any welfare type program, and especially of welfare programs directed to a particular group, yet it has taken 100 years to recognize even that truth you have described as a basic tenet of democracy. Why should it take so long to recognize a self-evident truth?

Mr. MacDonald: I cannot answer that, why it has taken 100 years. I have only been deputy minister for two years.

Senator Carter: There must be an answer somewhere.

Mr. MacDonald: I think the answer is there, and I have tried to indicate it. Society, as a whole, has been slow to respond to its own problems. This is one of the things I want to talk about. What has bothered me during the period I have been deputy minister of the department—and it has been brief and I do not have to be too defensive—notwithstanding my name, I have not been around 100 years!—I can look at and see these things, but I find that it is the community itself, the country, the nation, we have all been slow to recognize the problems and we are now only too eager to recognize them, now they have become self-evident. I can only say, thank God that recognition has come about and that a course of action is being designed to do something about it.

Senator Carter: You said there was no need to consult the Indians about this particular document, but they are claiming that no provision was made for them to take part in discussions with provincial authorities on services to Indians. They claim also that a commissioner was recently appointed to consult with the Indians, without any involvement of the Indian people as to who should be appointed. Are these claims true?

Mr. MacDonald: No, because my Minister has consulted with the Indians about the proposed commissioner and invited them to submit names, and they were in fact submitted. However, the Government took the responsibility in deciding who the person should be. But to say there was no consultation would be false.

Senator Carter: Having recognized the deficiencies in past programs and past approaches, you have set forth at page 95 your new policy, but I could not find anything in your statement or policies anywhere which dealt with what I consider to be the fundamental problem, and that is the credibility gap. How are you going to close the credibility gap that exists at present between the Indian people and your department?

Mr. MacDonald: The credibility gap exists not only between the Indian people and the department, but between the Indian people and Canadian society as a whole. Canadian society should not try to escape responsibilities like this and blame a particular depart-

ment of Government or a particular group of people. The credibility gap is inherent in the trauma of history—the social stagnation and decay of spirit—which has taken place, coupled with the 100 years of suspicion which makes recovery from that position a very difficult thing indeed for Canada as a whole. This can only take place by the type of discussions that have been taking place in the last couple of years, which have been continuing surprisingly well, you might like to know. One should not be influenced by the effect of declamatory statements which tend to be emphasized in the communications media from day to day and overshadow the many meetings which take place continually throughout the country. This face-to-face contact is a more desirable method of discussing the specifics, not only with us but with the provincial governments. The latter are now quite competent to discharge responsibilities in this area. Indians are citizens of the provinces, and they are moving more rapidly now to acquire the competence which they must have in government for their own people.

Senator Carter: I have two replies to your statement. Firstly, while it is true that Canadian society as a whole has a responsibility, I do not think that factor relieves the Government of its responsibility. Your department is an agency of society who have expected it to act on their behalf. The fact that your department has not succeeded does not justify saying society has not succeeded either.

My second point is that the failures which you have enumerated have been mainly human failures, deficiencies in people who have been in day-to-day relationship with the problems. They have not created the right kind of relationship. How are you going to overcome that? Have you evolved special methods and qualifications in the selection of people? It is a human matter and however good your new program is you are not going to be any more successful with it than you were with the old one unless you can find the right people to carry it out.

Mr. MacDonald: This involves the painstaking process of attempting to attract people with the required qualifications and training. Included in this is the more important concern of persuading the provinces to do this and to recognize the requirements which are now self-evident. We are trying to imply by inference that this is not only our problem but also that of the provincial agencies across

the country. There is a dearth of the skills to which we refer. In the past motivation has been the main factor. People wanted to do the work, but we are suggesting now that people must have skills. We are discussing what is probably the most complicated community in human relationships you would find anywhere.

Senator Carter: My point is that although they might have all the skills you need, if the workers do not have the right attitude, frame of mind and feeling in the heart, those skills will not be much good.

Mr. MacDonald: Another important point is that in the long run governments and departments can only provide the framework and climate. People themselves have to improve themselves and this applies to Indians and Eskimos as much as to anyone else. Education is the fundamental point. In 1945 expenditure for all the Indian people in Canada, including that for the health and educational program, amounted to \$5 million. This illustrates why the Indian people have been late in coming to the scene to save themselves. Commencing in 1953, or thereabouts, really significant sums of money were voted by Parliament. The educational system has been built to a proper level, involving the integration of Indians into the provincial school systems. Ten years ago approximately 200 Indian children attended high school compared with approximately 8,000 last year. Two hundred Indians attended university last year compared with a few ten years ago. There has been a 20 per cent increase in those attending grade 10. Education of the Indian people is the real solution which will enable them to determine these matters instead of receiving handouts from us. It will give them the ability to work within their own society.

Senator McGrand: It is stated at page 38 of the brief that:

Of the 6,000,000 acres of land in Indian reserves, some 3,000,000 acres, comprising about 600 reserves, out of a total of 2,237, are regarded as having further developmental potential.

How large are these reserves, what is their potential, and in what provinces are they?

It is stated on page 39 that:

A further 250 reserves with a population of some 40,000 Indians contain about

2,500,000 acres of agricultural land of which slightly over 50 per cent is developed.

In what provinces are these reserves?

Mr. MacDonald: We may not be able to give you a provincial breakdown.

Senator McGrand: It is not in the eastern provinces.

Mr. MacDonald: No, the 600 reserves having further development potential broadly speaking tend to be those in the southern latitudes contiguous to major urban areas.

Senator McGrand: Would sufficient revenue be derived from the development of resources to support the Indians living on those reserves?

Mr. MacDonald: Many of them have a capacity to be self-sustaining on a static but not an increasing population basis.

Senator Fergusson: How many of these surveys have been carried out? It came to my attention recently that P. S. Ross and Partners performed one in New Brunswick and tourist attractions are being set up in the Restigouche reserve. It is planned to have a trailer camp and a number of other facilities for tourists. Have similar surveys carried out in other places resulted in such plans?

Mr. J. B. Bergevin, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: There are many reserves which have potential development, to which we are giving attention. For instance, we have a \$2 million development project at the Blood Indian Reserve.

Senator Fergusson: What is the nature of the development?

Mr. Bergevin: It is the manufacture of trailers.

Senator Fergusson: The one at Restigouche is only for tourists.

Mr. Bergevin: That one is only for tourists, but to answer the other senator, some reserves are very valuable pieces of land. We now pay \$70,000 a year in welfare payments to the people in Capilano, Vancouver, who are occupying property worth \$30 million.

Senator McGrand: What resources are there?

Mr. Bergevin: It is land value because of the fact that they are situated right in the City of Vancouver adjacent to Park Royal, a big shopping centre.

Senator McGrand: They want something that will give them a livelihood.

Mr. MacDonald: What we are trying to do is first of all give training, guidance and advice, and provide them possibly with funds if necessary let them use their land as a weapon or leverage in the development of a business that takes advantage of the site value, not as lessors but as principals.

The Chairman: Do you mind answering Senator Fergusson's question, then we will get back to Senator McGrand.

Mr. Bergevin: I can say right now we have about 1,000 requests from various Indian reserves for various projects to develop. We have at our disposal a \$6 million development fund. We have to wait till the new year before getting any other money, because it is all tied up. I would say we have about 1,000 requests right now for various developments. Sometimes it is tourism, sometimes agricultural development of land, a variety of forestry operation projects. About a year ago we never had any money to put into economic development. When I arrived a year ago I was given the job of the first development of the economic side of reserves; I was given some funds but they were not large enough by any means. We have started to work with the Indians to develop their land. Obviously the most promising area is that of real estate development for commercial or industrial purposes. Right now we do not have the capability in the department to help them with real estate development, but we are now getting that capability.

Senator Fergusson: Real estate development would probably mean they would have to lose their land.

Mr. Bergevin: By no means. They can keep their land just the same, having a leasing agreement with the development companies.

Senator McGrand: They get the revenue from it?

Mr. Bergevin: They get the revenue from it. We are now devising leases so that they also profit by the development on top of that; they would have a share of the profits.

The Chairman: Is that the answer to your question, Senator Fergusson?

Senator Fergusson: I think Mr. Bergevin said they have about 1,000 requests. I do not hold you to that figure, but there are a great many requests.

Mr. Bergevin: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: Is each of them evaluated by some non-government organization, or do you look into it yourself?

Mr. Bergevin: We do both. Sometimes we ask other agencies to help us.

Senator Fergusson: In the rest of these cases it was a non-government organization that did the assessing?

Mr. Bergevin: That is right.

Senator Fergusson: Are there often non-government organizations?

Mr. Bergevin: Very often.

Senator Fergusson: Or your own or other government departments?

Mr. Bergevin: We have a variety.

Senator Fergusson: In assessing the potential, who makes the decision whether they will get some help or not?

Mr. Bergevin: It comes to the office and we look at it. We try to finance everything we can from our own funds, or sometimes help them get some money from normal sources of lending institutions.

Senator McGrand: If you transfer this money for the development in North Vancouver to an Indian and say: "Here is the money. You go ahead and use it", the man will probably sit around the rest of his life and not do very much.

On page 47 of your brief:

Two hundred and fifteen Indians bands are now managing band revenues totalling, in 1969-70, approximately \$10 million. Many bands are carrying out basic community programs such as welfare, housing repairs and road construction under the Grants to Bands Program, and as of September 1969, grants issued to bands under this program totalled more than \$11,600,000.

Would you tell me what provinces this is in? It sounds very good to me.

Mr. MacDonald: We would have to get the details of the provincial break up. It is for all provinces. It is based upon the level of development and training of the band itself.

Senator McGrand: Are there any in the Maritime provinces or eastern Quebec?

Mr. Bergevin: There are, but very small.

Senator McGrand: You mentioned a while ago that a great number of Indians now go to high school and universities. What becomes of them then? Do they become integrated into the white man's society and get lost to the Indian culture? What becomes of them when they get through university? Where do they go? What do they do? I do not see any of them in the professions or in commerce.

Mr. MacDonald: You have to bear in mind that it is a lot by past standards, but not by the standard of the community as a whole.

Senator McGrand: Do they become integrated into the white man's community?

Mr. MacDonald: It depends what you mean by "integrated". "Participate" is the word we like. There are people like Gilbert Monture, who is now over 70 years old and has been one of our big scientists for years. Some have gone back to work in Indian associations; others have gone into the professions; some like Currie are teachers or principals or vice-principals of high schools. There is a variety of experts who have come into our department.

Senator McGrand: Do they want to participate in the white man's community and forget the Indian culture or do they want to retain the Indian culture and take it with them into white man's world?

Mr. MacDonald: The first problem is when you use the word "they" as if there was one point of view. It is like asking what Quebec wants, what Canadians want, or what Canada is. There is no Indian problem in the singular. There is no Indian historically. There are Maritime Indians, Central Plains Indians, West Coast Indians and Northern Indians. We have witnessed many points of view. There are some Indians who have assimilated, if you like, in the full sense of that word. There are others who participate but remain Indians. There are others who have gone back to the reserves, others who remain in the reserves.

Of the total population of something of the order of 500,000 of Indian ancestry, some 230,000 are registered Indians and about half still live on the reserves; the others live off the reserves. Thus half the Indian population now lives off the reserves. Some have moved as far south as New York State where traditionally they have certain pursuits. We find a great revival of interest in Indian culture, and our department has tried to support this through a variety of means.

Senator McGrand: I am going to ask a hypothetical question, and it will be my last. As you listen to Cardinal and a few others you get the impression that the Indian does not want to belong to the white man's culture; that he wants to reject it and return to his own way of life, and his own original religion and culture. I do not know whether that is the hard core of it, but is it possible for those Indians to remain that way? If they have the resources on the reserve can they stay there, develop their own Indian culture, their written language and literature, and administer the by-laws or the laws of the reserve, and develop a way of life not unlike that of the Hutterites? Is that possible?

Mr. MacDonald: In a free society anything is possible, depending upon what price you want to pay for it. Kahn Tinteta Horn and the long-house are hard liners. The long-house view is that they are still a separate nation in treaty with the British nation. They tend to be much like any other human being. They have cultural feelings that are probably the same as those that I have about the Scottish highlands.

I have discovered that the Indian people have the same range of feelings, depending on their age and circumstances. Obviously, the 200,000 who are living in urban and other areas today are living in the twentieth century society which Canada reflects, for better or for ill. The possibility of going back to a pure non-materialistic culture is a wishful dream. You have to respect some of the older Indians, such as the chief in Alberta who took his people away from the evils of alcohol. Remember, the conscience of Canadian society is affected by the contrast between the material condition of Indian people today and that of a very affluent society, and not by the contrast between their present condition and what it was before the white man arrived. By any standard, they are better off in that limited kind of analysis. The argument is that you cannot possibly make a contrast between

these societies. Somehow, we feel that the Indian people must work to keep their own culture, and be supported and respected in it. In Canada we have not the melting pot philosophy in which everybody has to be the same. That adds flavour to our life, but at the same time we must help them to participate economically, socially and politically.

Senator McGrand: In respect to bringing the Indians into the white man's culture, are you making more progress with those off the reserves? That is the objective that you have in mind, and that is why I ask the question.

Mr. MacDonald: It would be a mistake to think that the people off the reserves are home free. They experience the same traumatic problems, let us say, that the new immigrants arriving from Europe suffered when they got into the large cities of Canada and the United States. It took them a long time before they were comfortable in this society, because of discrimination, and their not being familiar with the customs. Obviously, at the middle class level they have become well established, and quite as successful as anybody else. They are highly skilled and intelligent people.

Senator Fergusson: First, I should like to thank Mr. MacDonald and the other members of his department who have prepared this wonderful presentation. My only regret is that I have not had sufficient time in which to become familiar with it. I might say that I got up at 5 o'clock this morning to continue my study, and I did not take a very long breakfast either. I have found a number of things about which I would like to ask some questions, and perhaps some of them were covered by previous questions.

One of the things that I would like to say is that for a hundred years we have made the Indians dependent through our paternalistic attitude. Even if we give them the education, which you, Mr. MacDonald, apparently think is a basic requirement, after over a hundred years of dependency can we hope, within any reasonable time, to be able to make them competent leaders amongst their own people?

Mr. MacDonald: Senator, it is quite evident that there are a number of competent leaders in the Indian community now.

Senator Fergusson: There are some, but we hear only about the few who are. There is not a great proportion of them that are.

Mr. MacDonald: As a matter of fact, it is particularly those that you do not hear about who are the most competent. The 210 bands who are managing their own affairs are being managed by people whom I am sure you would be delighted to meet and talk to. They are the people who are not out issuing statements, but who are back home running the affairs of the bands and achieving the real thing of teaching their own people. The root problem in the Indian community has been the lack of local government—the basic training ground for self-responsibility. It has unfortunately been associated with taxes, loss of land, and all of the psychological and emotional fears of the Indian, and has caused this atmosphere of suspicion. This lack of local government has been, in my personal judgment, the greatest penalty. The leaders I refer to are the ones who are working on the Grants to Bands Program which is really nothing more than a statement on our part. Instead of spending the money as we used to spend it on such things as roads and welfare, we now hand it over to the elected band council. They become as a municipality, and this becomes a first step.

Senator Fergusson: Are they willing to accept this?

Mr. MacDonald: Very much so, and they administer it remarkably well too.

Senator Fergusson: I come from the Maritimes, and I have not seen too much of this.

Mr. MacDonald: There are various stages of progress.

Senator Fergusson: I had a supplementary, question on Vancouver, but I certainly accept what you say, and I am very happy to know it. Perhaps if I had studied your brief a little more thoroughly I would have realized this without having to ask you.

I was impressed by the methods which the department is using to bring all the staff from the highest officials to the lowest to an acceptance and understanding of the new federal Government policy. I hope that with all these conferences and seminars that the new policy is being received sympathetically by all the departments.

Mr. MacDonald: Absolutely, senator. One of the things we discovered is that the people who have worked the longest in this field are ones who believe most fervently in the new policy.

Senator Fergusson: This is what I found in the people I met myself, as I quite realize, but from my reading of the brief it seems to me that these people will perhaps not be dealing with Indians for many years. Is there some reference to five years for its being phased out?

Mr. MacDonald: That was the intention, senator, but difficulties arise in regard to maintenance and when a department is committing hara-kiri, it is very difficult to know. I cannot say precisely whether it would be five years but we are hoping that, if as and when the province assumes responsibility it will also want to get all the good people we have built up—because it will need them.

Senator Fergusson: This is my point. I wondered how it would be done. In pages 147 to 148 of the brief, I came across the things you planned to do, and that you proposed to negotiate with the provinces.

Mr. MacDonald: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: In regard to the new agreements regarding Indian people and the plans, you say on page 148 that "at the same time the Government proposes to transfer all remaining federal responsibilities for Indians from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to other departments, including the Departments of Regional Economic Expansion, Secretary of State, and Manpower and Immigration." Obviously, you considered it was necessary to have this training period in your own department, there must have been need of them or you would not have done it. What about the people in the other departments? Are they going to be trained in the same way and then turned over to them or will they continue with the attitude they used to have?

Mr. MacDonald: We are doing that.

Senator Fergusson: Are the provinces going to take them over? You cannot dictate to them.

Mr. MacDonald: No, but certainly we can try to persuade. This has become such a matter of public discussion, that the ability to communicate has become greatly enhanced. There is a time and tide in all events, and this is all good policy, because we think it is a very good time. The provinces realize that with the great emigration rate from the reserves they have to cope with the problem

They have quite difficult problems and they are very responsible to what we have to say.

One of the points of the policy is that it has to deal with various groups. There are not only registered Indians, but there are non-registered Indians and there are metis. These are all coming under the responsibility of the province. They are living in the same regions as Indians and they are quite frequently intermixed. The provinces have not got the capacity to cope with that problem. Our existing staffs would be of tremendous value in linking up with the provinces including such things as our capital plan, and everything. So if we have an agreement with a province we would hope that we will be transferring both the people and the responsibilities in the respective departments, so that there will be continuity. We are doing the same thing now through a liaison committee within the Government departments, with all the Government departments involved—Regional Economic Expansion are coming to look at our staff. We are working, through Mr. Bergevin, with the Department of the Secretary of State in another committee to organize and control some kind of joint plan so that there will be continuity, and we hope that the staff will go, too.

Senator Fergusson: You feel that the provinces, for instance, will continue with this consultation and negotiation that you refer to?

Mr. MacDonald: I think so. I think that today this is the way democracy works, and this has to happen.

Senator Carter: Are you saying the department will disappear—the Department of Indian Affairs?

Mr. MacDonald: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: This is what I gather.

Senator Carter: And the personnel will be distributed among various other departments?

Mr. MacDonald: It is part of the thinking that the very existence of a separate department of "Indian Affairs" is in itself something in the form of discrimination. Our own department recommended that it be abolished.

Mr. Bergevin: I would like to point out that yesterday I was with the Prime Minister attending a conference with Premier Schryer of Manitoba and he was expressing views on our policy and said he was in complete agree-

ment with the whole thing and it is a question of financial contribution from the federal Government. As to the principle of their working with the Indians and consulting, there does not seem to be any problem.

Senator Carter: When you say "they" do you mean with the provinces?

Mr. Bergevin: With the province.

Mr. MacDonald: In all discussions with the provinces it will be a case of gaining the confidence of the people. It is government by the consent of the governed.

Senator Fergusson: I presumed you would have some consultation with the Indians on this?

Mr. Bergevin: Yes, the whole process.

Senator Fergusson: Are they generally in favour of this?

Mr. MacDonald: No, we used the term "they". There are some who are not and some who are and this has meant discussions and negotiations. It may take time, it may take years. You have to persuade. You have to show there is no valid alternative.

The only alternative would be a continuance of the present system, which is nothing less than apartheid, which is something we criticize in other countries. The fact that this is going on gives an attitude which does not help, when they say it is apartheid. So we think there should be a powerful attack on this that it is one in which we have to deal with people's minds. I find this is a good thing. We have had senior men on this and we are having discussions now with Indian groups, and with provinces, and with the provinces and the Indians together. We have this kind of tripartite meeting and this will continue and will involve painstaking discussion.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you very much. I have some other questions, but I wish to allow other senators to speak.

Senator Quart: About Vancouver, I did hear a little discussion which came up in regard to the Squamish Indians out there. It was something to do with a large industrial corporation which approached them to sell.

Mr. Bergevin: They approached them to develop that, and after that the Indians would have had in their land the equity, and there

would be formed a company. So we are advising them now not to do this.

Senator Quart: I understand that your department engaged some firm—I forget the name—to make a survey in order to give the Indians the benefit of any survey that your department could make. I understand you engaged somebody to do this.

Mr. Bergevin: Are you speaking still about Squamish?

Senator Quart: Yes.

Mr. Bergevin: The Squamish survey was done and paid for by the man they hired.

Senator Quart: And your department did not do it?

Mr. Bergevin: No. They showed us the report and then they had their own advisor. I brought in, in that case, a specialist from Montreal, on a consultant basis, to sit down with them and advise them otherwise. I think we are really communicating well with them, and I am very hopeful.

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Bergevin is being very modest about it.

Senator Quart: The report of that survey has not been finished yet, I understand?

Mr. Bergevin: One survey was done and we had a report. We criticized that report and we analyzed it with them, and we suggested another line of approach and we met with the band and the potential developers.

Senator Quart: It is not over yet. This is what I was told.

Mr. Bergevin: There is great hope, in terms of developing the land in a way that will help them.

Senator Quart: I think that was an excellent thing for the department to do, even to engage some firm, to protect the Indians.

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Bergevin is a little modest. It was all on his own initiative, that he brought some skilled person from Montreal who had had a lot of experience, which I think the band may get, because of this insight.

Mr. Bergevin: They are also working with us. There are seven cases in British Columbia.

Senator Quart: I think that was very good. May I ask just another question, being inter-

ested particularly in the Province of Quebec? Someone mentioned about the case of the Caughnawagas, that they seemed to be developing very well with the tourist trade, although it is a little funny...

Mr. MacDonald: You are talking about potentially rich thing?

Senator MacDonald: \$400 million worth.

Senator Quart: They really play up the tourist attraction. It may be a little overdone?

Mr. Bergevin: It is a bit overdone, but I think it has a big potential. One we are discussing with them is the development of an industrial project there, in the Caughnawaga area and right along the St. Lawrence seaway. We are looking for a legal formula to develop it now, and I think we are getting close to it, and I am hopeful.

Senator Quart: Regarding the museum and the old Tadoussac hotel, which I thought were very good, what has become of them now? What has become of the Saguenay cruise and the rest of it? Does that still exist, because it was really wonderful? It was really worthwhile.

Mr. Bergevin: I don't know. I will look that up, because I know the place very well and you are right.

Mr. MacDonald: The Quebec government is involved in that.

Senator Quart: It would be rather a pity if all the old war weapons that used to be there have disappeared. Something should be done to preserve them.

Alansis O'Bomsawan of Pierreville, who I think has a T.V. program in Montreal, also is very keen on preserving the Indian songs and culture. A few years ago she came to Ottawa where she met Marius Barbeau. He helped her along, as well as others, and from there she went to New York where she was well received. Then, at Pierreville, where her Indian people are, the Abenaki, they were planning to have a museum and the reason I thought of Tadoussac was that if it were just going to be let go to seed, so to speak, perhaps it could be tied in with a project of the sort they have in mind in Pierreville.

Now, with respect to preserving Indian culture, it occurred to me that perhaps the Canada Council, since it gives all sorts of grants to others, might do something for them.

Alansis O'Bomsawan has not spoken to me at all, but I know that she has her own program in Montreal, I think it is T.V., and she runs some sort of business for the "preservation of the scalp", which perhaps is rather ironical for an Indian to be involved in.

Mr. Bergevin: We are making efforts with respect to the cultural side now. We are organizing a cross-country conference on cultural affairs for Indians, to be attended by Indians, of course, involved in culture, which is to take place next March. We want to have their guidance on how we should develop some kind of program for the preservation of their culture. We are doing that for Indians and Eskimos some time in March.

Senator Quart: I have great interest in the Huron tribe in Loretteville.

Mr. Bergevin: They are very advanced.

Senator Quart: They have Indians there who have gone into industry and who have helped them out tremendously.

Mr. Bergevin: Yes, they are doing very well. They run their own show. They have their own housing program and their own welfare program. They have become more industrialized than any of the others.

Senator Quart: The Indians of the Huron tribe have always been well accepted, I might say. It is not at all like the situation in Manitoba.

That is all I have to say, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: In so far as the provincial services are concerned, what means have you taken to make sure that a province is able to provide services equal to that which the Dominion has been able to provide?

Mr. MacDonald: This will form part of the discussions and negotiations with each province, senator. If we have agreement in principle from a province that it is prepared to accept the federal Government's offer to hand over, in effect the money we are now spending on Indians over a period of time, then we will get to the nitty-gritty of detailing the programs they and we have, and we will see that, if any, deficiencies there are present and we will see what programs will be involved at the same time and take it from there.

In most cases the provincial programs are really superior to anything we can mount. For example, the programs they have going

in welfare and education, especially, are classic, and compared to them ours is at best a half measure.

The Chairman: You mean the federal is at best a half measure.

Mr. MacDonald: Yes. We could not match their educational system or welfare system. So in every case theirs will be superior. In economic development it will be better, too, we hope, because no longer will it be fragmented in approach. For example, we are looking toward the reserve Indian, because he is the registered Indian. But the problems of the Metis and non-registered Indian are provincial, because they are regional, not reserve. So the proper approach is that of the Department of Economic and Regional Expansion to look at this as a regional development area. Our attitude is that to expedite matters the funds should be channeled that way.

The Chairman: This is the first time I have heard the word Metis today. The Metis, of course, are a very serious problem. Am I to understand that when you speak of Indians you include the Metis?

Mr. MacDonald: This is one of the things the Government's new policy is designed to cope with. This is becoming an increasing problem. If there is such a thing as federal responsibility, it is "in registered Indians". This is increasingly a false division as we go over the years. There are non-registered Indians; there are Metis; and in the same regions there are non-Indians—white people—in equally distressed economic circumstances.

The Chairman: You said that almost half the Indians live off the reserve. What do you do to make sure that these people are adequately protected, particularly against discrimination and other abuse?

Mr. MacDonald: Basically, one has to rely on the provincial laws when they are off the reserve, because they have moved into the main stream of things. The federal responsibility is for registered Indians living on the reserve, and the federal program is directed toward that. We recognize that as the Indians move from the reserves to urban localities, there is created a new set of social problems to be coped with, and this again reinforces the Government's desire to see the problem attacked provincially, because these are areas that are four-square within their jurisdiction.

Questions of urban development and social programs within the community would form areas where the federal Government would be making a major incursion of a very abnormal sort if it were to do what it thought was necessary and were to follow the Indian into the urban area in the way it thinks it ought to be done: total counselling.

The Chairman: There is more than that. Under our Bill of Rights, which is a federal statute, there are certain obligations.

Mr. MacDonald: But in that area, for example, it is the administration of justice. Under the federal system it is the province which has the administration of justice and some of them, of course, have their own codes of human rights and that sort of thing.

The Chairman: You have made much this morning, and with considerable effect upon the committee, of the fact that you were moving from paternalism. But a charge has been levelled against you that you are moving from paternalism to abandonment.

Mr. MacDonald: I recognize the fact that this interpretation has been placed upon our actions. We believe that it is totally incorrect, however, it is far from being abandonment. What the federal Government has said is that it believes that in a federal society the provincial level of government is the level of government that effectively operates in the social or remedial area. For a federal government to set up a mirror image of the privileged for one group of people, however well-intentioned, is self-defeating.

The best path for the Indians, not in terms of just five years but in terms of probably generations, the most effective path is to bring this together under the aegis of the provincial government which is dealing with the same problems for the rest of the population; and this kind of integration must go forward and discrimination must cease. But we are not abandoning. The Government is saying, I think, that the Indian people in a given province have a legal and moral claim on their provincial government as much as any other citizen in that province. But rather than have any arguments, the federal Government has said "we will take all the money being spent on Indian Affairs and Northern Development in the various provinces and give it to the provinces" and the provinces for their part simply agree to do what is required for the Indians in the province to give them

the same advantages as other citizens in the province. That is not an abandonment; that is simply a decision, and I might add that it is a very rare situation where you find one government admitting that another government can probably do a certain job better.

The Chairman: That is all very well, but we who have been in Parliament for a long time have had a great deal of experience in this area. And we have seen money being handed over to provincial governments on condition that they shall do this and that, but then they go ahead and do something else that suits their own purpose. I can give you a dozen examples of that, and I have no doubt you know them as well as I do. Where is there a follow-up to see that they do not, for example, build bridges with the money?

Mr. MacDonald: The follow-up is in the agreement itself. The federal Government intends that it shall be an agreement that shall be adhered to. And this will be watched. I am not saying it will be watched for specific details in terms of a dollar here and a dollar there, but in the broad sense it will be watched to see that appropriate services are provided to Indians for perhaps a generation or more.

The Chairman: Yes, but what happens if they don't do it?

Mr. MacDonald: Well, if they just don't do it, then the agreement is such that the money simply will not be paid.

Senator Fergusson: And where will the Indians be then?

The Chairman: Yes, that is the question. Where will the Indians be then? I am going to mention as an example something that is closer to home. Take the Canada Assistance Act, a first-class piece of legislation in my view, under which a responsibility is placed upon the provinces to do something. Nevertheless at the present time the remedial measures for people on welfare are most unevenly administered. It is perhaps the most unevenly administered act in the history of this country as between the various provinces.

Mr. F. J. Neville, Assistant Director, Community Affairs Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: Mr. Chairman, I have some knowledge of this. I think should say first of all that the federal Government has taken a decision in this matter

This is a new act and the federal Government has taken the position that it is going to ensure that the provinces will be able to comply with all the regulations and all the requirements associated with that act. For example, the provinces have been asked to set up a certain kind of statistical system to return information to the Government of Canada through which the federal Government would be able to determine if the monies provided under the act are in fact going to meet welfare needs. This has taken time, but it is falling into place now. It always does take a little time to put these things into effect.

The Chairman: That may well be, but we have found in our investigations that allowing for differentials in cost of living and various other regional differentials, that the basic allowances of food, clothing and shelter for a man in the western provinces are so much better than for a man in the Maritimes, and yet the federal Government is making the contributions. Are we going to do the same thing where the Indians are concerned?

Mr. MacDonald: Well, Mr. Chairman, this gets to the root of the whole federal system. The provinces in their own territories are the effective governments in terms of social remedies. To take one example, and this is the pride of my own former department, we have suggested that education, welfare, regional economic development are matters peculiarly related to the provinces and that we should be in a position to help them to do these things better. I would further add that the Indians have now become a highly organized and articulate group in looking after their own interests. We feel that from here on in they will be far more operative in the provinces than they have been in the past. I should add that we have provided them with grants to help them organize and to assist them in various ways. Henceforth they will not be operating as a disorganized mass but as a well-organized group.

The Chairman: They are becoming activists?

Mr. MacDonald: They are becoming activists. However, this policy might not have been a good policy ten years ago but today we have the ingredients; we have given the provinces, the money, the experience and where necessary the people, plus of course the fact that Indians are far better able to look after themselves now than they were ten years ago.

The Chairman: I agree with you in that but I do know that what bothers the Indians is the fact that they are being put into new hands without a guarantee of a follow-up; they are being left on their own with the provinces and they have to make their own way. But where is there any room for pressure or influence on the part of the federal Government?

Mr. MacDonald: It will come from the same place as it is presently coming to the federal Government. First of all it will come from the Indians themselves and secondly it will come from the conscience of society. However, our constitution says that certain matters fall within the scope of the provinces such as higher education and medicare. That is where we say "here is the money; you go and build up the facilities." However, we recognize that that is not all that is required.

The Chairman: No, it is not. They will also require constant care and supervision and interest, not for five years or twenty years, and maybe more.

Mr. MacDonald: Under the formula we are talking about it may well be twenty-five years and even thirty years. If this policy is not acceptable what would follow is that we should set up our own higher educational system for Indians. That is what this policy is all about. Of course, we have been running our own educational system...

The Chairman: Which has not always been very good.

Mr. MacDonald: Which has in fact been lousy, to call a spade a spade. The same thing is true about welfare and the same thing is true about regional economic development. So, when we have said that, what else is there to say?

The Chairman: What we are talking about is making sure that these things are delivered.

Mr. MacDonald: I think the educational system in the provinces runs on its own steam and the welfare system also runs on its own steam. What we are saying is this; "for God's sake, when an Indian or indigent comes to you for assistance, don't turn him away from the welfare door because he is an Indian." That is what is happening today. "Don't say that because an Indian child seeks education he has a price on his head. Don't turn an individual away because he is Metis or a

non-registered Indian." But this is a regional problem.

The Chairman: These speeches should have been made more often and not just before this committee.

Senator McGrand: Just while we are on this question, I might say I agree with you that an Indian on a reserve in New Brunswick, from now on, will not be an Indian but another New Brunswicker.

Mr. MacDonald: He could be both.

Senator McGrand: Well, he will be an Indian, just the same as he could be anything else, but he will feel that he has all the rights of a New Brunswicker.

Mr. MacDonald: With the positive legal status of an Indian and a citizen of New Brunswick. We say that because of that little line in the British North America Act which refers to the federal Government's exclusive right to legislate with respect to Indians and lands, that does not strip the Indian of his rights as a citizen of this country.

Senator Carter: I think what Senator McGrand and Senator Croll were trying to get at is this, that the ordinary citizen of New Brunswick and Newfoundland does not fare as well as the ordinary citizen of Ontario or British Columbia, but here you have a responsibility for Indians, that they should be the same everywhere.

Mr. MacDonald: I do not think that is true at all, senator. I do not think you will find that in the constitution or anywhere else.

The Chairman: What is not true?

Mr. MacDonald: That the federal Government has responsibility to see that the Indian in Nova Scotia or Newfoundland has the same standard of living as in British Columbia.

The Chairman: No...

Mr. MacDonald: I think that is what he said.

The Chairman: What he said was that the citizen of Newfoundland—and never mind the Indian part of it, but the citizen of Newfoundland and New Brunswick does not enjoy the same standard as the citizen of Alberta, British Columbia or Ontario.

Mr. MacDonald: Right.

The Chairman: What we are fearful about and what we are saying to you is, how can you take out of the mind of the Indian the thought that this will happen to him when he comes over and becomes a full Canadian?

Mr. MacDonald: I think that right now the condition of the Indian in Nova Scotia relative to the non-Indian of Nova Scotia, and of the Indian of British Columbia relative to the non-Indian of British Columbia, and to each other, is the pattern across the country. The economic condition of the Indian in the Maritimes is far less satisfactory in human terms than that of the Indian in British Columbia, but we are not changing that.

Senator McGrand: This is what I want to make a point on. Reference was made a while ago to some of the wealthier reserves. I understand the wealth of the Caughnawaga Reserve is put at \$400 million.

Mr. MacDonald: People have estimated it at that figure.

Senator McGrand: In New Brunswick we have about ten little reserves and they run from 20 to 50 families. I do not suppose the resources of any of those reserves would amount to more than a few thousand dollars.

Mr. MacDonald: Right.

Senator McGrand: The Indians who live on those reserves are the people who do a day's work here and a day's work there; they go over into Maine and pick potatoes, and they pick fiddleheads in the spring. They are casual labourers and they have no resource on their reserve. I just do not know whether the Province of New Brunswick is going to be able to give the people on these reserves perhaps as much as they have had in the past but if you say that the money the federal Government is spending now on the Indians will be turned over to the province and that the trained personnel now working with the federal Government will be provincial employees, I want to know how many and how well trained people we have in Indian Affairs who will be working in New Brunswick. I do not know who they are.

Mr. MacDonald: I do not have the figures.

Mr. Bergevin: It is very difficult to say.

Mr. MacDonald: This is in our Atlantic office.

Senator McGrand: Where is it?

Mr. MacDonald: In Amherst. We could see this as a natural and desirable result in the provinces willing to take some of our good people who were willing to transfer. With regard to the little reserves here and there, the federal Government cannot do a thing economically for little patches like that. These are more properly regional economic problems, and I suspect that the economic condition of people in those reserves is not markedly different from the condition of people off the reserves who are non-Indian.

Senator Fergusson: Yes.

Mr. MacDonald: It tends to be an aggravation of the classical rural problem, aggravated by lack of mobility. It has to be tackled by the individual province along with the Department of Regional and Economic Expansion—just as they are doing in Gaspé and certain other areas—as a total economic and social problem. As you pointed out, the actual economic resources there are very little.

The Chairman: There are two things we have not taken on, education and social welfare.

Senator Carter: On education,...

The Chairman: Perhaps you would deal with welfare first.

Mr. Bergevin: We are bringing someone on education.

Senator Carter: With regard to statutory obligations, is your statutory obligation to the Indian in Nova Scotia less than your statutory obligation to the Indian in Vancouver?

Mr. MacDonald: There is no statutory obligation I know of.

Senator Carter: In your last sentence before we started on questions you mentioned statutory obligation, in reply to Senator McGrand.

Mr. MacDonald: I spoke of statutory limitations, the statutory limitations flowing from the Indian Act and the description of the Indian and where we go. There are no statutory obligations; there are treaty obligations, but they do not affect all Indians. This is one of the difficulties with the treaty approach, that only some groups have treaties, and the treaty obligations themselves are in dispute.

Senator Carter: Do these obligations permit a difference of services as between one group and another?

Mr. MacDonald: Yes, simply because the level of services now being talked about bears so little resemblance to what was described back in 1870 or in 1890. Where a medicine chest is referred to, is this Medicare? Some of the treaties refer to a teacher on the reserve. Is this the full-blown provincial education system and university education? So, it is hard to relate them.

Senator Carter: Your treaty obligations to groups, do they apply to people who are off reserves as well as the people on reserves?

Mr. C. I. Fairholm, Senior Policy Advisor, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: For some purposes, yes. There are certain provisions in some treaties which would apply to a person because he is an Indian of that particular treaty, irrespective of where he actually lives. This has to do with annuities and things of that nature.

Mr. MacDonald: The \$5.

The Chairman: Can we get to the welfare aspects?

Senator Fergusson: I would like to ask about the field of child welfare and what you plan to do. I know there are some provinces where there are agreements and the provincial government serves the Indians. How many provinces have this arrangement?

Mr. Neville: We have agreements with several provinces—with Ontario, Manitoba, British Columbia. Perhaps I could just check. We have no agreement with Nova Scotia. We have an agreement also with the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. We have agreements with the Province of Quebec. I am not sure if we have one with Saskatchewan.

Senator Fergusson: Do you have one with New Brunswick?

Mr. Neville: No, we do not have one with New Brunswick either.

Senator Fergusson: There is some arrangement—I think it is in connection with family allowances—whereby they pay the child welfare.

Mr. Neville: As far as child welfare services are concerned, we as a department have limited jurisdiction. We cannot administer the child welfare statutes in any of the provinces.

Senator Fergusson: What about such matters as adoption?

Mr. Neville: We have to turn to the provinces to provide certain of those services. Some of them, such as the matter of adoption, they provide automatically. Others are carried on through agreements between our department and the provincial government or private agencies working on behalf of the provincial government. In most areas of the country our staff provide certain child welfare services, such as non-ward care, which we can carry out without reference to legislation. We can refer the case of a neglected child to the provincial child welfare authorities, who investigate it and attend to it. In other cases we reach voluntary agreements with the parents, who let us place their children without having to go to court. While there are these different arrangements that we can make in the provinces, basically we would like to see the provinces take over the entire field, again because we lack jurisdiction.

Senator Fergusson: In the light of your experience, do you feel that the Indian children are getting better treatment in those provinces with which you have agreements?

Mr. Neville: Certainly. The answer to that is yes. Because the welfare field is traditionally a provincial responsibility there are certain things that we could not do today even if we had all the staff necessary because we do not have jurisdiction. Therefore we can never develop a complete service that is as good as the provincial one.

Senator Quart: What about the other end of the life span? What do you do for aged Indians beyond old age security?

Mr. Neville: We have what we admit is a homely program. We have provision for basic physical care for Indian people both outside and inside their homes and in institutions, depending upon the type of care needed. But we have not yet developed good enough case-finding techniques to discover all cases that need attention. We attempt to have community organizations in adjacent communities become involved in this field. In other words, generally we fall short on the non-physical-care side of the program,—such as the involvement of old people in community activities, and, conversely, the involvement of communities in providing services to elderly people.

Senator Quart: We all know that non-Indian people are not given so much to taking

their elderly family members into their homes and we have to supply some other place for them to be looked after. This is partly because houses are much smaller today. Do the Indians have the same attitude toward their older people, or are they more apt to keep them in their own homes and look after them when they become old?

Mr. Neville: It is very difficult to generalize about any of these matters because Indians in one part of the country tend to be very different from those in other parts. We have found generally that the attitude of Indian people is not significantly different from that of non-Indian people as far as looking after their aged members is concerned. In the past there has not been sufficient housing on the reserves to provide the kind of care we would like to see for elderly people. There has been a certain pressure on families in communities to find some other place for elderly people to live.

Senator Quart: Are there many elderly Indians admitted to white homes for old people?

Mr. Neville: No, for a variety of reasons which are pretty much the same as for elderly people in non-Indian societies. They do not want to go far away. We have a problem concerning institutional care because many of these reserves are very small with perhaps 50, 100 or 200 people. Elaborate institutions cannot be set up in very small communities. There has been a reluctance on the part of elderly people to move away from the reserves with which they are familiar. Some of the larger Indian communities, such as Caughnawaga and others, have developed an interest in operating paramedical or day care institutions for elderly people. They have to relate to the provinces in the same way as we do, because the provincial governments license such homes. We encourage this.

Senator Quart: I know that the Indians who served in the armed forces during the war are admitted to DVA hospitals, because I have seen them.

Mr. Neville: Yes. I thought Senator Fergusson was referring mainly to homes for the aged.

Senator Fergusson: Yes I was.

Mr. Neville: Generally, as with other groups, they prefer to remain close to their home territory.

The Chairman: Whether the Indian lives on or off his reserve makes no difference to his receipt of old age security and family allowance. When he lives in a city or town he is part of the general population and receives welfare as others do. What welfare does he receive on the reserve?

Mr. Neville: The policy of the department in respect of welfare or social assistance is to adopt the policies, regulations and procedures of the provinces in which Indians live. If you have an Indian group on a reserve in Manitoba and some among that group are in need of social assistance, the rates of assistance paid and the regulations and procedures followed will be essentially those followed by the Province of Manitoba. That does not always mean, of course, that the dollars he gets on the reserve are exactly equivalent to the dollars he gets in the city, because on the reserve he probably has a home and we do not pay rent for his own home.

The Chairman: You do not pay it in Winnipeg.

Mr. Neville: We would pay rent in the city.

The Chairman: If he has his own home you will not give him any rent in Winnipeg.

Mr. Neville: Let us put it this way. If he is off the reserve and in the city and is found in need in the city, having no place to live, there is provision for the payment of rent.

The Chairman: But that is normal for all other Canadians.

Mr. Neville: Certainly.

The Chairman: We are not talking about them for the moment. We are on the reserve now and talking about an Indian on the reserve. You said that for all purposes you adopt the standard of the province.

Mr. Neville: That is right.

The Chairman: You did not stop. Then you said "but". Now, what are the "buts"?

Mr. Neville: Just one "but", because we get questions about this from time to time. The one "but" is that circumstances on the reserve are bound to be different from those in the city, and therefore the dollars are not always the same. For example, on the reserve an Indian who may be in need of social assistance may have a house, so we do not pay him rent for his own house; the cheque he gets

will not be the same as it would be off the reserve.

Mr. MacDonald: It would have the same result if the same conditions were found in the rest of Manitoba. The real answer is that our system is a mirror image of the provincial system.

The Chairman: The committee is delighted to hear that. You are sure of that?

Mr. MacDonald: Oh, that is a fact. Not only that, but it is automatic. As the rate goes up, our costs go up. It has created one of our budgetary problems. On the welfare and education side we are so much tied to the provincial education charges, the municipal education charges and regional education charges, and with changes in welfare payments we have had real difficulties. Because of the operation of our budget we have had to adopt a policy automatically to reflect this.

Mr. Bergevin: This has affected our budget in terms of economic development. At the end of the year we are short of money and have to cover welfare payments.

Mr. MacDonald: These are "must" payments.

Mr. Bergevin: Not having any money, we have to take it from the development side. This is, as Mr. MacDonald said, a budgetary problem.

Mr. MacDonald: This is our departmental budget. The answer to the question is that it is a mirror image and it is working.

Senator Carter: I have two questions on the tables on page 101 and the following pages. On page 101 under the column "Employable Adults Assisted," in 1964 you have 9,653; in 1969, five years later, it is up to 13,603, almost a 50 per cent increase, whereas for the normal population at a 3 per cent increase it would be about 15 per cent. The same percentage holds good for heads of households assisted. How do you explain that?

Mr. MacDonald: Two factors enter into it in any of these cases. There is the absolute growth of the population...

Senator Carter: That is only 15 per cent as against 50 per cent here.

Mr. MacDonald: The other factor is reflected in the economic circumstances. The welfare bill has gone up and is a cause of great concern. That is why we try to emphasize

more in the way of adult education and training and other measures. This is reflected in other areas. Bear in mind that these are frequently geographically distributed so as to bear the greatest economic impact in the country. Several arguments flow from this. The rate of unemployment in the country as a whole is up. It is characteristic of disadvantaged groups such as this, particularly here with this geographic scatter, they feel the bite even more. There are two factors: more unemployment in the area on which they rely, and lack of opportunities on which they normally would rely.

Senator Carter: You see, compared with 1964 the last two years have been fairly prosperous, but in spite of that prosperity in the country as a whole more Indians have needed assistance.

Mr. MacDonald: There has been a rising rate of unemployment.

Mr. Neville: Another factor is that in 1965 the policy I mentioned earlier was adopted, namely to adopt the provincial rates of assistance and procedures. From that point on more people have come onto the case load because of the application of those different procedures.

The Chairman: You mean different qualifications?

Mr. Neville: Eligibility requirements.

The Chairman: They were tighter?

Mr. Neville: Tighter? I do not know how to answer that. They were different requirements for eligibility. Certainly the provincial requirements are more open, or were more open than under our previous policy.

Senator Carter: On page 104 the last column shows the frequency of assistance. For the Maritimes, which is the poorest part of Canada, in 1969 it was 56.3 per cent, compared with 48.9 per cent in the previous year, which is fairly consistent. However, in Alberta in 1969 it was 41.0 per cent, compared with 17.6 per cent in the previous year. There are two question marks there. Why this sudden jump in Alberta from 1968 to 1969? Why should there be such a tremendous spurt in Alberta?

Mr. MacDonald: I would be a little worried about that figure myself. I think we have to look at it, because I do not believe those two

figures. I cannot see that there is that much difference. We will check that table.

Senator Carter: There is something wrong with the figures?

Mr. MacDonald: Those figures seem to be too extreme.

The Chairman: I think I know the answer, but I am afraid to give it to you, now.

Mr. MacDonald: We will give you an explanation in any event.

Senator Carter: Before we leave this question of welfare, generally your stated objective is to get Indians into the mainstream of Canadian life as much as possible.

Mr. MacDonald: We expect to get them into a full economic, social, and political participation in Canadian life. Whether it is on the reserve or off is neither here nor there.

The Chairman: You have got 237,000 Indians now. That is the figure quoted in your book. Does that include Metis?

Mr. MacDonald: No, the Metis do not come within the scope of the Indian Act.

Senator Carter: Are there about 10,000?

Mr. Fairholm: There is no real number available, but I think in the three Prairie Provinces they are roughly equal to the Indian population. However, in other places 200,000 Metis?

Senator Carter: You mean there are over in Canada there is no real estimate.

Mr. Fairholm: In the Prairie Provinces they are about equal to the Indian population.

The Chairman: What is the Indian population in the Prairie Provinces?

Mr. Fairholm: Forty per cent of the total.

The Chairman: There would be 100,000 Metis?

Senator Carter: These are to fend for themselves?

Mr. MacDonald: They are citizens of a province, and they fend as well as any other citizens.

Senator Carter: They belong in this group. We are talking about poverty now. They are citizens, and a particular group of citizens.

Their poverty conditions are just the same as the Indians' and the Eskimos'.

Mr. MacDonald: They are just as disadvantaged as the registered or non-registered Indians and other non-Indian white people who are poor.

Senator Carter: We are attaching special conditions to Indians and Eskimos which does not apply to others. The Indians have been isolated on reserves with separate cultures, and the Eskimos have been isolated by geography. The same two conditions apply to the Metis.

Mr. MacDonald: They are not on reserves.

Senator Carter: The same conditions generally apply.

Mr. MacDonald: I think our analysis was not one of responsibility, but one of the capability of programs to have them so readily delineated. As I tried to indicate earlier, this was one of the motivating forces behind the new Indian policy...

Senator McGrand: The Metis, as a rule, speaks the Indian language?

Mr. MacDonald: Yes, I think so.

Senator Carter: He has his own culture, the same as the Indian. Just because we do not have any statutory obligation, such as treaties, we are ignoring them as a group.

Mr. MacDonald: Who are "we"?

Senator Carter: The Government.

Mr. MacDonald: I do not speak of ignoring citizens of a province. The Metis in Saskatchewan are citizens, and they are not being ignored. The federal Government is not ignoring the non-Indian population. There are federal programs designed to reach people. What we are talking about is an aberration of history and statute, which sees something called a registered Indian as a responsibility of the federal Government.

Senator Carter: There is a program of goals to integrate the Indians and Eskimos into society. Is there any program to integrate the Metis?

Mr. MacDonald: I do not know what the word "integrate" means?

Senator Carter: You have used it.

Mr. MacDonald: "Integrate" is probably semantic, but they are too close and similar to cause a confusion. I come back again to the fact that the Metis are a social problem to the extent that they are as disadvantaged as, say, the registered Indian and other people in the same economic circumstances. This is a problem for all governments. We come back to the point that the division today is indefensible, but I do not think you are going to improve it. If one took the trend of the opposite argument by having the Metis suddenly become a federal responsibility, this would compound what we feel is already a bad situation. You have all sorts of people in your province. They are all citizens and we hand over the money for you to look after them.

Senator Carter: We are here to investigate poverty, and we find poverty in groups as well. Surely, if we are going to make any special recommendations with respect to policies for dealing with poverty among Indians we certainly have got to include the Metis.

Mr. MacDonald: I speak only from my fairly narrow range of responsibility, and not as to what the committee may look at in a broader context.

Senator McGrand: Your department is not concerned with the Metis.

Mr. MacDonald: We might be personally concerned with the tragic division of the fragmentation of it, but under the historical framework we have lived in it is not strictly a federal statutory responsibility.

Senator McGrand: I used the word "concern". I should have used the words "committed to".

Senator Carter: You have 237,000 Indians and they are increasing at the rate of 3 per cent per year, and in 30 years that number will be double, or even more than that. If the population increases in geometric progression, then it will double in 15 years. That would give you 500,000 if the mortality rates are kept down and age prolonged. You might even reach that figure in 10 years. Of these 237,000, are half on the reserve and half off?

Mr. MacDonald: About 230,000 are on the reserves, and another equivalent group are off. There are half a million now.

Senator Carter: You will probably have a million.

Mr. Bergevin: Two hundred and thirty-seven thousand is the grand total.

Mr. Fairholm: Page 10 gives the information.

Senator Carter: You do not have half a million, but 237,000?

Mr. MacDonald: I am talking about all of the Indians. These are registered Indians. There are nearly as many Indians off the reserves as on.

Senator McGrand: They are not included in the 237,000?

Mr. MacDonald: They are what are called the registered Indians. This is a peculiar statute.

Senator McGrand: The fellow who is not on the reserve is not a registered Indian?

Mr. MacDonald: He could be off the reserve.

Senator Carter: That is included in this total here?

Mr. MacDonald: Yes.

Senator Carter: You do not know what the Indian population of Canada is?

Mr. MacDonald: Registered, and non-registered?

Senator Carter: Yes.

Mr. MacDonald: I think it is possibly in the order of half a million.

Senator Carter: And you are only concerned with this half million?

Mr. MacDonald: Only with those who are registered under the Indian Act as laid down by Parliament.

Senator Carter: With those on the reserves. You have 237,000 now. That is on the reserves, on most of the reserves?

Mr. Bergevin: There are 116,000 or 161,000 in the reserves, of the 237,000.

Senator Carter: Or a little more than half. They are going to develop a plan over 10 to 15 years. You said that there are about 6 million acres. There is about 3 million acres of that which has a potential for extra development. What do you see, as this population increases on the reserves? What do you see foresee as your program becomes, say, 75 per

cent successful? What do you visualize will happen in ten or fifteen years time?

Mr. MacDonald: The things that are happening now will continue to happen. The reserves will simply not support the population growth. They are not supporting it now. The economic basis, in a large number of cases, is static or non-existent, so they are leaving, and the flow to urban and other areas, the out migration, will continue. The educational system is designed to give people the kind of mobility to make this kind of free choice. We think the reserves will continue, on an emotional, psychological and sometimes economic basis, for a lot of Indians, for as long as we can foresee; but the reserves will not support the growing Indian population.

Senator Carter: In two generations, when the present generation dies off and another generation is born on the reserves and has grown up, do you foresee the day when there will be none on the reserves?

Mr. MacDonald: I can see some being so. In fact there are some reserves now where there is nobody on them.

Senator Carter: You do not see the reserves disappearing completely?

Mr. MacDonald: No, I do not.

Senator Carter: Why not?

Mr. MacDonald: Because I think there are these emotional and psychological traits in the Indian people, and the reserves are the last visible or tangible signs of the inheritance they have, and it means something to them, and in fact will be important for generations to come.

Senator Carter: Have you made any survey to determine just what is the maximum population which can be supported by the reserves?

Mr. MacDonald: No. That would be an outcome of these economic studies that we have under way, over the 2,000 reserves.

Mr. Bergevin: There are 2,200.

Mr. MacDonald: There just is not that kind of talent available, even in private industry, to make the survey on what we call the "highest and best use"—a sort of real estate basis.

Senator Carter: There is a figure of 50,000 or 75,000.

Mr. MacDonald: I would not care go guess.

The Chairman: Am I right—I am playing with memory—in thinking that at present the United States has 550,000 or 600,000 registered Indians?

Mr. MacDonald: That would be approximately correct—about twice our number.

The Chairman: They started out with how many more times our number? If you would go back 15 or 20 years, what would the figures be? How many more times would they have?

Mr. Fairholm: My recollection is that there are around 300,000 to 400,000 on what they call the rolls of tribes there. That was about 20 years ago. While I guess the population has increased, there is a good deal living in the cities. To what extent they retain their tribal identification is not always clear in the United States. There are roughly over 500,000 of these right now who have some sort of Indian identity.

The Chairman: I was trying to come to a figure. I recall that the Indian population was much smaller in Canada.

Mr. MacDonald: Oh, in Canada.

The Chairman: Yes. Was not the Indian population in the United States a vast one?

Mr. Fairholm: By comparison with Canada, if you went into the history of it, there was something around 200,000 Indian people in Canada—that is, in what is now Canada—when Jacques Cartier landed. And I think that north of Mexico there were something like 2,000,000, which would mean there were about 1,800,000 in the United States.

The Chairman: Ten times—many more times in the United States than here. I am trying to get at that point. At this time they have 550,000, or thereabouts, and the rest have entered into the American community. Then there is the suggestion that ultimately they will be moved into the community, but here will still be some left—how many, one cannot tell, and there is really no other way of getting at it.

Mr. MacDonald: I would not hazard a guess. It is something that involves motivation, personal choice, ability, success and development.

The Chairman: And education.

Senator McGrand: You mentioned that there was one reserve which had been completely abandoned.

Mr. MacDonald: One in British Columbia.

Senator McGrand: I wonder why it was abandoned there. Was it their own choice to go far away where the fields looked better, or the free enterprise, or was it that this reserve had nothing in the way of resources to maintain them?

Mr. MacDonald: This reserve had absolutely nothing, and it was a case of locating with another reserve where there was a better chance to get employment.

The Chairman: Would you ask something on education? Mr. Waller is here now.

Senator Carter: Have you any figures on the total child population, out of this 237,000 you have registered?

Mr. L. G. P. Waller, Chief, Educational Development Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: Roughly, 20 per cent, one-fifth.

Senator Carter: Would the same percentage hold for the Eskimos? And the Metis are not in it?

Mr. Waller: They would be about the same for the Eskimos.

Senator Carter: What would be the school population?

Mr. Waller: The school population right now is 60,000 or 67,000, approximately.

Senator Carter: 67,000, and how is that broken up between federal schools and provincial schools?

Mr. Waller: About 25,000 in federal schools and the rest would be in provincial schools.

Mr. MacDonald: If I may comment, last year we passed the watershed of the 50-50 mark, for the first time, in the rate of getting into provincial schools on the growth of population basis.

Senator Carter: How many schools do you operate federally for the 25,000?

Mr. Waller: About 240 schools.

Senator Carter: And how many teachers would that be?

Mr. Waller: Roughly 1,100 teachers.

Senator Carter: 1,100 federal teachers?

Mr. Waller: Yes.

Senator Carter: Have you any idea, as regards the 40,000, among how many schools they would be distributed in the provinces?

Mr. Waller: It is very hard to say, but I would say that it is likely to be somewhere between 1,500 and 2,000 schools.

Senator Carter: Between 1,500 and 2,000 schools?

Mr. Waller: Yes.

Senator Carter: In the federal schools you have an opportunity to help the Indians maintain their culture, their history; whereas in the provincial schools the curriculum more or less helps to destroy their culture, and in the stories in the history they deal with Indians as savages and say very little about their good traits. Are you doing anything about this in your federal schools or provincial schools and will this be taken care of? One of your self-criticisms is that you have paid no attention to the Indian culture.

Mr. MacDonald: First of all, with respect to the curricula, if I recall, Mr. Waller, in most of our schools we have not followed a federal curriculum, but one which follows the provincial one.

Secondly, in regard to the matter of texts, in terms of stories about reserves, the minister wrote last year to the provincial ministers of education, drawing their attention to that which we are doing federally, and we think it is working very well and we are getting an encouraging response from the provincial governments as to the way in which they are trying to do something about this, to redress this perspective.

Finally, we have started a practice where we are recruiting Indian parents, mothers, and so on, to come and use the classrooms in teaching about the natives influence as a basis of cultural maintenance, and so on.

Senator Carter: You are keeping live their old traditions?

Mr. Bergevin: I just have one additional point: There are Indians on the curriculum committees.

The Chairman: That is very interesting, except that there is a report in this morning's

Globe and Mail which is very disconcerting, dealing with Lac-la-Biche. They quote Mr. Shields of the Alberta NewStart Centre. Referring to the school in Janvier he says that they had 14 different teachers during 1968 because the teachers could not stand the conditions there and kept quitting. That statement is made by a responsible man, the head of the NewStart Centre in Alberta. Now, you were talking about teachers, Mr. Waller. What is there to that?

Mr. Waller: This is a provincial school you are talking about, Lac-la-Biche, and it may well be true that they have difficulty in holding on to their teachers. The school is not under our control, however.

The Chairman: But you have pupils there.

Mr. Waller: A few, yes.

The Chairman: I don't know how many, but if you have one there, somebody must be interested in him and, if he is receiving that sort of inadequate education that one gets from a change of 14 teachers in a year, is that not what I was talking about in the earlier stages, Mr. MacDonald?

Mr. MacDonald: But it is an isolated incident.

The Chairman: You say it is an isolated incident. Just wait a moment. Let me read some more. Mr. Shields says there was a million dollars spent on the Alberta NewStart Program which would be completed by April, but Ottawa cut it off and cited its austerity program for the action.

Further to that, the Indians and Metis occupied the centre yesterday in what has been called a live-in, and the chamber of commerce and the town council provided the money for them to occupy the centre. You do not often get chambers of commerce and town councils doing that sort of thing, unless they have a special feeling for the community. Perhaps in this case there is a special feeling for the community which has still not reached Ottawa or at least has not reached Edmonton.

Now, the rather startling thing is that, in describing this, Mr. Shields, who is a Korean veteran, said that it was worse than anything he saw during his service in Korea during wartime, and he was referring to when he first went to Janvier; the whole population of 500 had registered positive on tuberculosis

...; there were ten to 12 people living in a shack—and this is “now” that he is talking about; children were running around nude because the family had only \$85 a month support for ten children and about 98 per cent of these children had skin infections, ringworm, impetigo and other diseases.

Let us just deal with the problem of a family of ten getting \$85 a month. Could that be true?

Mr. Neville: No, sir, I don't think it could be true. There are other circumstances that that article does not deal with, surely. A food allowance of \$85 a month for a mother and ten children is just not a possibility. I can check and see what the provincial scales are. I have them right here. They may not be up to date.

The Chairman: Yes, check the tables.

Mr. Neville: These rates may not be up to date since they are for March 31, 1969. Food for a male adult would be \$30. This is, for example, an adult living with others.

The Chairman: But what would be the total for a family in need? I assume these people are in need.

Mr. Neville: I would take a rough guess and say that it is between \$200 and \$300 a month. That would be for food alone.

The Chairman: Food alone?

Mr. Neville: Yes.

The Chairman: Where do these people get these figures?

Mr. MacDonald: The so-called facts that get into newspapers are not always reliable.

The Chairman: But this is Mr. Shields who is a responsible man. He is the Director of NewStart.

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Chairman, I have been dealing with directors of this kind for quite a while and I should still like to find out more about the alleged \$85. I think the figure of \$200 or \$300 is probably closer to the truth.

Mr. Bergevin: The provincial welfare figures are available in a published document.

I am new to this program, but I can tell you honestly that 95 per cent of the articles that we receive every day are specifically wrong. They don't have the facts. Ninety per cent are, without exaggeration, wrong.

The Chairman: I just cannot conceive of this being correct, but I will try to find out anyway. However, I have every reason to take your word for it. I have confidence in you.

Mr. Bergevin: I will make a point of writing to you on this matter, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Yes, please investigate that and send a letter to us giving us the complete information on it. I suggest you look at the report in the *Globe and Mail* this morning.

Senator Carter: Mr. Waller, you have 1,100 teachers employed by the federal department?

Mr. Waller: Yes.

Senator Carter: Of these 1,100, how many are Indians?

Mr. Waller: About 120. About 10 per cent.

Senator Carter: Of course your policy now is to do away with the federal schools, but are you working out with the provinces any arrangement whereby the teachers will have special training courses in Indian culture? Of course, this would have to apply to teachers generally, not just federally.

Mr. Waller: Yes. In Alberta, for instance, they have for the past five or six years had what might be called an intercultural teacher training course offered by University of Alberta at Edmonton. Each year teachers are trained to go into schools to teach children of different cultures. They may be Indians, they may be Eskimos or they may be of other ethnic groups. They are definitely trained to handle children of other ethnic groups.

Senator Carter: What are you doing with respect to text books? Are you developing a new approach with respect to them?

Mr. Waller: Quite a lot is being done, sir. Most of the provinces have a curriculum committee set up, and they are dealing with the needs of the Indians so far as the curriculum is concerned, and they are injecting into the curriculum a great deal of facts about the Indian peoples, not only just for the Indian children but for the non-Indian children as well. So we have an entirely different viewpoint and attitude toward the Indian today in our schools, because they are removing what the Indian people think are objectionable facts and they are getting the children inter-

ested in the Indian people as a people and in their contribution to our culture and history. There is a tremendous amount being done, I can assure you.

Senator Carter: Is this every province or just Alberta?

Mr. Waller: Ontario particularly is doing a lot.

Senator Carter: Yes?

Mr. Waller: Saskatchewan is doing a lot; Manitoba and Alberta and British Columbia are, too.

Senator Carter: The general course will have a new approach to the history and traditions of the Canadian Indians.

Mr. Waller: Yes, and I should say, too, that there is a tremendous interest in giving matriculation credits for knowledge of Indian languages and Indian dialect. For instance, in Alberta now they give matriculation credits for a knowledge of Cree or Ojibway. This is recognized as a language.

Senator Carter: Is anything being done to record on tape or otherwise the Indian folk-lore, folk songs and dances?

Mr. Waller: The Indians themselves are doing quite an amount of this.

The Chairman: Do I understand you to say that something is being done at some level about Indian studies in schools?

Mr. Waller: Yes.

The Chairman: I mean in the same way that they carry out extensive Ukrainian studies in Manitoba.

Mr. Waller: There is a tremendous amount being done in this way, and I might add that a tremendous amount of research is being done also.

Senator McGrand: Is the Indian language written down or is this being done orally?

Mr. Waller: Naturally much is being done in passing these on orally because the Indian has an oral tradition. However, there is the syllabic system created by the Reverend Mr. Evans in the last century and it is being used to write down their folklore, and besides that there is the use of the ordinary Latin alphabet.

Senator Carter: Do you have federal schools for the Eskimos?

Mr. MacDonald: They were federal, but now they are under territorial jurisdiction. The whole system was originally created as a federal system but now it is a territorial system.

The Chairman: If I might mention something here; some years ago I was up in the Northwest Territories with Blair Fraser and we walked into a very beautiful school; there we saw little booklets setting out the story of Jack and Jill to these children.

Mr. MacDonald: I understand the point you are making Mr. Chairman, but while it is easy to criticize that now, you must remember that fifteen years ago there was nothing. What has been achieved by the educators up there in that time is a veritable miracle. This is particularly the case when you consider the nomadic traditions of these people. However these oversights are now being picked up and the lack of cultural identification in the educational system is being very much improved.

The Chairman: I should add that it was a very very fine school.

Senator Carter: I can well imagine that the story of Jack and Jill would hardly be meaningful to the children there. But are the same steps being taken with respect to the Eskimo children as are being taken for the Indians?

Mr. Waller: Yes. It is largely being done in the territories themselves where the people have been training themselves and where they are training their own teachers.

Senator McGrand: In the territories where you have Indians and Eskimos mixed, do you have them in separate schools?

Mr. MacDonald: They are really not mixed to that extent. In the eastern Arctic they are largely Eskimo, but in the Yukon territory for example the Eskimos are about 15 per cent.

Senator McGrand: But what is the situation in places such as Yellowknife?

Mr. MacDonald: There are no separate schools in the territory; there is just the one educational system.

Senator Carter: I notice that you have a \$289 million budget for 1970. How much of that will go on education?

Mr. MacDonald: Over 50 per cent.

Senator Carter: But how is it broken down as between provincial and federal schools?

Mr. MacDonald: It looks like 40 per cent of the pupils are in federal schools and the balance are in provincial schools and the budget is split roughly in the same proportions.

Senator Carter: But how is the expenditure made?

Mr. MacDonald: By reimbursement of the school districts. Furthermore where we have appropriate agreements, we pay per capita costs plus other costs.

Senator Carter: Plus a percentage of the overhead?

Mr. MacDonald: Yes, which I must say is an invidious situation. I would rather see a situation where they would simply go to school on the same terms and conditions as everybody else.

Senator Carter: On pages 18 to 21 you give a breakdown of the enrolment and I cannot quite figure it out. The first one deals with grades 9 to 13 in the provinces and territories and it seems to be quite straightforward. But when you get to table 2 "Percentage of enrolment by grade 1964-69—Indian and Canadian enrolments grades 9-13"—I couldn't quite figure it out or compare it with table 1. Table 1 gives the figures as well as the percentages but table 2 gives the percentages only. What I want to find out for the various grades is the enrolment in Indian and federal schools as compared with provincial schools.

Mr. Waller: We have divided the enrolment between elementary grades 1 to 6, and then grades 7 to 12 or 13. There so far as Indian enrolment is concerned 30 per cent of the enrolment is in grade 7 to grade 13 and the other 70 per cent would be in grades 1 to 6.

Senator Carter: What percentage would be what we call high school, grade 8 and upwards?

Mr. Waller: Well, we took the point as being grade 7 because in Quebec high school starts there and from grade 7 to grade 13 we have 30 per cent enrolled this year.

Senator Carter: How would that compare with Indians attending provincial schools?

Mr. Waller: Well, I was taking the whole picture without any differentiation.

Senator Carter: But that is the point I am after; how does the number of Indians attending federal schools compare with the number attending provincial schools?

Mr. Waller: We do not have high schools in the federal system. We have grades 7, 8 or 9 and after that they go on into the provincial schools.

Mr. MacDonald: I think what you would want to do is to have a basic statistical review to find out how this works out. On the question of the success achieved by those attending high school in the federal system as opposed to the provincial system, I think the latter would turn out to be better.

Mr. Waller: We have spent a great deal of time on this and we know that today there isn't a large number of failures in schools because the children move from grade to grade from year to year. They go into the next grade in the next year which parallels the situation in Quebec where they move from grade to grade from year to year.

Senator Carter: On page 21 you have a table dealing with the performance of Indian university students and you give the number who fail to complete the course. What is the significance of that? You have the number of graduates, the number completing the course, the number failing the course and the number withdrawing. But there is a big number who do not complete the course. Why is this?

Mr. MacDonald: This is the drop-out problem which is more aggravated in the Indian population for a variety of factors. However, I think the drop-out rate has been dropping. I would remind you that this is a factor among non-Indian students too.

Senator Carter: Is it more pronounced among Indians?

Mr. MacDonald: I think educationists agree that much depends on the educational basis on which you enter university. This has a great bearing on it. Furthermore if you enter university with a weaker educational background than others, you would be more vulnerable. That is why you come back down the line. You go back to housing on the reserves. You cannot take any one of these things in isolation.

Senator Carter: At the bottom of page 19 you have two figures under 1967-68—10.93 Indian and 25.1 Canada. What does "Canada"

mean? Is that Indians in provincial schools or the whole Canadian population?

Mr. Waller: The Canadian population.

Mr. MacDonald: That is Indian experience against the rest of the population.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to ask, of the 10 per cent of the 1,100 teachers who are Indian, what percentage are women teachers?

Mr. Waller: I could not say off hand, but I would imagine that likely 80 per cent would be women.

Senator Fergusson: Are they mostly primary, elementary or secondary school teachers?

Mr. Waller: Mostly elementary. I should add this note, that through the various courses we offer in the training program we have, we do train many Indian people for teaching but they do not necessarily go into our schools. Not more than 50 per cent go into our schools, and most go into the provincial systems. There are many Indians teaching in provincial schools.

Senator MacDonald: After all, Indians are human beings and want to go into a wider world.

Senator Carter: I can appreciate that, but you know these people and their particular background. Do you give them any specific inducements?

Mr. MacDonald: It is a free society. Just as we would like them to go into the department, they do not necessarily; they want to go and become metallurgists, lawyers, and so on.

Senator Carter: As far as teaching is concerned, they could be given special inducements.

Mr. MacDonald: Some want to go into the general stream and make their way in a normal provincial career.

Senator Fergusson: They might want to go back if you gave them some incentive to go back.

Mr. MacDonald: This is in the area of collective agreements and bargaining of the provincial teachers, and I would not want to hazard an answer.

Mr. Waller: It depends whether they want to go back to their own people or go some-

where else. Many feel they do better away from their own people.

Senator Fergusson: If they were offered an incentive to go back to their own people that might be their personal choice, with the incentive added.

Mr. Waller: They do have incentives. They do not pay income tax if they live on the reserve.

Mr. MacDonald: That would be a very powerful incentive.

Senator Fergusson: Speaking about education in the Territories and how tremendously it has increased, I think we should be very proud of them; but after these people are educated, have they any opportunity to read books and make use of their education? Are there libraries they can get material from, or is it supplied to them in any way? It is not much use teaching them to read and write if they do not have the opportunity to use that ability.

Mr. MacDonald: There is the whole question of the development of the North. The extent of library facilities is a Government function being threshed out as we go along. This comes under the territorial government. The things which affect the quality of local life are transferred to territorial governments which are not provincial governments but in many respects are like them.

Senator Fergusson: Yes, I know what they are.

Mr. MacDonald: These moneys are transferred to the governments and they have community programs, municipal programs library programs, and so on.

Senator Carter: Have you never had federal schools in the provinces?

Mr. MacDonald: We have had Indian federal schools, and we still have.

Senator Carter: In the provinces?

Mr. MacDonald: Yes, in the provinces, but we never had that in the North. In the North we went in and made a school system for everybody—the Eskimo primarily, but then everybody else.

Senator Fergusson: I think perhaps I am asking too many questions.

Mr. MacDonald: This is fun. We do not get many chances to argue our side of the case now.

Senator Fergusson: Housing is referred to on page 25, where you say:

In 1965 an objective was set and an announcement made that every Indian family residing on an Indian reserve would have the opportunity by 1970 of obtaining a house of a size and quality comparable to that enjoyed by Canadian citizens residing in the area surrounding the reserve.

Of course, I know that at that time you did not have the same policy you have now, but I have known of instances where some of these buildings were built and the Indian people were not a bit satisfied with them. Was there any consultation with the Indian at all at that time on that building program?

Mr. MacDonald: I cannot, on my own testimony, say yes or no; I was not there. I suspect it was limited. However, in fairness to the people who did that, their objective was to get houses. This is one of the things we were talking about in the fragmented approach. The motivation and intention were always good.

Senator Fergusson: But it is not much use building houses people will not want to occupy.

Mr. MacDonald: Frankly, the problem is financial.

Senator Fergusson: On page 26 you say:

It is now evident that even the target of 12,350 new units by 1970....

...will be the target set at that time.

...will not be accomplished.

Is it entirely because there is not enough money supply, or are the people not interested in co-operating?

Mr. MacDonald: It is strictly the question of money. We have a budget which is huge and which is growing as fast as that of any other government department in the country, and in that budget many things are fighting for survival—welfare, housing, industrial development, which has been the weakest star of all because it has to provide for the others. Education, welfare and other requirements have gone up and we have had to stretch the housing program, so the five-year

program became a seven-or eight-year program.

Senator Fergusson: But the Indians have to make a contribution themselves to these houses and you have no problem getting them to make a contribution?

Mr. MacDonald: No. It is strictly a question of scattering very scarce resources across a very big country with a great need.

Senator Fergusson: There is one thing I would like to bring up that really has nothing to do with poverty—or, at least, I do not think it has—but you mention it in the brief on page 11, the enfranchisement of Indian women upon marriage to non-Indians. I would like to make a comment on this. I am not going to go into it in detail because I know it is not connected with the subject we are dealing with today, but it seems to me that this provision in the Indian Act is strictly a great discrimination against women; it is very unfair and contrary to the declaration on human rights. I know that when this was passed it was at a time when our laws considered that on marriage a man and a woman became one person, and that person was the man; but we have changed this philosophy in other laws. Our Citizenship Act previously provided that a woman who was a Canadian citizen, upon marriage to an alien lost her citizenship, but now a Canadian woman does not lose her citizenship. If a non-Canadian marries a Canadian she gets some advantages but does not become a Canadian immediately. It seems to me this section is based on the old interpretation of the marriage relationship and, of course, I am very much opposed to it.

Mr. MacDonald: I am also opposed to it. I think it is dreadful that it is in the statute at all.

The Chairman: Both of you think it is dreadful, but what is being done about it?

Mr. MacDonald: The Government's proposal is that the Indian Act be abolished.

Senator Fergusson: That will not take place for some time, maybe four or five years. It seems to me that the Government, if it really feels strongly about this, could amend the Indian Act while it still exists.

Mr. MacDonald: You could not do it without consultation with the Indian people now, and there is not unanimity of opinion on this

subject. The present statute is the result of many parliamentary meetings and, broadly speaking, the point of view of the Indian people then as to what should happen with regard to their status. The only thing that is at issue here is ownership of land. When people such as the Hutterites own land in a community who should be registered as owner? In the case of the Indians ownership lies in the band. When you have legislation such as this it gives credence to the view that we have discriminatory legislation.

The Chairman: It gives you a bad name. We support Senator Fergusson's view on that completely. We have known about it and there is nothing more that we can do. Aside entirely from physical needs, if you were in the position tomorrow of having a solution to the whole poverty problem, including the Indian, what would be your top priority?

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Chairman, priority questions are always very difficult because there are never any absolute priorities, as I am sure you appreciate. Considering the whole range of social programs, we see many things fighting for attention. If I had to single out one, the most important in every test and measure of priority has to be education. This has been the priority as I have looked at the program and modern administrators coming in put their money on education. More than 50 per cent of the budget has been dedicated to education, which has to dominate at every point of time. From this will flow mobility and ability for the people to run their own lives. The choices are not truly free unless you are informed and mobile. Education is what develops these qualities in them. It does not solve everything, but it is the starting point.

The Chairman: It has been the strength of the Canadian people in most recent years when we have regarded education as an investment rather than an expenditure.

Mr. MacDonald: That is right.

Senator Carter: I feel that we have not made many enquiries about the Eskimo. I would like Mr. MacDonald's opinion about the possibility of industrialization of the Arctic and how the people there would be affected by this program.

Mr. MacDonald: We are at a very fortunate period, happily, in the north now. We had to discover whether there was any credibility to

the economic future of the north. This question has been answered beyond a doubt based on minerals, of which oil, particularly, is coming to the forefront. Since the time that became evident we have endeavoured to find out how the indigenous people are to be allowed to share fully in this, not only as hewers of wood and drawers of water. We have many projects almost entirely operated by Eskimos. While this is a challenge, the economic development now going forward will have its own dynamism. We have to ensure that the native people receive the full benefit of it.

Senator Carter: You are keeping this in mind in your agreements with the provinces, because much technical teaching and trade training is required.

Mr. MacDonald: Yes, we have schools at Fort Smith and we will have them at Frobisher Bay.

The Chairman: I did not see much of the north, but I did see Pine Point and Frobisher Bay. I did not see much native labour.

Mr. MacDonald: The total adult Eskimo population is only four or five thousand but they are important in human terms. The educational system itself is young. We are considering the future and how we should regulate ourselves now in order that the people who are indigenous to that area and want to live there get a piece of the action, so to speak, at every level. There is a great deal of incentive to industry there because they have a labour turnover of over 400 per cent. We have been talking with them behind the scenes and there is no opposition, nothing but agreement and enthusiasm that their own interest lies in seeing that the native people do have a part of what is going on.

The Chairman: We have had a very interesting morning. I am sure I speak on behalf of the committee when I say that this is a very skilfully prepared presentation by men who are concerned. It is a first-class document that will be read not only by people who read the committee reports, but in the universities and the libraries. There will be many requests for it. It is pleasant for us and makes our task a little easier when we find people like you who face facts, admit mistakes and are ready to correct them. It is a fresh and reasonable approach. We are under the impression, with confidence, that you people representing the

department and the Government are dedicated to righting a great wrong in trying to bring some social justice to a disadvantaged people on terms that are acceptable to them. Your brief involved a great deal of work and will be carefully studied by our staff, who

have some special knowledge of this particular problem.

On behalf of the committee, Mr. MacDonald, I thank you and all the gentlemen you have brought with you this morning.

The committee adjourned.

EXHIBIT A

BRIEF TO THE
SPECIAL SENATE
COMMITTEE
ON POVERTY

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

1970

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INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this Brief is to present to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty the information it will require to reach an informed understanding of the nature and extent of poverty among Canada's native peoples. The historical and legal background to such an understanding is provided, together with a description of the full range of existing Departmental programs relating to Indian and Eskimo well-being. In a final section, an attempt is made to draw from this largely descriptive material certain conclusions of relevance to the problems of poverty among Canadians generally.

Historically speaking, the Federal Government's involvement in Indian and Eskimo affairs stems from the earliest official interest in their protection and well-being. Official relationships with the Eskimo and Indian were characterized by a form of paternalism which was not then, and for some time to come, entirely out of keeping with the times. The paternalistic view has persisted, however, in the face of a profound social and economic revolution from which the Indian and Eskimo have been largely excluded. Moreover, poverty has supplanted self-sufficiency.

Put simply and in human terms, the basic problem confronting the majority of Canada's Indians and Eskimos is that their just and proper aspirations to equality of opportunity in Canadian society are not adequately fulfilled. Many are submerged in a life of poverty from which they cannot escape without a great deal of assistance. They believe the assistance currently being provided is inadequate, and we agree.

Over 237,000 men, women and children registered as Indians live in this country, compared to less than 180,000 only ten years ago. At the present rate of increase the population will double in twenty-five years. Almost 70 per cent live on reserve lands or in Indian communities. Many of these communities are isolated geographically and socially from the mainstream of Canadian life. The fact that their population is increasing at such a rapid rate — almost double that of the general population — constitutes a serious threat to the capacity of the reserves as a base for an economically viable community.

The Eskimo population of Canada is approximately 14,800, almost all of whom live north of the sixtieth parallel in small and widely scattered communities in the Northwest Territories and Nouveau Québec. The rate of growth of the Eskimo population is currently about three per cent per annum and although the annual rate has been declining for the past eighteen years, there are current indications that the Eskimo population, too, will double in the next twenty-five years. Many of the small communities in which Eskimos live are situated in areas of limited or doubtful economic potential. While a rise in living standards in the past decade can be clearly discerned, educational, social and economic changes in Canada are occurring more rapidly around Indian and Eskimo communities than in them.

Many Indians return to their reserves after seeking to become a part of the world away from the reserve. While this is related in part to the close relationship among members of Indian families, the individual Indian does not normally have the skills to make his way in industrialized communities. Of those remaining away from the reserves, many gravitate to town peripheries or urban slums. Many Eskimos leaving their home communities for the bigger towns, both north and south, have the same experience. Both groups face many problems of adjustment. Many cannot settle in either cities or in reserve communities and drift painfully from one place to another.

There is a vast amount of literature on virtually every aspect of poverty in Canada, much of it catalogued recently by the Canadian Welfare Council, and the Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council Office. The definition appropriate to Indians and Eskimos is that poverty is a nearly

complete way of life which effectively differentiates those living in "poverty from their more affluent neighbours, and robs them of participation in the major institutions and ways of life of the larger society." It is characterized by serious deprivation in some or all of its forms. It is not simply a state of economic deprivation, of disorganization or of the *absence* of something — though it frequently is these things too — but something more positive and more complete. It is a culture in itself, or nearly so, and as such it has an internal structure; its members have a common perception of the reality of things, their own values, ways of doing things and of dealing with problems, which are resistant to change. It is a state of being which "does not provide support or long-range satisfaction for the individuals within it, who tend to suffer from feelings of apathy, alienation and isolation."

Such a definition may not be in accord with that which would be offered by Indian or Eskimo people themselves. Poverty is a subjective term which reflects the value system of the person ascribing it to a given situation. Both Indian and Eskimo groups, and indeed sub-groupings within them, will have evolved their own definitions and will have seen poverty in their own terms at close hand if they have not experienced it themselves. There is no satisfactory scale, therefore, for determining poverty in a community whose norms are not those of the larger North American whole. Its needs and desires are not transferable across cultural barriers. The often-used North American figure of \$3,000 per year as an income minimum for a family of four may be meaningless to a family in an area where hunting is good and traditional skills are valuable. Such a sum may have little meaning where a good house is available at low rent and there are no land taxes. Offsetting such advantages, however, is the fact that groups have a larger number of dependents per person who is in his working years than do others in Canadian society. Then, too, many Indians and almost all Eskimos live in places where the cost of food and other basic necessities is much higher than in the metropolitan areas. Freight and difficulties of access impose a burden on all who live in remote communities, depressing the value of income to greater or lesser degree.

It is a mistake to regard the condition of the Indian as being directly parallel to that of the Eskimo. In one important respect, the position of the Indian is markedly different from that of the Eskimo. While both are indigenous people and both suffer from poverty and from cultural barriers which inhibit their access to the benefits of larger society around the, the existence of special law in the form of the Indian Act, has had an important effect in continuing what might otherwise have been a diminishing barrier for many Indian groups and individuals.

The Indian Act and the programs flowing from it, have been responsible for much of the isolation of those Indian people who live adjacent to numbers of other Canadians but are subject to different regulations for education, health and welfare services and community administration. This is an important point to which we return in the body of the Brief.

REGIONAL ASPECTS OF INDIAN-ESKIMO POVERTY

It seems axiomatic to mention that not every Indian is poor; nor is poverty uniform among bands and groups in all regions of the country. According to data published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, some Indians had annual incomes in 1966 in excess of \$10,000. There are probably individuals enjoying similar economic affluence today. Indian bands in several of the provinces possess actual or potential economic wealth in which the members share or will share in the immediate future.

Some Indians possess high school diplomas, university degrees, journeyman's papers in the trades or professional qualifications. Some Indians, Indian bands and Eskimo groups own, operate and have full control of their own business enterprises and compete on equal terms with other entrepreneurs. Some are members of municipal and band councils, legislatures, boards of directors and school boards. There are Indian members not only in Provincial Legislatures but in the House of

Commons and the Senate. Many have never been the courts nor experienced the deep sense of alienation felt by the non-Indian poor. It is not the absolute and universal negation of well-being among all members of the group, therefore, that differentiates Indian and Eskimo poverty from that experienced by other groups in Canada, but rather the relative frequency and pervasiveness of these conditions in Indian and Eskimo communities.

The regional distribution of poverty among the Indian people relates to the degree of poverty of those around them. It is difficult to be precise but, as a general rule, Indian groups who live in regions which are depressed and lack other opportunities are generally poorer than groups of Indians living in areas of opportunity and activity. Both groups are likely to be poorer than their neighbours but, vis-à-vis each other, great differences may be displayed.

By and large, the most economically-disadvantaged Indian people are found in the northerly regions of the province. Indians living on over-crowded and under-exploited reserves display more evidence of poverty than do those who are more fortunately placed or where economic development has taken place. In regional terms this means that the rural and more particularly the more isolated northern regions where the majority of Indians live are the most depressed.

Many Indian people are as well-off or better placed than some of their Métis neighbours. Where the communities are adjacent, it is difficult to foresee how the problems of one group can be solved unless that of the other is also solved. Conversely, even where Indians may be well placed in relation to other Indian people, it is usually true that they are not so affluent as their industrially-active non-Indian neighbours. Thus, again, the problem of the Indian is closely related to the conditions in which his community is placed.

The Eskimo people are regionally based and their problems lie almost entirely in the Arctic. Those in Arctic Quebec are not in any different position from those in the Northwest Territories. If their community is an active, resource-based viable entity, their economic problems may be few; if not, they will be poor.

The time is long past when Indian and Eskimo problems can be dealt with in isolation. This is not to say that both do not have special problems unlike most other Canadians. But these special problems cannot be effectively resolved unless they are considered within the context of the larger society around them. Programs to combat Indian and Eskimo poverty must be part, therefore, of regional programs to combat poverty.

Apart from other considerations, both Indian and Eskimo people are more closely tied to the region of their birth and are less mobile than most other Canadians. If their problems are partly psychological, it is clear that any mass relocation will create and compound difficulties rather than solve them. There is a need, however, for relocation of individuals and families willing to relocate. Such programs must be carefully prepared and must take account of many complex factors. In particular, the people affected must personally support relocation; experience had led to the firm conclusion that an unwilling relocatee will be give up his attempt to reorient and will return to his community at the first setback and is thereafter unwilling to make further attempts. Those who are young and who have recently completed training programs appear to be most amenable to resettlement. But those communities that appear least viable, economically, contain many older persons who cannot be supported by the environment of their native region.

INDIAN-ESKIMO POVERTY AND CULTURE

Culture as a distinguishing feature of both groups is a complex matter. Pride of origin and pride of ancestry are natural components of self-confidence and necessary adjuncts to self-respect,

especially in the early years. Both Indian and Eskimo people have difficulties in this matter, but the Eskimo has been less affected than the Indian people. Culture is not simply a collection of traits, of arts or artifacts existing in some state of abstraction. The Eskimo carving, the Indian mask, the totem pole are all outward manifestations of a culture which encompasses much of community life, "a historically derived system of explicit and implicit designs of living" Culture, then, is a system of socially transmitted values, implying an evolving, orderly way of life from which the members derive identity and pride of race.

The world is now experiencing a great cultural revolution. This is true within Canada but most Canadians have a larger part in shaping the revolution's effect on their own lives than has been the case for either Indian or Eskimo people. For these groups, the larger society tends largely to make decisions which affect the Indian and Eskimo, but over which they exercise little control. The result is a loss to the aboriginal people of a familiar and reliable frame of reference when it is most needed.

Thus both groups tend to cling to a familiar life pattern regardless of its utility as judged by outsiders. To the Indian who has grown up on a reserve, the preservation of the community and the consequent sense of community is important. Even if the community is no longer viable, is overcrowded and deteriorating, it is one of the few familiar certainties in a life of uncertainty. For most Indians living in reserve communities, the preservation of the land-holding as Indian land occupied by their people appears to be one of the most important certainties the people desire. This feeling cannot be brushed aside on economic grounds; it is an emotional commitment and any plan for the future must take it into account. This feeling, however, need not necessarily preclude relocation to another place during the working years. Many Indian people may never go back after such a move but most will want to feel that they could go back if they wished, and this feeling is a necessary support to them in their efforts to adapt to a fast-changing world.

While the Indian Act as it exists today preserves and protects the Indian landholding, it also works against Indian people having control of their own land and thus of a full opportunity to develop those management capacities within the community which would contribute to self-confidence and self-fulfillment. The legal distinctions which set Indians apart from others tends to shackle them to the past and to segregate them from the larger society. Though not in the same position legally, the Eskimo is set apart by simple geography. Thus the Indian is isolated and his community develops in an isolation which is partly legally-based. The Eskimo is isolated and his community develops in isolation by the fact of geography. While in both cases the isolation is beginning to diminish, it is still a significant factor for many.

Thus, in reading the following material, it will help to keep in mind the considerable heterogeneity of the Indian and Eskimo peoples, and the varied conditions under which they live. In describing existing circumstances and current programs of great diversity it is understandable that important differences have had to be neglected or mentioned too briefly. The Indian and Eskimo poor share the problems common to poverty wherever it exists, but, they also experience problems uniquely their own; within this area of uniqueness, variations exist from reserve to reserve, community to community, tribe to tribe, and region to region. The only concession to this acknowledged variety in following sections, and it is an important one, is the attempt to separate the discussion of the Indian in the Canadian provinces from that of the Indian and Eskimo in the northern territories and in Arctic Quebec.

PART 1

The Indian and Eskimo in the Canadian Provinces

Chapter 1. Government Indian Policy: Historical Background

RESPONSIBILITY FOR A SUBJECT PEOPLE

In spite of differences in specific aspects of Indian policy, all the European powers who colonized the Americas shared one basic assumption: the aboriginal inhabitants of the land were subjects of the heads of the colonizing states.

Along with the Europeans' assumption of sovereignty over the Indians there was also a recognition, and still is, of their responsibility for the welfare, both spiritual and material, of the subject peoples, although at times this seems to have been more honoured in the breach than the observance.

TRADE, WAR, OR SETTLEMENT: INDIAN ALLEGIANCE – THE KEY

For the first two centuries of the European presence in Canada the bases of Indian-white relations (and hence of the white government's Indian policies) were two: economic and military. The Indians were suppliers of the resources of the country and consumers of European goods. They were also either potential allies and protectors or enemies. The relationship, it should be remarked, was reciprocal; for the Indian usually sought the alliance of the newcomer in his struggles with other Indians – Champlain's tragic first contact with the Iroquois is an early example – and eagerly exchanged the fruits of the country for those of European technology. Fundamental to aboriginal culture was an exchange of presents (usually at repeated intervals) to symbolize the making or maintaining of pacts of friendship. In this can be seen the origin of the system of "presents", annuities, or treaty payments which came to characterize the Indian policy of the several colonial governments and their successors.

During the 17th and most of the 18th century the Indian policy of both the French and British colonial governments was confined principally to attempts to regulate commerce with the Indians, to ensure that the Indians would not attack the European settlements, and to enlist their aid in the American phases of what were essentially European wars. As long as the white population remained small and hence dependent on the natives, relations between Indian and white seemed to be between sovereign powers, although all colonial and European governments held to the principle that the natives were, in fact, subject peoples – a principle that governed their colonial policies in many other parts of the world. As the numbers of colonists increased, European sovereignty over the Indians was openly asserted and gradually the technological superiority of the Europeans, both as a coercive force and as the source of increasing Indian material dependency, enabled them to make good this claim.

BRITISH SETTLEMENT – AND A MILITARY INDIAN DEPARTMENT

In the British Colonies, where settlement took priority over trade with the Indians, the military aspects of Indian policy predominated over the commercial, and since in 1763 the British conquest of Canada removed France from North America, it was this policy which formed the basis of British dealings with the natives for the next seventy years. The Indian Department, which had first appeared in New York in the 1660s, was concerned primarily with the making of treaties and the distribution of "presents" designed to safeguard settlements and to ensure Indian alliances against the colonies' enemies (both Indian and white). It was to be expected, therefore, that the formulation and administration of British Indian policy would be in the hands of military, or quasi-military authorities. Indian presents, for example, were issued through the army commissariat.

A MATTER OF JUSTICE AND A MILITARY NECESSITY

A second aspect of British Indian policy stemmed from the fact that in most cases the authorities recognized the existence of native rights in their lands but not native sovereignty. Both as a matter of justice and as a military necessity, it became British policy not to occupy land until native rights in it (and hence the possibility of armed native resistance) had been removed. In practice, recognition of native rights followed the same procedure as for a military or commercial alliance — through a treaty solemnized by the giving of presents.

The observe of the coin was the guaranteeing to the natives of non-ceded lands, if necessary with military as well as statutory protection. This policy found expression in the Proclamation of 1763 and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, each of which set limits to European settlement and reserved the land outside these limits for exclusive Indian use. The policy was administered by the military, and the practice of giving presents to maintain the alliances continued. Following the American Revolution, in which most of Britain's Indian subject-allies held to their allegiance, there was an increasing influx of population (both white and Indian) into the hitherto unsettled parts of British North America. The authorities continued the policy of systematic commutation of native rights in land before settlement, together with reservation of specific areas for Indian use. This created certain problems of administration, for disposal of land often resulted in money payments, which were held in trust for the Indians by officers of the Crown. The relationship thus lost its purely military character.

THE CIVILIANS TAKE OVER. INDIANS AND THE BRITISH YEOMAN: A NEW POLICY

After the war of 1812 the military threat to British North America gradually disappeared, and with it the remaining necessity for maintaining Indian affairs on its old military basis. At the same time there were two new forces at work in Great Britain which would affect the Indian policy. On the one hand, there was an increasing desire to economize, to get rid of any unnecessary expense of Imperial administration; and the maintenance of the old system of presents and alliances was certainly that. On the other hand, there was a growing humanitarian movement, which found expression in attempts to ameliorate the lot of the disadvantaged at home and of the native peoples within the Empire. These two forces came together in the late 1820s to produce a new Indian policy. In 1830, Indian administration was placed in the hands of the civil authority, whose job was to be not merely the preservation of alliances, as previously, but to "civilize and settle" the Indians. The natives were to be "raised" to the same condition as the white settlers; that is, they were to become self-sufficient farmers in the British yeoman mold. This policy had been foreshadowed by similar attempts by the Jesuits in New France, and some of the religious communities in New England. Presents were to be replaced by implements, seed, livestock and instruction in their use. The successful settlements of the Mississaugas at the mouth of the Credit River, and of the Six Nations in the Grand Valley, seemed to indicate the potential of such a policy.

INCLUSION VERSUS EXCLUSION: A CONTINUING DILEMMA

But the new policy soon found itself in the grip of a paradox. Its evident end was to make the Indians just like all other residents of the provinces; yet the humanitarian impulse behind the policy apprehended a major danger to the "civilization" of the Indian in exposure to the less desirable aspects of that very non-Indian culture to which he was to become assimilated. One answer which suggested itself was the removal of Indian people to some place free from the baleful influences of white society in order to "inculcate in them the ways of civilization and in 1835-36 an attempt was made to create such a haven on Manitoulin Island. A tension was thus created in Indian affairs which is still evident today: the Indian was to be made a part of the larger society, but to do so he had to be protected *from* that society.

The tendencies which had given rise to the new Indian policy of the 1830s continued space into the 1850s. The Imperial government became more anxious to rid itself of Imperial encumbrances, and to this end announced that the role of the Indian Department was to be "expiring as the Indian progressed towards civilization." The policy of trying to help the Indian develop in isolation was abandoned in favour of creating Indian enclaves in the midst of white settlement which could act as an example and a potential home for the Indian, although the belief that a protective function had to be exercised continued. At the same time (in 1860), responsibility for Indian affairs was transferred to the Canadian government and vested in the Crown Lands Department, which had already assumed responsibility for administration of Indian funds held in trust. This Department, which after Confederation became the Department of the Interior, was the predecessor (through several intermediate stages) of the present Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

1867 — 1969

By the time of Confederation the Province of Canada had a fully developed Indian policy, inherited from the British Imperial and Colonial governments, and administered by the Crown Lands Department. This policy was, in turn, inherited by the new Federal Government which was given legislative authority over "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians." The bases of the policy were: alienation of Indian interest in land through treaties, reservation of lands for Indians, and the existence of a government department charged with managing the affairs of Indians. The aim of the policy was to effect a transition from the native way of life to that of the white majority, and the basic assumption was that the Indian required not only assistance, but also protection in making the transition.

In 1868, the Parliament of Canada embodied this policy in legislation which became the basis of the Indian Act of 1876. Despite subsequent revisions and modifications, the same basic principles are still in effect today. Canada's first great challenge in the field of Indian affairs came with the acquisition in 1870 of the Hudson's Bay Company Territories (now the three prairie provinces, part of the Northwest Territories and the northern parts of Ontario and Quebec). Prior to this, Indian policy had been merely a matter of accommodating previously-made provincial arrangements to an overall federal system. In 1870, the government found itself with a vast territory, with few non-aboriginal inhabitants, and the responsibility of making its own settlement with the Indians. The response was the extension of the older policies into the new Territories. Beginning in 1871, by a series of treaties, the native interests in the land were ceded to the Crown. In return, the Indians received annuities and lands reserved for their use. In keeping with the intention that the Indian was to be made over in the mold of other Canadians, materials and implements (and sometimes rations) were provided or promised to enable the Indian to make the transition. The government also undertook to educate the Indian for his new role and to act, as it were, *in loco parentis* during the transition period.

THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE PAST: WHITHER THE FUTURE?

The Indian policy of federal governments up to now has been the result of almost three centuries of evolution, and has been based on a number of assumptions inherited from earlier periods. Indian people were regarded, not as sovereign, but as subject to some outside government, and this policy set them apart from other Canadians in one important respect: specific legislation made them subject *as a people*, not as individuals. The government considered it had a special responsibility for the well-being of Indian people, even to the extent of managing many of their affairs.

The goal has always been to bring Indian people into Canadian life as full citizens of their country, sharing the responsibilities and the privileges that go with this status. The fact that this policy has been pursued with only superficial modifications for over a century indicates that it was believed to be adequate. But there has been an inherent contradiction in its advocacy of a program of separation to realize a goal of inclusion.

This flaw in its basic assumption — that exclusion can lead to inclusion — has become increasingly obvious in recent years. More and more, Indian people have become aware that a separate road of developments is not bringing them quickly enough into a society which is changing at an increasingly rapid rate. More and more, this separateness has become a burden, unacceptable to Indian and non-Indian people alike as a seed-bed of discrimination. More and more, it has overshadowed the goal of inclusion, of full and equal participation in the life of the nation.

Chapter 2. The Legal Framework

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

There is a widespread and mistaken belief that Indians are the exclusive responsibility of the Federal Government — are, in fact, its wards. This belief owes its origin to the twin facts that Section 91, Head 24 of the British North America Act of 1867 assigned to the Parliament of Canada legislative jurisdiction in respect to "Indians and Lands reserved for the Indians" and that historically the Federal Government has generally provided services to Indians living on reserves and Crown lands.

The historic provision of services by the Federal Government was in the early days, at least, a matter of necessity. Some of the provinces had not then come into existence. Others had not yet attained their present size. The majority of the Indians lived on Crown lands which were under the control of the central government. Additionally, the newly created provinces were ill-equipped in their formative years to assume responsibility for meeting Indian needs, quite apart from the fact that they were given little encouragement to do so.

In so far as the British North America Act is concerned, the authority assigned to the Parliament of Canada in respect to Indians and lands reserved for Indians was one of "legislative jurisdiction." This legislative authority carries with it the exclusive right to determine the special policies, if any, that are to prevail in relation to Indians. Moreover, it follows from the exclusive character of this authority, that the legislatures of the provinces of Canada do not have authority to legislate in relation to "Indians and Lands reserved for the Indians," nor to determine Indian policy.

It is also part of the constitutional law of Canada that neither the Parliament of Canada nor the legislature of a province can confer upon the other the authority to make laws in relation to any subject Head reserved to it by the B.N.A. Act. This eliminates any possibility of a transfer of legislative authority over Indians and lands reserved for Indians, from the Parliament of Canada without an amendment to the B.N.A. Act. However, in the absence of any federal Indian legislation on a matter, provincial laws of general application apply to Indians, but not to their lands. Moreover, if requested and willing, the provinces may act as administrative agencies regarding federal legislation. It seems apparent, therefore, that a considerable degree of flexibility exists in the matter of providing services to Indians.

The constitutional position of the Eskimos is not quite as straightforward as that of the Indians. A reference to the Supreme Court of Canada in 1935 posed the question, "Does the term 'Indians' as used in Head 24 of Section 91 of the B.N.A. Act include Eskimo inhabitants of the Province of Quebec?" An affirmative opinion was given in 1939. The law officers of the Crown have expressed the opinion that, as with the Indians, the B.N.A. Act gives Parliament exclusive legislative jurisdiction in respect to Eskimos, but that provincial laws of general application apply to Eskimos, but that provincial laws of general application apply to Eskimos when not in conflict with federal laws.

All federal, provincial or territorial legislation of general application applies to them. Generally speaking, such programs as the federal Government provides for Eskimos in the fields of education, welfare, health and other fields, are provided "in the absence of" rather than in addition to provincial services. The concept of "treaty" as applied to Indians does not apply to Eskimos. There are no Eskimo reservations, nor are lands held in trust for them, as is the case with Indians, although indications are that some Eskimo groups may request some compensation from the Federal Government for use of northern lands which they traditionally occupied.

THE INDIAN ACT

Historical

The Indian Act provides the legal framework within which the affairs of the Indians are administered by the Government of Canada in accordance with the exclusive legislative jurisdiction vested in it by the British North America Act. It does not embody all the law applicable to Indians as, generally speaking, they are subject to the same laws as non-Indians. Rather, the Indian Act represents special legislation taking precedence over provincial legislation, which the Parliament considers is essential to the needs of the Indian people, not only as a safeguard to protect their treaty and property rights, but as a means of promoting their advancement.

Although the present Indian Act does not, at a glance, bear much resemblance to the early legislation regarding Indians — for instance, to the Indian Act of 1876 which was the first consolidation of the laws pertaining to Indians — closer inspection reveals that the early legislation embodied certain general principles which, although modified over the years, are still to be found in the present Act.

- 1) That Indian status and band membership rights are restricted to certain persons.
- 2) That Indians who wish to give up their Indian status and membership rights may do so if they meet certain conditions.
- 3) That the resources on reserves shall be under the management of the Federal Government and that sales of land can only be made with the consent of the Indians.
- 4) That the revenue derived from the management of the resources shall be held by the government and used only in the best interests of the Indians.
- 5) That bands shall be represented by councils, which shall have the right to pass bylaws on matters affecting the welfare of the Indians on reserves.
- 6) That the use of intoxicants by Indians shall be restricted.
- 7) That the education of Indians shall be of concern to the Federal Government.
- 8) That jurisdiction over the estates of deceased Indians shall be vested in the Federal Government rather than in the provincial courts.
- 9) That Indians may acquire property rights within their reserves.
- 10) That the real and personal property of an Indian band or Indian on a reserve may not be pledged, mortgaged, seized, or taxed.

The majority of the sections of the Indian Act deal with some phase of these principles and a brief commentary on them may be helpful.

Indian Status and Membership Rights

One of the basic principles set out in the early legislation was that Indian status and the right to membership in Indian bands should not be open to all persons. Over the years, questions of status and membership have proved most contentious, and the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons which investigated Indian affairs in the 1940's made the following recommendation in its report:

"To replace the definition of 'Indian' which has been statutory since 1879 there must be a new definition more in accord with present conditions. Parliament annually votes moneys to promote the welfare of Indians. This money should not be spent for the benefit of persons who are not legally members of an Indian band. Your Committee believes that a new definition of 'Indian' and the amendment to those sections of the Act which deal with band membership will obviate many problems".

The difficulties encountered in dealing with status and membership problems prior to 1951 were mainly due to three factors; the first, that the definition of "Indians" was not sufficiently clear; the second, that the provisions of the Act were neither broad enough to cover all the problems that arose nor clear enough to avoid the possibility of misinterpretation; and the third, that there was no central record of all Indians in Canada and up-to-date field lists of the membership of the various bands were not available.

Sections 5 to 17 of the present Act were designed to overcome past difficulties and meet the recommendation of the Joint Committee. They are probably the most important sections in the Act for they decide to what persons it shall apply. Briefly, they provide for an Indian Register to be established at Ottawa (Section 5), the registration therein of all persons entitled to be recognized as Indians (Section 6), the keeping of the Register up-to-date by additions and deletions resulting from births, deaths, marriages, etc., (Section 7), how the initial Register was to be compiled (Section 8), the protesting of additions and deletions to the Register and the appealing of the Registrar's decision on a protest (Section 9), the qualifications for entitlements to registration (Section 11), and the circumstances disqualifying persons from entitlement (Section 12).

The total number of people in Canada who fit this definition according to the latest available records of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, is approximately 237,500. Their members are scattered across the country from Labrador to British Columbia, and from the U.S. - Canadian border to Arctic regions of the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

The following is a breakdown of the Indian population by province and territory, along with the percentage increase over the previous year:

REGISTERED INDIAN POPULATION — CANADA

Year	On ¹	Off ²	Crown ³	Unstated	Total
1966	157,593	43,472	22,825	274	224,164
1967	159,345	50,300	21,242	15	230,902
1968	161,695	54,220	21,562	13	237,490

PERCENTAGE INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR

1966	2.47	32.3	1.95	—	2.78
1967	1.11	15.7	6.93	Dec. —	3.00
1968	1.47	7.79	1.50	—	2.85

¹ On Reserve, includes all Indians who ordinarily reside on a reserve including those who temporarily leave the reserve for employment for a period under twelve months, and any who are away from the reserve for any period for hospitalization or to take educational courses.

² Off Reserve, includes all Indians who are living away from their reserve or organized Indian community and have done so for a continuous period of not less than twelve months.

³ On Crown Land, includes those Indians who do not live on a reserve, but live in distinct organized Indian communities on federal or provincial Crown Land.

Having given these figures, it should be pointed out that it is not possible to provide a simple definition of "Indian" in that it is necessary to take into consideration not only the basic essential of aboriginal birth or blood, but to make necessary allowances for mixed blood, voluntary election (the taking of scrip), operation of law (marriage or enfranchisement) and all other means by which Indian status may have been lost or gained over the passage of time.

Giving up Indian Status – Enfranchisement

Early federal legislation relating to Indians provided that if they met certain conditions and desired to do so Indians could give up their Indians status and membership rights. This process was known as "enfranchisement," in that in following it Indians became regular Canadian citizens with full political rights. Sections 108 to 112 of the present Indian Act provide the law on the subject and indicate that there are three ways in which an Indian may become enfranchised:

Voluntary Enfranchisement – If an Indian can meet certain qualifications he can apply for and be granted enfranchisement, together with his wife and minor unmarried children. In practice, to qualify for enfranchisement an Indian must show that he has disassociated himself from life on the reserve, has lived off the reserve for some years, and is capable of supporting himself and his dependents.

Enfranchisement of Indian Women Upon Marriage to Non-Indians – Section 108 provides that Indian women who marry non-Indians may be declared enfranchised as of the date of their marriage. This sub-section complements Section 12, which states that an Indian woman who marries a non-Indian is not entitled to be registered as an Indian. The reverse is also true; a non-Indian woman upon marriage to an Indian becomes an Indian and a member of her husband's band.

Band Enfranchisement – Section 111 of the Act makes provision for the Indians of a band being enfranchised as a group, provided more than fifty per cent of the electors of the band vote in favour of enfranchisement. While a similar provision has been in the Indian Act for many years, until 1957 there was only one instance – in the 1890s – of a band having been enfranchised following application. Since then, however, two bands, one in Alberta and one in Ontario, applied for and were granted enfranchisement.

Reserves

At an early date in the history of Canada the necessity of protecting the interests of the original inhabitants was recognized and steps were taken to ensure that areas of Crown lands sufficient for their needs were reserved for their use. Some lands were set aside under treaties or agreements; others under statute, by purchase, etc. The policy followed throughout Canada was generally to set aside an area or areas for the use of a band, title being retained by the Crown. Sub-section (1) of Section 18 gives legislative recognition to this policy by providing that reserves shall continue to be held for the same purposes for which they were originally set apart.

A key principle, embodied in Section 37 of the Indian Act and also some of the treaties, is that with minor exceptions no portion of a reserve shall be alienated without having first been surrendered to the Crown by the band of Indians for whose use the land was set apart. Both Indians and the Governor-in-Council must agree to any alienation. This general principle has been in existence since the first federal statute regarding Indians and their land. There are exceptions, however; for example, where reserve land is required for the administration of Indian affairs or band purposes, and where land is required for public purposes and then only where the Governor-in-Council considers it is in the public interest.

One of the principles appearing in the early legislation of Indian affairs was that the management of the land resources of the Indians should be under the control of the Federal government. The present Act merely carries forward this principle.

Section 53 to 57 are administrative sections which outline the formalities to be observed in the disposal of surrendered lands and provide the authority for the passing of regulations governing the disposal of timber, mines, and minerals.

All leases, licences and permits are executed under authority of the Minister on behalf of the band or Indian individual concerned. In 1951, Section 60 provided the first change in this principle, by providing that an Indian band may be given the right to take over the management and control of its reserve lands. It has not been used to any extent.

Management of Band Funds

Another of the principles established by the early legislation was that the revenues derived from the management of reserves should be held by the Government of Canada on behalf of the Indians and used only for the purposes deemed in their best interests. This principle has been retained ever since and is to be found in Section 61 to 68 inclusive.

Section 61-68 provide, among other things, for: (i) the Government to pay interest on the funds it holds for bands; (ii) two type of band accounts, the first a capital account in which shall be placed moneys derived from the sale of land or capital assets, such as timber and minerals, and the second a revenue account in which all other moneys received on behalf of the bands shall be credited; (iii) the distribution of a portion of capital moneys among band members; and (iv) the various purposes for which capital and revenue moneys may be expended.

In 1951, Section 68 provided the first major change in the basic principle that management of Indian moneys should be under the control of the Government by making it possible to transfer management and control of band revenue funds to band councils. Since 1959 about 215 bands have obtained this authority, in whole or in part.

Band Councils

Since the first federal legislation bands have had a self-governing body – the Band Council. The Band Council is the formal instrument of self-government in the Indian community. There are two main divisions of Indian chiefs and councillors, those who are chosen “according to the custom of the band,” and those elected in accordance with the provisions of Section 73-8 of the Indian Act. By the provisions of Section 73 the elective system can only come into effect by order of the Minister. The majority of bands now select their councillors and chief by the electoral system established by the Indian Act.

The council of a band has functions which relate to local government as well as management of “band affairs.” The council deals with admissions to membership, the allocation of land, the expenditure of land funds, recommends leasing of land, issuing of permits and other matters related to reserve resources. In addition, it carries out the local government functions, deals with roads, provides public assistance to its members where it has funds and is generally the body through which the people on the reserve express their will. It may make bylaws dealing with law and order on the reserve, zoning, waterworks, sanitation facilities and other local works. It may license businesses, make assessments and levy taxes on persons lawfully in possession of reserve land. In this respect, it has many of the powers of a non-Indian local government.

Liquor

From the time of the French regime there have been ordinances or statutes regulating or prohibiting the sale to and possession of intoxicants by Indians. Prior to 1951, the law provided that persons of Indian status could not legally consume or be in possession of intoxicants either on or off a reserve. The 1951 Indian Act introduced the first easing of this absolute prohibition as it provided that the Governor-in-Council, *at the request of a province*, could by Parliament enable the

Indians of that province to consume intoxicants in public places in accordance with the laws of the province. That was the situation until 1956, when an amendment to the Indian Act made provision for Indians securing fuller liquor privileges and, under certain circumstances full liquor privileges.

The law now provides that Indians can be given the privilege of consuming intoxicants in public places. Indians now have this privilege in all parts of Canada. In addition, by referendum the Indians may have the right to consume liquor on a reserve, and to date 180 bands have obtained this right.

Education

While Indian education is examined more fully in a later section, it appears appropriate here to indicate the legal aspects. Following Confederation and the entering into treaties with Indians which provided for schools, or the payment of the salaries of teachers, the Federal Government has accepted responsibility for the education of Indian children on reserves or Crown land.

Sections 113 to 122, inclusive, provide the authorities and set out the principles governing this phase of Indian administration, and embody the following main principles:

- i) the Federal Government can either undertake the work of educating Indian children – operating schools, etc., or by agreement arrange to have their education assumed by provincial governments, local school boards, religious organizations, etc., (Section 113);
- ii) regulations may be made pertaining to all phases of the education program, that transportation of children to and from schools may be provided and that arrangements may be made for the maintenance of children being educated in schools operated by religious organizations (Section 114);
- iii) subject to the exceptions listed in Section 116 all children between seven and sixteen years of age shall attend school and that in the Minister's discretion this age group may be expanded to include those between six and eighteen years (Section 115);
- iv) unless the parents consent, Protestant children shall not be sent to a school conducted under Roman Catholic auspices or vice versa (Section 117);
- v) action may be taken to enforce school attendance (Section 118);
- vi) where the majority of a band are of one religious faith the school on a reserve shall be taught by a teacher of that faith (Sub-section (1), Section 120);
- vii) where the majority of the members are not of the same religious denomination, the band may by a majority vote decide that the school shall be taught by a teacher belonging to a particular religious denomination (Sub-section (2), Section 120); and that
- viii) a Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of any band may, with the approval of the Minister, have a separate school or separate classroom on a reserve (Section 121).

Indian Estates

Since 1880, jurisdiction and authority in relation to all matters having to do with the estates of deceased Indians has been vested in the Department. The Indian Act of 1880 contained provisions covering the descent of property of deceased Indians who died intestate and an amendment to the Act in 1884 gave Indians the right to devise property by will. This policy of removing Indian estates from the jurisdiction of the court has been carried forward in successive Indian Acts.

In addition, jurisdiction over the property of mentally incompetent Indians and of infant Indian children has been vested in the Department by Sections 51 and 52 of the Act.

The rationale for having special estates' legislation for Indians on reserves is the fact that the assets of most estates include reserve lands which are held in trust by the Crown, and are not subject to disposition in the ordinary way. In addition, the communal nature of reserve tenure and lack of individual holdings is a complicating factor.

Individual Property Rights

Reserve lands were established on a communal basis – for the use and benefit of a particular band. However, the Indian Act of 1876 provided that individual Indians could acquire property rights within their reserves and this provision still remains. The band council has to take the initiative and allot the land to the individual, who obtains the right to use but does not obtain legal ownership.

Once an allotment has been made the individual may transfer or sell it to another Indian of the same band, subject to approval and the recording of the transfer by the Department, or may devise it to his heirs. If he ceases to be a member of the band he must dispose of his property to the band or a member of it. Accompanying the establishment of individual property rights within a reserve was the development of a registry system which is provided for under present Sections 20 to 28.

Seizure and Taxation of Property on a Reserve

Since the 1850s Indians have not been subject to taxation of real or personal property on a reserve. In addition the pledging, mortgaging, or seizure of real or personal property, has been prohibited since the first Indian Act was passed.

Section 86 states that reserve lands and personal property on reserves are exempt from taxation. Sub-section (1) of Section 88 carries this idea one step further by providing that the same properties are not subject to mortgage, seizure, distress, etc., at the instance of any person other than an Indian. In effect, a judgment secured against an Indian by a non-Indian cannot be executed against reserve property.

TREATIES AND THE INDIAN PEOPLE

While the status of "Indian" is claimed by all who meet the definition provided in the Indian Act, only about half of their number are the recipients of continuing benefits under treaties.

The courts have not precisely interpreted the word "treaty" as used in relation to Indians. In the absence of a precise interpretation, the term is generally applied to agreements between the Crown and groups of Indians who, for a consideration, ceded their interests in tracts of land to the Crown. Agreements of this type originated in the 18th century along the Atlantic seaboard and became an incident of the progressive westward and northern settlement of Canada. Prior to 1850, most of the agreements were relatively simple in form.

Beginning with the Robinson-Huron and the Robinson-Superior Treaties of 1850 a number of treaties were entered into between the Crown and bands of Indians in northern Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, parts of British Columbia and the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories. Treaties Nos. 1-11 were concluded during this period. The particular significance of this group of agreements is that all made provision for continuing benefits of one kind or another. Benefits varied to some degree, but usually included annual cash payments to all members of the bands who signed the treaties, the setting apart of lands for reserves, and educational assistance. Other benefits often included were special hunting and fishing rights, annual grants for ammunition and twine, and triennial clothing issues to chiefs and headmen.

Arrangements of this nature have not been concluded with the majority of the bands in British Columbia, the bands in the Yukon and the bands in northern Quebec.

Chapter 3. Current Federal Programs and the Indian

Within the legal framework previously described, and flowing historically from the decision that Indians and Indian land should fall within the legislative powers of the Federal Parliament a considerable part of the total resources of the Department of Indian Affairs and part of the total resources of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is directed toward matters affecting the well-being of Indians and Eskimos. Of the total budget of approximately \$289 million allocated by Parliament for the use of the Department in 1969-70, approximately \$175 million is earmarked specifically for programs which have as their objective the eradication or amelioration of the root causes of poverty among Indians and Eskimos or, in more positive terms, the social advancement and development of both groups. This does not include an amount of roughly \$17 million in grants provided the northern territories, much of which is spent for the same purpose.

Before examining the impact of these programmes, in light of the Department's major objectives, as a preliminary to outlining proposals for further progress towards these objectives, it will be helpful if the nature and range of current Departmental programmes on behalf of the Indian and Eskimo is understood. As indicated earlier, because there are significant differences in the economic, political, and legal framework, and hence in the programmes operated within this framework, between on the one hand the Indian and Eskimo in the Canadian provinces, and the Indian and Eskimo in the northern territories, these are treated separately in successive sections.

EDUCATION

Historical Background

Prior to Confederation a small but significant body of legislation had been passed which indicated acceptance of responsibility for Indian education by the provincial or local governments. Several legislatures had made provision for the attendance of Indians at schools serving non-Indian children, including the payment to local authorities for tuition and board. There was authority in both Upper and Lower Canada for the incorporation of Indian reserves into established school districts or school sections and some provision had been made in the statutes for the financing of Indian education.

The B.N.A. Act vested in the Parliament of Canada jurisdiction to legislate with respect to Indians and the lands reserved aside for their use. The existing legislation, which provided a basis for the extension of provincial services to the Indian people, was superseded by the Indian Act of 1876 which provided the legal basis for federal administration of Indian Affairs.

After 1871, most Indian treaties contained a commitment "to maintain schools for instruction on the reserve . . . whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it" or "to make such provision as may from time to time be deemed advisable for the education of the Indian children." As a result of such provisions and their interpretation, until the end of the second World War education for the Indian was, in effect, education in isolation.

During this period, schools and hostels for Indian children were established, but scant attention was paid to developing a curriculum geared to either their language difficulties or their sociological needs. A few Indian bands established schools for their children on the reserves, but the majority of them had neither the financial nor leadership resources to establish and operate their own schools. Provincial governments were too preoccupied with their own priorities to become involved in Indian education. Missionaries provided a modicum of services, but their 'noble savage' philosophy effectively insulated the Indians from the mainstream of society.

After the second World War Canadians began to take a hard look at the Indian situation in Canada. For the first time the general public became concerned about the immense educational gap between Indian and non-Indian youth. With the 1946 report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the administration of Indian affairs, new policies were developed and the first comprehensive revision of the Indian Act in 75 years took place.

While the new policies have provided a framework for an expansion in educational services to Indians over the past several years, much remains to be done. The following is an account of the Department's aim and objectives in Indian education, and the extent to which these objectives have been attained. It should be noted that the Department's education program applies only to those persons who are registered, or entitled to be registered, as Indians. It does not apply to enfranchised Indians and Métis, as provincial services are available to them.

Aims and Objectives of Indian Education

CERTAIN BASIC TENETS

In the field of education it is the aim of the Department to have Indians develop the social and cultural skills and the economic competence required to participate in the life of the country on an equitable basis with other citizens. In realizing and in giving direction to its aim, the Department recognizes certain basic tenets which underlie in a general way the needs of the Indian people in relation to the education program.

- a) To engender Indian self-confidence, self-government and consensus as to educational goals, the Indian people must be allowed to express and realize their own wishes and aspirations by way of adequate consultation and communication, and an increasing role in education decision-making.
- b) The acceleration of educational integration in the provinces is seen as the principal means of enabling Indian and non-Indian people to live and work together on equal terms.
- c) As the majority of Indian bands are disadvantaged groups in Canadian society, specialized educational assistance is required by way of instructional programs, guidance and counselling services, residence services and allowances.
- d) The education program must support interest in the Indian heritage and culture and assist in reaffirming Indian identity.

EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

It is in the context of these basic considerations that the goals and objectives of the Department's Education Branch have been formulated. Specifically, the primary objectives of the Education Branch are as follows:

Enrolments and Provincial Integration

With the agreement of their parents, to enrol all Indian children in provincial schools through:

- i) enrolment of individual Indian children in provincial schools under a tuition program or by purchase of space in such schools;
- ii) leasing federal schools to provincial or local school authorities;
- iii) establishment of locally-operated school units on Indian reserves under the authority of provincial school legislation;
- iv) phasing out instruction in federal schools for students at the junior or senior high school level.

Federal School Services

- i) for Indian children still attending federal schools to provide educational opportunities at least equal to those available to children attending provincial schools;
- ii) to overcome language retardation of Indian children through pre-school instruction, improved instructional methods, and guidance programs;
- iii) to recognize the Indian culture and Indian identity in instructional programs and in extra curricular activities.

Student Residences

Where required, to maintain student residences providing a well-rounded home and community experience which meets the developmental needs of children.

Boarding Homes

To provide a satisfactory living environment for students who must leave their homes in order to continue their education at the secondary or post-secondary level.

Higher Education and Professional Training

To identify individuals with potential for higher education, to encourage them to enrol in universities or related institutions, and to provide required financial and other assistance.

Vocational and Adult Training

To provide out-of-school training and guidance to prepare Indians for gainful employment and to adjust to urban living.

Employment and Relocation

To assist Indian families to relocate to areas with available job opportunities.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

The education program comprises four main components:

1. Academic education — from pre-school to high school graduation.
2. Student residences and boarding home programs.
3. Post school training — vocational, adult and university training.
4. Employment relocation and training.

The activities of each component area are described under the same headings as the objectives listed above, in order to relate the education program more easily to these stated objectives.

Enrolments and Provincial Integration

Enrolments In 1968-69, Indian pupil enrolment totalled 62,384. Of this number 5,752 were in kindergarten; 40,331 in grades I — VI; 11,260 in grades VII — IX; 3,822 in grades X — XII; and 1,505 in special categories. Of the total pupil enrolment, 33,351 were enrolled in provincial schools and 29,483 in federal schools.

All high school students attend provincial schools. Almost all children between the ages of 6 and 16 attend school; about 50 per cent reach grade 8 and about 25 per cent reach senior high school. More Indian children are remaining in school longer. In 1969 the percentage enrolment

increase in grades I to VI was 3.5; in grades VII to IX, 9.5 and in grades X to XII, 22.1. Table 1 gives the statistical picture of increased enrolments at the high school level in the last five years. Table 2 provides a comparison of the proportions of the students in high schools as between Indian students and Canadian students.

Provincial Integration In 1968-69, 53 per cent of the total Indian population in the provinces was enrolled in provincial schools. This is accomplished by enrolling Indian children in local and private schools and by agreement with provincial school boards for the establishment of joint schools for Indian and non-Indian pupils with Federal Government contribution to the cost of construction on a pro-rata basis. These joint schools have increased from 190 in 1963 to 380 in 1968, and have been a significant development in broadening the outlook of Indian children and in fitting them to participate actively in the life of the provincial communities of which their reserves form a part.

Federal School Services

Schools The Department currently operates 300 schools for Indian children. A large number of the classrooms are either sub-standard or temporary, in many cases lacking minimum space requirements with inadequate heating, lighting and ventilation. In 1968-69, 32 new federal classrooms were constructed.

Teachers In 1968-69, the number of teachers employed at federal schools was 1,282. Of these, about 12 per cent did not have recognized teacher qualifications; another 20 per cent have at least one university degree. In the same year 158 teachers were of Indian status.

Pre-school Program In 1968-69, there were 5,752 enrolments in the two-year kindergarten program. The kindergarten program is viewed as a major step to reduce premature withdrawal from school and age-grade retardation. Standardized reading tests are indicating an improvement in school performance as a result of the kindergarten program.

Curriculum Federal schools in the provinces follow the prescribed provincial curriculum. In addition, special efforts are made to overcome the language retardation of Indian children by way of Regional Language Supervisors and culturally oriented instructional materials. In 1968 a survey helped to identify textbooks whose contents were offensive to Indian people, and steps were instituted to remove them from the schools.

Guidance In 1968-69, 176 counsellors provided counselling to Indian students and communities; none of these counsellors was school-based. Their duties include:

- a) social and personal guidance, including attendance counselling,
- b) group instruction and discussion about vocational, educational and employment opportunities;
- c) educational and job placement and follow-up.

School Committees In most reserves where there is a federal school, a school committee assists in its operation. On reserves where children attend the local provincial school, the school committee has a liaison function. Band councils appoint members of the school committee which is, in effect, an embryonic school board. Authorities are delegated to school committees in some or all of the following areas:

- a) school lunch program;
- b) daily school transportation;
- c) repairs and maintenance of school buildings;
- d) appointment of caretakers;
- e) janitor's supplies.

In addition, either the school committee or the band councillors are consulted on teacher hiring, joint school agreements and admissions to student residences.

TABLE 1

**SCHOOL ENROLMENTS, INDIAN STUDENTS IN PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES
GRADES 9-13, WITH ANNUAL PERCENTAGE INCREASES 1964-69**

Grade	1964/ 65	% Increase From 1963	1965/ 66	% of Increase	1966/ 67	% of Increase	1967/ 68	% of Increase	1968/ 69	% of Increase
9	2,309	17.86	2,474	7.15	2,590	4.69	2,808	8.42	3,091	10.08
10	1,212	6.32	1,423	17.40	1,520	6.82	1,784	17.37	1,949	9.07
11	726	16.77	777	7.02	897	15.44	952	6.13	1,246	30.74
12	481	53.18	499	3.53	478	- 4.39	560	17.15	691	23.17
13	33	3.13	47	42.42	25	-46.81	31	24.0	37	19.35
Totals										
Gr. 9-13	4,761	17.12	5,220	9.22	5,510	5.55	6,135	11.34	7,014	14.90
Totals										
Gr. 1-13	47,748	4.53	51,256	7.35	53,371	4.13	56,120	5.15	56,642	.93
% of Totals										
Gr. 9-13		9.94		10.16		10.30		10.93		12.38

TABLE 2

**PERCENTAGE OF ENROLMENT BY GRADE 1964-69
INDIAN AND CANADIAN ENROLMENTS GRADES 9-13**

Grade	1964-65		1965-66		1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	
	Indian	Canada	Indian	Canada	Indian	Canada	Indian	Canada	Indian	Canada
9	4.83	7.6	4.82	7.7	4.85	7.9	5.00	7.9	5.46	Not
10	2.53	6.6	2.77	6.6	2.84	6.8	3.18	7.0	3.44	avail-
11	1.52	5.4	1.51	5.6	1.68	5.7	1.70	5.9	2.20	able
12	1.00	3.2	.97	3.4	.89	3.3	.99	3.4	1.22	
13	.06	0.9	.09	0.9	.04	0.8	.06	0.9	.06	
Total %										
Gr. 9-13	9.94	23.7	10.16	24.2	10.30	24.5	10.93	25.1	12.38	

Student Residences

In 1968-69 about 8,000 children lived in 59 student residences during the school year; in most cases the children attend elementary school either adjacent to the residence or the local provincial school. The staff of the former church-operated residences, numbering about 1,600, were transferred to Departmental employ this year.

Reduced Need The need for residential institutions is diminishing as a result of additional day school facilities, improved roads and improved housing, and alternative boarding home services and welfare services. Already eight residences have been closed in the current year. A revised admissions' policy to residences was implemented in September 1969 and reports indicate substantial reductions in the numbers of students requiring institutional care. The student residences are for Indian children who are unable to attend federal day schools or provincial schools from their homes.

Child-Care Program During this first year of operating the student residences, the Department is developing a child care program adequate to the many needs of the Indian children. A poorly staffed residence can foster a dependency pattern in children which, in turn, may result in later adulthood in apathy, poverty and social problems. For this reason, the Department is seeking to implement a sound child care program. Currently, there are 450 child care workers in the residences, but only about 50 of these meet recognized staffing standards for this job. There are 65 child care workers of Indian ancestry. A five-year program for child care workers is under way and other opportunities for training and upgrading are being developed.

Boarding Homes

There are about 3,000 students living in private boarding homes in the centres where they attend school. The majority are 16 years of age or older and about 90 per cent of them are high school students. Departmental counsellors provide guidance to students prior to their living in a boarding home and during the period they are away from home. The counsellors also select appropriate boarding homes for the students and make arrangements for their schooling. The boarding home program operates under the Department's educational assistance policy which provides tuition, transportation and living costs, and clothing and personal allowances.

Higher Education and Professional Training

In 1968-69, there were 188 Indian students in university courses, 38 in teacher training, 28 in nurse's training and 355 in technical training. Table 3 shows that, although the number of Indians enrolled in universities is gradually increasing, the proportion of the Indian population is exceptionally low and early withdrawals cause the number graduating to remain minimal.

In the summer of 1968 the Department employed 70 Indian senior high school and university students in district, regional and Ottawa offices. It is planned to continue this summer employment program. It is hoped that the work will encourage students to continue their studies by showing them the value of education already received. The experience will also fit them for employment in government and other work associated with Indian program development.

TABLE 3

PERFORMANCE OF INDIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
Enrolment	88	131	150	156
Number of Graduates	5	8	13	10
Number Completing Course	57	76	79	97
Number Failed Course	5	7	15	23
Number Withdrawing	21	40	43	26

In the summer of 1968 the Department employed 70 Indian senior high school and university students in district, regional and Ottawa offices. It is planned to continue this summer employment program. It is hoped that the work will encourage students to continue their studies by showing them the value of education already received. The experience will also fit them for employment in government and other work associated with Indian program development.

Vocational and Adult Training

The post-school program provides a continuing service for those who have completed the school program; for those who have dropped out and wish to upgrade their education; and for those requiring adult education, rehabilitation and training. In addition, the Department also assists trainees and graduates to find employment. A complete education is accessible to every Indian child, although to date only a minority have availed themselves of all opportunities.

During the past fiscal year, 2,291 students were enrolled in training courses leading to employment. Included were 355 in technical training, 38 in teacher training, 20 in nurse's training and 188 in university courses.

The adult education program attempts to correct some of the root causes of poverty on reserves by using all available resources, including those of Canada Manpower, to provide basic literacy and upgrading courses so as to raise the level of education for those who wish to enrol in trades training courses, home improvement courses for housewives and young women, and a miscellany of occupational training courses leading directly to local employment.

INDIAN ENROLMENTS IN PROFESSIONAL AND VOCATIONAL COURSES

Program	1959/ 60	1960/ 61	1961/ 62	1962/ 63	1963/ 64	1964/ 65	1965/ 66	1966/ 67	1967/ 68
Upgrading	-	-	-	-	-	946	1387	3634	2224
Vocational Training	301	356	256	254	456	994	1244	2529	2081
Adult Education	-	-	-	-	-	-	2753	3797	6833
University, Etc.	99	91	95	97	98	132	177	240	225
TOTAL	400	447	351	351	554	2072	5561	10200	11363

NEW ENROLMENTS IN POST SCHOOL PROGRAMS

April 1, 1967 - January 31, 1968

	British Columbia	Alberta	Sask.	Manitoba	Ont.	Que.	Maritimes	Totals
Upgrading	193	113	370	275	1091	159	23	2224
Vocational Training	513	155	309	315	592	171	26	2081
Adult Education	1443	873	1440	605	1452	799	221	6833
University, etc.	47	14	31	8	53	48	24	225
TOTAL	2196	1155	2150	1203	3188	1177	294	11363

Employment and Relocation

In 1968-69, the employment relocation service placed 2,845 in regular employment and 3,496 in short-term employment. Business school graduates requiring practical office experience prior to placement in permanent employment are placed in government offices and paid an allowance of \$40.00 a week as in-service trainees. Under this program, there were 233 trainees last year. Under a similar program of on-the-job training in which the Department contributes up to 50 per cent of the wages for a period of up to 52 weeks, 139 received training. Relocation assistance enabled 224 families living in areas of marginal opportunity to move and find permanent employment. Included in the assistance provided is a \$1,000 furniture grant for those moving to urban areas under the Off-Reserve Housing program.

INDIAN ENROLMENT IN IN-SERVICE AND ON-THE-JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS
1967-68

	British Columbia	Alberta	Sask.	Manitoba	Ontario	Quebec	Maritimes	Total
In-service Training	29	23	18	6	37	15	6	134
On-the-job Training	8	6	18	3	7	17	7	66
TOTAL	37	29	36	9	44	32	13	200

INDIAN EMPLOYMENT PLACEMENTS
1967-68

	British Columbia	Alberta	Sask.	Manitoba	Ontario	Quebec	Maritimes	Total
Regular Employment	681	411	419	804	303	61	81	2760
Short-Term Employment	1263	1336	3006	2469	540	178	509	9301
TOTAL	1944	1747	3425	3273	843	239	590	12061

INDIAN FAMILY RELOCATIONS 1967-68

	British Columbia	Alberta	Sask.	Manitoba	Ontario	Quebec	Maritimes	Total
Relocations	5	8	90	92	14	11	28	248

INDIAN ENROLMENTS IN IN-SERVICE AND ON-THE-JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS

Program	1959/ 60	1960/ 61	1961/ 62	1962/ 63	1963/ 64	1964/ 65	1965/ 66	1966/ 67	1967/ 68
In-service Training	—	—	—	40	83	69	93	115	134
On-the-job Training	—	—	—	19	39	76	103	109	66
TOTAL				59	122	145	196	224	200

INDIAN EMPLOYMENT PLACEMENTS

Regular Employment	231	293	355	460	511	551	697	2,357	2,760
Short-term Employment	2,615	4,026	3,913	4,557	11,454	7,668	14,794	8,231	9,301
TOTAL	2,846	4,319	4,268	5,017	11,965	8,219	15,491	10,588	12,061

Poverty and the Educational Program

In Indian education, poverty is characterized in three main and interrelated areas:

1. the low school attainment of Indian students.
2. the lack of concern and low level of involvement of Indian parents and Indian communities in the educational policy and programs;
3. the inadequate provision of educational facilities and programs.

LOW SCHOOL ATTAINMENT

The percentage of high school enrolment in the total school population is a good indicator of general educational attainment levels. Among Indian students the high school enrolment is 12 per cent, compared to a provincial average of 25 per cent. In a general way there are a number of specific factors to which low school attainment among Indian students may be attributed. These are:

1. Substandard and overcrowded housing, and inadequate diet and health care;
2. The lack of interest in education and the low educational-vocational aspirations among many Indian, Indian families and communities;
3. An inadequate understanding and usage of English or French as a second language.

INDIAN INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION

It has to be recognized that the school system has no real roots in the Indian community. Thus, there is a difficulty in stimulating and sustaining interest in education. The lack of the Indian people's involvement in educational decision making, the generally low achievement of the students, and the relative lack of concern of the non-Indian public reinforces existing apathy towards education.

INADEQUATE FACILITIES AND PROGRAMS

Improved educational facilities and programs for Indian students are essential to improve both attitudes to school and school performance. Specifically, the following are the areas requiring immediate attention:

1. the recruitment and retention of qualified teaching staff and the reduction of the number of unqualified teachers;
2. the improvement and expansion of training programs and orientation courses for teachers and specialists, both in federal and provincial systems, to prepare them for coping with the problems of Indian education;
3. the replacement of substandard school buildings;
4. the expansion and enrichment of vocational and occupational services and facilities to cope with an increasing population, the scarcity of opportunities for a traditional livelihood, an accelerated rate of urbanization and higher educational requirements of employers. Because of insufficient resources adult education is only beginning to tackle effectively the basic problem of illiteracy, and pave the way for vocational training.
5. the expansion of guidance services for Indians seeking suitable academic and vocational training and employment;
6. the expansion of kindergarten classes; at present, these are available for only 5,700 of the 18,000 Indian and Eskimo children four and five years of age.

HOUSING

Historical Aspects

There is no housing commitment, per se, on the part of the Federal Government of Canada to the Indian people of Canada. The provision of housing has been a matter of humanitarian principle, not one of constitutional or legislated requirement.

Early housing was limited by depression and wartime lack of funds creating a backlog of need which, when coupled with expanding postwar expectations, reached crisis proportions.

This backlog necessitated "quantity shelter" being given priority over "quality housing" and produced 10,000 "shelter units". The shelter units were in most instances a form of transition from tent or shack to an uninsulated dwelling with conventional roof, walls and windows, measuring approximately 16' x 20', seldom consisting of more than 2 rooms. The average cost of these dwellings was approximately \$2,357.00. By 1961, the needs/satisfaction gaps had not been closed.

Subsidy Housing was introduced in 1962. It was designed to provide shelter for all Indian families, and houses of a minimum standard for those capable of personal contribution. Houses were constructed according to designs prepared by the Departmental Engineering and Construction Division. The personal contribution from the Indian was a small cash contribution and his labour for construction. The house size was from a minimum of 287 sq. ft. to 600 sq. ft. according to the size of the family. Privacy was limited as confined space necessitated the use of bunk beds to conserve sleeping space and a combination of living and dining area. The houses were well insulated and generally quite warm — however, few were equipped with an electric supply, and no arrangements were made for indoor water supply or toilet facilities. The average cost per unit under this program, considering funds from the Federal Government, band funds and personal contributions, was \$3,667.00.

Again, limited funds precluded meaningful quantitative and qualitative progress. Human and physical overcrowding persisted. By 1964 the gap had not been closed.

In 1965 an objective was set and an announcement made that every Indian family residing on an Indian reserve would have the opportunity by 1970 of obtaining a house of a size and quality comparable to that enjoyed by Canadian citizens residing in the area surrounding the reserve. Arrangements were made for utility services, running water, indoor toilets and electricity, on reserves situated in areas where such facilities were normally included in non-Indian homes. To further define this objective a policy was set that all new or renovated homes on a reserve, where there was a viable economic base, would at least meet minimum C.M.H.C. standards. To meet these minimum standards we would conform to National Housing Construction requirements which include specified room sizes, (living room 145 sq. ft., dining area 75 sq. ft., kitchen 45 sq. ft., master bedroom 105 sq. ft., other bedrooms 75 sq. ft.), clothes closet and coat closet 6 sq. ft. and room for a three-piece bathroom and storage space. Standard construction methods would be followed with emphasis on thickness of foundation walls, amount of insulation required, the spans of floor joists and rafters. Housing constructed on reserves in isolated areas where the viability of the reserve is in doubt would be of a temporary nature, stressing safety and comfort but not necessarily meeting the minimum standards of C.M.H.C.

To meet the objective by the fiscal year 1969-70 it was considered that \$75 million would be required from federal funds and \$9 million would be required from bonds and funds and personal contributions by band members.

The housing need and new family formations projected to 1970 as established on March 31, 1965 was 12,350 units. Unfortunately, the survey was conducted prior to setting the objectives and establishing the minimum standards. The survey was carried out by field officials who, in many instances, had become accustomed to reserve conditions and by using a judgment decision regarding homes which were "Good, Fair and Poor". The estimated need of 12,350 units was later found to be a very conservative estimate.

Between March 31, 1965 and March 31, 1969, 6,870 new housing units were acquired, with Federal Government assistance of \$39,500,000, and \$9,345,520 from personal contributions and Band funds. The overall gain in family dwellings during this period was only 2,612 indicating that 4,258 families simply replaced their existing housing with new units.

It is now evident that even the target of 12,350 new units by 1970 will not be accomplished. The objective of every family on reserves having the opportunity of acquiring a home of minimum C.M.H.C. standard will not be realized in the foreseeable future unless the funds available for this purpose are greatly increased.

On March 31, 1969, a new survey was conducted by field officials, after being briefed on minimum standards as outlined in the Departmental objective. Existing houses were qualified as "Good" if they met minimum C.M.H.C. standards, "Fair" if they needed to be renovated to meet minimum C.M.H.C. standards, "Fair" if they needed to be renovated to meet minimum C.M.H.C. standards, and "Poor" if they required replacement. The survey indicated an inventory of houses on reserves as: 14,166 "Good", 7,488 "Fair", 6,744 "Poor". The good homes require general maintenance only. The fair homes can, we believe, be renovated to meet C.M.H.C. standards at an average cost of \$5,000 for renovations was established and it is probable, therefore, that a number of the "fair" homes will more properly fall into the "poor" category. (We have been advised by the Technical Services Branch that to exceed an average cost of \$5,000 per home for renovation would be false economy). The poor houses must be replaced by new units.

Considering our present need and projecting the resident population increase for the next 5 years, and taking into consideration the migration off-reserves, as determined by the Central Statistical Division, the following are requirements if Departmental objectives are to be met by March 31, 1974.

	March 31 1969 (Survey)	March 31 1974 (Forecast)
Housing Requirements		
On-reserve population	161,695	171,742
(a) No. of family units (based on 5.5 per unit)	29,399	31,225
Housing Available		
No. of good units (minimum C.M.H.C. standard)	14,166	14,166
No. of fair units (requiring renovations)	7,488	7,488
(b) TOTAL houses available	21,654	21,654
No. of new houses required (a - b)	7,745	9,571

If it is assumed that each new house will cost approximately the same as the Federal Government now pays per square foot adjusted upward to meet rising costs, then a total of close to \$250 million will need to be invested in Indian housing between now and 1975. A major question, therefore, is how such funds might be generated.

EXISTING HOUSING PROGRAMS

There are now four housing programs in effect — three on-reserve programs and an off-reserve program. These are as follows: (1) Subsidy Housing Program, (2) Indian On-Reserve Housing Program, (3) Band Administered Housing Program and (4) Indian Off-Reserve Housing Program.

The Subsidy Housing Program — (Program No. 1)

Under the subsidy housing program, indigent widows with dependent children, the physically handicapped, the aged and the infirm may be provided with housing accommodation on reserves without charge or with a nominal contribution only. Others are expected to make a cash contribution in accordance with income, and to contribute labour and material wherever possible. The size of houses constructed takes into consideration the size of families.

The subsidy housing program may be administered in two ways: (1) by departmental employees with Band Councils acting in an advisory capacity in review of requests for assistance and establishing priorities amongst applicants, and (2) by Band Councils who may undertake, for a specified period of time, construction of houses using funds, in part at least, provided through Department appropriations. (See Program No. 3). The following table indicates the amount of personal contributions required and the maximum amounts of subsidy allowable, based upon applicants' income and need.

Applicant's Income \$	Minimum Cash Payment	Maximum Subsidy
Less than \$3,000	\$ 135	\$ 8,500
3,001 — 3,600	235	8,500
3,601 — 4,200	335	8,500
4,201 — 4,800	435	8,500
4,801 — 5,700	535	8,500
5,701 — 6,600	635	7,500
6,601 — 7,500	735	6,500
7,501 — 8,400	835	5,500
8,401 — 9,000	935	4,500
Over \$9,000	1,185	3,500

When determining the personal contribution an applicant is required to make, Family Allowances and Welfare Assistance are not considered as income. Guidelines have been established (see below) for the allocation of houses under the Subsidy Housing Program. The guidelines are based on a point rating system under which a certain number of points were awarded according to marital circumstance, condition of present housing, number of dependents, initiative and self-help, disability and income. The system can be changed to fit local conditions or particular problems and were intended as a guide for band councils in setting up priority lists for Subsidy Houses.

It is evident that the guidelines are not being adhered to by some bands and there are many instances of complaints from band members. It is obviously desirable, from the Departmental point of view, for the Band Councils to have the responsibility for establishing priorities and undesirable for Department employees to participate directly in their decisions. There has been some tendency for staff to leave the entire responsibility with the Band Council, whereas, in some cases, a greater advisory role is indicated.

FAMILY UNIT INCOME — NUMBERS EARNING

	No. of Family Units	\$2000 or less		\$200 to \$3000		\$3000 & Over	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1962-63	28,963	21,861	75	4,501	15	2,999	10
1964-65	30,480	22,030	72	4,779	16	3,671	12
1966-67	31,664	20,691	65	5,718	18	5,255	17
1968-69	32,737	19,998	61	5,372	17	7,167	22

These people, and the additional 5,372 in the \$2,000 to \$3,000 range can do little with respect to providing adequate housing so that it might be said that if houses are provided to anyone with an income of over \$3,000, the program is not being managed properly. Obviously this is not correct as some large families with larger incomes than \$3,000 are badly in need of housing.

PRIORITY CHART — INDIAN HOUSING

This is a suggested chart only and should be amended as necessary to fit local conditions or particular problems.

Maximum: 300 points

Marital Circumstances

Single, separated, or widowed with no dependents — no points
 Married, or equivalent, and living with spouse, or widowed or separated with dependents — 50 points

Maximum no. of points

Present Housing

Up to total of 50 points depending upon the condition and suitability of the existing house and providing the applicant is a permanent resident on the reserve and head of a household of at least two. (A single person with no dependents would not receive any points in this category).

Maximum no. of points

Dependents

Ten points for each child or dependent 18 years of age and under, or seriously disabled regardless of age, and 5 points for other dependents, excluding spouse, to a maximum of 100 points.

Maximum no. of points

Initiative and Self-Help

Up to 30 points to be awarded for willingness, thrift, self-help, industry, cleanliness, community leadership and cooperation, etc.

Maximum no. of points

Disability

If the head of the household or his spouse is incapacitated and unemployable, a maximum of 40 points will be awarded depending upon the extent of the disability.

Maximum no. of points

Income

\$1,000 or less annually	— 30 points
\$1,001 to \$2,500 annually	— 10 points
Over \$2,500 annually	— no points

Maximum no. of points

TOTAL POINTS

The number of houses constructed by regions since 1965, together with the backlog as estimated by the regions for each of the years of the Housing Survey is shown in the following table.

NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS CONSTRUCTED

Region	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	Total 1965-69
Maritimes	40	64	92	87	283
Quebec	109	133	172	172	586
Ontario	155	228	312	322	1,017
Manitoba	239	443	452	378	1,512
Saskatchewan	260	381	410	407	1,458
Alberta	225	218	203	148	794
N.W.T.	32	-	-	-	32
B.C. & Yukon	242	302	364	280	1,188
Total	1,302	1,769	2,005	1,794	6,870

BACKLOG

Region	1965	1967	1969
Maritimes	200	239	266
Quebec	769	1,332	1,342
Ontario	919	1,141	1,324
Manitoba	1,365	1,434	1,299
Saskatchewan	1,128	1,409	1,371
Alberta	665	693	1,085
N.W.T.	-	-	-
B.C. & Yukon	939	1,429	1,643
	5,985	7,677	8,330

Briefly, the figures indicate that the backlog of 5,985 houses which existed in 1965 increased to a backlog of 8,330 in 1969 in spite of the fact that 6,870 new units were constructed. In the case of all regions except Manitoba, there has been an increase in the backlog. Obviously a change in the criterion for assessing unsuitable houses has taken place, and this is understandable to some extent but in several regions the increase in the backlog has almost doubled in the four years. Poor reporting is probably at the root of the problem in some areas, notably Quebec, Alberta and British Columbia.

Indian On-reserve Housing Program — Program No. 2)

The Indian on-reserve housing program provides for Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation loans under two types of circumstances:

- a) to persons who do not obtain assistance under the Subsidy Housing Program but who, nevertheless, wish to borrow money for the construction of houses on Indian reserves; and
- b) as supplementary assistance to persons who qualify for direct housing aid under the Subsidy Housing Program but who wish to build more expensive houses than is possible with the basic subsidy for which they are eligible.

Prior to the establishment of this program, Indian property on reserves could not be put up as security and, as a result, mortgage money could not be obtained from the usual sources. Money is now available to Indians on reserves in the form of a loan from CMHC or other approved lenders and the funds are guaranteed by the Department in the event of default by the borrower. The amount that may be borrowed by an individual is limited by his financial resources and his ability to meet the monthly payments, the same as is the case of non-Indians. This program is especially designed for people with initiative, who want to have a greater degree of control over their own affairs.

In 1967/68, forty applications for C.M.H.C. mortgages were approved and a further 46 were approved in 1968/69. Some 16 have been approved so far this year for a total of 102 with a total initial mortgage value of \$666,000. It is expected that less than 30 applications will be approved this year which indicates a lessening of interest in this program. The program does, however, overcome the long-standing Indian complaint regarding the non-availability of loan funds for the housing purposes.

Band-Administered Housing Program — (Program No. 3)

The general intent of Band-Administered Housing Programs is to permit Band Councils to undertake, for a specified period of time, construction of houses within the standards and criteria established for the Subsidy Housing Program.

The Band Council is expected to indicate, by Band Council Resolution, that at the end of a specified period of time the band will undertake to construct any additional houses needed, including houses for new family formations, without further financial assistance from the Indian Affairs Branch. To be able to meet future housing needs, bands are expected to develop revenue-producing housing programs.

Capital contributions are made to bands and not to individuals. Band Councils can, therefore, build houses and dispose of them by sale, rental, or rental purchase to band members. In the cases of indigent widows with dependent children, unmarried mothers, the physically handicapped, the

aged and infirm, the rental cost is to be covered by adding the rental charge to the other items of need. The housing assistance given any individual band member is based on the same formula used under the Subsidy Housing Program.

At present, programs are now being conducted by twenty-three bands, of which one is in Quebec, 13 in Ontario, 2 in Manitoba, 1 in Saskatchewan, 2 in Alberta and 4 in British Columbia. A total of \$13,501,000 from appropriations is involved, \$350,000 in Quebec, \$4,751,000 in Ontario, \$2,442,900 in Manitoba, \$200,000 in Saskatchewan, \$3,618,300 in Alberta and \$2,138,800 in British Columbia.

Bands have not been as eager to enter into Housing Programs as might have been expected, basically because of lack of experience in project development. The \$7,000 limit on the subsidy given to any band member also proved to be deterrent as many thought it was insufficient. The subsidy was subsequently increased to \$8,500 maximum with the choice of spending the additional \$1,500 on a house resting with the Band Council. If the larger amount is spent on each house, the number of houses will, of course, be reduced, and some additional funds may be needed at the expiry of the present program.

It is reported that a negative reaction is being felt since the announcement of the new policy in that some bands are less interested than previously in entering into band operated housing programs as they feel this aids Departmental withdrawal from Indian Affairs.

The following table shows those bands which have Band Administered Housing Programs and the amounts of money approved for expenditure.

Special Senate Committee

BAND ADMINISTERED HOUSING PROGRAMS

AGENCY	BAND	FILE NO.	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74	1974/75	1975/76	TOTAL
	Hurons of Lorette	374/3-1-2				70,000	70,000	70,000	70,000	70,000			350,000
	St. Regis	481/3-1-2			56,000	203,000	203,000	203,000	203,000	203,000	224,000		1,295,000
	Cape Croker	478/3-1-2			42,000	140,000	126,000	112,000	105,000				525,000
	Saugen	478/3-1-3			42,000	77,000	77,000	77,000	77,000				350,000
	Muncieys of the Thames	471/3-1-3		35,000	35,000	35,000	35,000						140,000
	Ononda of the Thames	471/3-1-4	43,500	75,000	75,000	75,000	75,000						343,500
	Walpole Isl.	471/3-1-7	49,000	49,000	49,000	49,000	49,000	49,000					268,000
	Chippewas of Sarnia	471/3-1-9	7,000	35,000	42,000	49,000	42,000						175,000
	Kettle Point	471/3-1-3	28,000	43,000	45,000	45,000	15,000						176,000
	Ft. William	492/3-1-4			*28,000	28,000	28,000	28,000					112,000
	Alderville	476/3-1-2			21,000	67,000	67,000	67,000	67,000				289,000
	Curve Lake	476/3-1-3	23,000	109,000	108,000	108,000	108,000	108,000					456,000
	Hiawatha	476/3-1-4			21,500	25,000	25,000	25,000	25,000				121,500
	Six Nations	479/3-1-3			125,000	125,000	125,000	125,000	25,000				500,000
	Ft. Alexander	571/3-1-4			124,000	250,000	250,000	250,000	250,000				1,124,000
	Fisher River	571/3-1-1				91,000	324,480	301,140	301,140	301,140			1,318,900
	John Smith	674/3-1-5		40,000	50,000	40,000	40,000	30,000					200,000
	Sarcee	781/3-1-3		45,000	41,100	41,100	41,100						168,800
	Blood	773/3-1-2			259,000	281,000	378,000	392,000	471,000	515,000	552,000	602,000	3,450,000
	Cowichan	974/3-1-3			100,500	135,000	135,000	131,500					502,000
	Squamish	987/3-1-7			24,000	28,000	120,400	120,400	120,400	120,400	120,400		866,800
	Cape Mudge	978/3-1-2		37,500	60,000	60,000	62,500						220,000
	Nimipksh	978/3-1-10			70,000	80,000	80,000	80,000	80,000	80,000	80,000		550,000
TOTAL (dollars)													13,501,000

Band Council have asked that the Capital Grant be deferred for 1968/69 (one year only).

Indian Off-reserve Housing Program — (Program No. 4)

Indians who are regularly employed off reserves and who can give assurance that such employment is of a continuing nature may be assisted in obtaining off-reserve housing accommodation (the construction of a new home, the purchase of a house in a builder's development or an older house). A good credit and responsibility record of the applicant is required and the financial arrangements include a personal contribution, a repayable first mortgage from C.M.H.C. or an approved lender (the maximum related to the applicant's income and ability to pay) and a second mortgage from the Department. The following is the schedule of family income, cash contribution, and maximum second mortgage loan for which eligibility may be established.

Column I Gross Family Income	Column II Sum to Accompanying Application	Column III Second Mortgage Ln.
Less than \$3,000	\$ 135	\$ 10,000
3,001 to 3,600	235	10,000
3,601 to 4,200	335	10,000
4,201 to 4,800	435	10,000
4,801 to 5,700	535	10,000
5,701 to 6,600	635	9,000
6,601 to 7,500	735	8,000
7,501 to 8,400	835	7,000
8,401 to 9,000	935	6,000
9,001 to 10,000	1,185	5,000
10,001 to 11,000	1,435	4,000
11,001 to 12,000	1,685	3,000
12,001 to 13,000	1,935	2,000
Over 13,000	2,185	1,000

By Order-in-Council dated 25 October 1968, the schedule of maximum second mortgage loans was increased from \$6,000 to \$9,000 or to \$10,000 if the applicant elects to waive the household furnishings grant of \$1,000 and apply the amount of the grant to the forgivable second mortgage.

The significant feature of this program is that if, during the first ten years, the borrower makes his first mortgage payments to C.M.H.C. according to the arrangement, Indian Affairs will forgive one-tenth of the second mortgage each year so that at the end of ten years the second mortgage will be fully forgiven.

Under the Off-reserve Housing Program, a sum of \$4,300,000 was provided for forgivable second mortgages for Indians building or buying homes off the reserve. (This fund is not related to the general budget). The fund was allocated to the various regions in the amounts shown in line 1 of the following table. Expenditures between July 1, 1967, when the program was started and August 31, 1969, have amounted to \$1,953,378 as shown in line 2. Unliquidated expenditures (line 3) amount of \$319,243 so that a total of \$2,272,621 has been committed in a little over two years of operation. This would appear to indicate that about \$1 million will be needed annually for this program at its present level. In fact, however, commitments have been increasing as the program develops (expenditures in 1967-68 were \$443,416 and in 1968-69 were \$731,148) and particularly since the amount of the second mortgage loan was increased from \$7,000 (including \$1,000 furniture allowance) to \$10,000. Previous to the increase, the amount of the first mortgage provided by C.M.H.C. together with the amount provided by the Department as a second mortgage

INDIAN HOUSING ASSISTANCE ACCOUNT STATEMENT

AS AT AUGUST 31, 1969 (\$)

	British Columbia	Alberta	Saskat- chewan	Manitoba	Ontario	Quebec	Maritime	Ho Reserve	Total
1. Distribution of Fund — August 31.	606,514	281,207	423,048	569,643	533,141	109,070	126,941	1,650,436	4,300,000
2. Expenditures—July 1, 1967 to Aug. 31, 1969	455,843	151,069	342,768	457,964	407,862	62,530	75,342	—	1,953,378
3. Unliquidated Encumbrances—Aug. 31, 1969	53,658	61,405	60,776	73,037	56,739	9,470	4,158	—	319,243
4. Total Expenditure and Unliquidated Encumbrances — Aug. 31, 1969	509,501	212,474	403,544	531,001	464,601	72,000	79,500	—	2,272,621
5. Free Balance as at Sept. 1, 1969.	97,013	68,733	19,504	38,642	68,540	37,070	47,441	1,650,436	2,027,379
6. Approved Second Mortgage Loans:									
1967-68	16	9	17	34	13	3	4	—	96
1968-69	37	7	20	29	25	6	5	—	129
1969-70 (to Aug. 31, 1969)	19	11	23	16	27	1	3	—	100
Total (approved Second mortgage Comm)	72	27	60	79	65	10	12		325

Finance Services

was not sufficient in many cases to permit the building of an adequate house. However, the increase has largely resolved this problem for the present and it is anticipated that the number of second mortgage homes will total at least 200 during the current year and that the amount involved will be of the order of \$1,300,000.

By region, it might have been expected that Ontario and British Columbia would lead in the number of second mortgage loans because of the relative affluence of a considerable number of Indians in these regions. This has been largely borne out. Experience gained in Manitoba indicates that greater care will have to be taken in the selection of applicants as a number are presently in default in that region.

Ownership

The question of ownership of housing on reserves has never been settled with any degree of certainty. According to legal advice if an Indian occupies a house which is so affixed to the reserve land as to have become part of the realty of the reserve (i.e. if it is on a foundation set in the ground), it is the property of Her Majesty the Queen in the right of Canada subject to the Indians' right of occupancy. An Indian has no legal interest in reserve land even if he has improved the land by creating a building upon it.

On the other hand, an Indian occupant of a house on a reserve has all of the benefits conferred upon him by the Indian Act. He may occupy the house. He may transfer it. He may devise it by will. He may sell it to another member of the band. If an Indian who has made permanent improvements to reserve land is lawfully removed he may be paid compensation. The land itself cannot be sold to anyone but another member of the band and in fact it is the right of use which is sold not the land itself. If a house is not part of the realty of the reserve, that is, if it is not permanently fixed to the land, it is a chattel. Although there may be some exceptional cases, most houses classed as chattels and occupied by an Indian would be the property of the Indian.

Use of Band Funds for Housing

In 1968-69 expenditures from band funds on housing were as follows: from capital \$1,430,096, from revenue \$467,161 for a total of \$1,897,257. These are outright expenditures on house construction and are somewhat more than is generally realized. It is also possible for a band, under Section 64 (j) of the Indian Act, to make loans to members of the band for building purposes with or without security and to provide for the guarantee of loans made to members of the band for building purposes.

Only one large loan has been guaranteed in this manner -- that the Musqueam band in the amount of some half million dollars from C.M.H.C. This was a rather particular case in which new houses were built for all band families and everyone shared equally. It would, however, be difficult to justify the tying up of band funds for a number of individual members of a band during the lifetime of a housing loan as band funds are normally used for the benefit of all. It is equally difficult to justify tying up band funds for the guarantee of larger housing projects as *funds in almost unlimited amounts are now available from C.M.H.C. under Departmental guarantee.*

The Future for Indian Housing

The proposed new Indian policy, if accepted, will accelerate moves already under way to bring the Indian more directly into the mainstream of Canadian life, and to remove those discriminatory

features within existing programmes which set him apart from other Canadian citizens. At the same time, in moving towards this goal it is clearly not the intention to end those programmes which have been introduced in the past to assist Indians in making a less painful entry into this mainstream.

The basic goal for the immediate future will be, therefore, to seek to provide the conditions under which every Indian family can acquire adequate living accommodation, on or off reserves as each family desires. This is not a simple or straightforward goal, of course. As indicated earlier, it is estimated that to meet this target within 5 years could necessitate a total funding of some \$250 million. That such funding should not be provided by way of direct government subsidy is clear; not only is such a total outlay prohibitive, but our experience indicates that housing provided in this way remains "government" housing, with its occupants lacking a pride in ownership. Moreover, while many Indian families still live in abject poverty, an increasing number are fully self-supporting and can meet normal housing costs — and the considerable acceleration that is planned in Indian economic development programs should bring many more into this category.

We are now searching, therefore, for more effective ways to assist Indian families to acquire adequate accommodation. We will return to our housing proposals in Part IV.

Poverty

14:81

REGION	FRAME	LOG	1 RM.	2 RMS.	3 RMS.	4 RMS.	5 RMS.	6 RMS.	OVER 6 RMS.	TOTAL	Electricity	Sewer or Septic Tank	Running Water	Indoor Toilet	Indoor Bath	Telephone	
MARITIMES	1962-63	998	—	8	32	72	302	360	152	67	993	860	125	334	92	51	1123
	1964-65	1,016	—	10	33	111	343	293	159	67	1,016	855	136	408	101	74	132
	1966-67	1,056	—	8	24	99	303	279	234	109	1,056	1,016	306	580	283	192	245
	1968-69	1,145	—	—	18	76	250	422	256	123	1,145	1,138	540	842	495	388	325
QUEBEC	1962-63	2,458	65	190	208	279	770	628	318	130	2,523	1,900	855	864	815	648	708
	1964-65	2,566	80	233	210	368	860	641	315	189	2,646	2,016	960	1,222	828	644	849
	1966-67	2,766	88	45	107	459	870	772	398	203	2,854	2,096	1,249	1,449	1,089	855	1,165
	1968-69	3,077	107	53	326	706	828	687	316	268	3,184	2,595	1,798	2,056	1,554	1,273	1,510
ONTARIO	1962-63	5,287	1,152	632	971	1,527	1,564	1,075	410	160	6,439	3,478	244	366	249	229	1,071
	1964-65	5,204	1,557	703	1,031	1,380	1,592	1,282	469	304	6,761	3,588	346	453	333	304	1,577
	1966-67	5,513	1,357	681	1,053	1,085	1,801	1,465	593	192	6,870	4,063	441	629	424	382	2,142
	1968-69	5,840	1,199	687	856	1,144	1,671	1,692	730	259	7,039	4,627	760	1,069	760	730	2,599
MANITOBA	1962-63	1,313	2,176	1,169	1,020	885	216	156	33	10	3,489	644	3	2	18	21	47
	1964-65	1,658	2,130	1,267	877	883	360	304	89	8	3,788	999	3	3	64	5	124
	1966-67	2,384	1,582	987	690	955	499	485	344	6	3,966	1,567	8	8	65	9	178
	1968-69	2,894	1,245	803	614	771	605	713	551	85	4,142	2,369	57	57	348	55	280
SASKATCHEWAN	1962-63	1,914	1,307	966	786	1,129	174	140	11	15	3,221	180	6	5	11	11	10
	1964-65	2,175	1,361	931	840	1,230	231	276	14	14	3,536	375	9	7	11	15	10
	1966-67	2,657	1,056	796	643	1,169	483	457	141	24	3,713	855	7	10	8	9	16
	1968-69	3,314	712	612	531	993	685	852	307	46	4,026	2,761	25	29	45	20	20
ALBERTA	1962-63	2,281	855	667	851	680	236	645	53	4	3,136	1,303	36	34	28	32	31
	1964-65	2,701	801	662	921	677	425	749	56	12	3,502	1,578	90	86	73	74	54
	1966-67	2,961	735	726	848	631	442	881	152	16	3,696	2,193	136	171	124	129	35
	1968-69	2,895	541	515	412	569	608	1,052	245	35	3,436	2,808	333	350	333	331	170
BRITISH COLUMBIA AND YUKON	1962-63	4,859	460	456	719	973	1,406	951	500	314	5,319	2,919	929	1,832	1,079	737	509
	1964-65	4,854	466	358	681	937	1,500	1,042	526	276	5,320	3,289	1,132	1,933	1,137	903	662
	1966-67	5,098	457	361	605	917	1,629	1,160	583	300	5,555	3,956	1,298	2,438	1,317	1,166	745
	1968-69	4,941	485	262	510	804	1,496	1,473	661	220	5,426	4,405	1,765	3,141	1,764	1,587	1,138
TOTAL	1962-63	19,286	6,500	4,226	4,849	5,762	4,695	4,077	1,477	700	25,786*	11,330	2,196	3,437	2,347	1,728	2,507
	1964-65	20,174	6,395	3,994	4,593	5,386	5,311	4,587	1,628	870	26,569	12,700	2,676	4,112	2,547	2,019	3,408
	1966-67	22,435	5,275	3,604	3,970	5,315	6,027	5,499	2,445	850	27,710	15,746	3,445	5,285	3,310	2,742	4,526
	1968-69	24,109	4,289	2,932	3,267	5,063	6,143	6,891	3,066	1,036	28,398	20,703	5,278	7,544	5,299	4,384	6,042
	1962-63	74.8%	25.2%	16%	19%	22%	18%	16%	6%	3%	44%	8%	13%	8%	7%	10%	10%
	1964-65	76%	24%	15%	18%	21%	20%	17%	6%	3%	47%	10%	15%	10%	8%	13%	13%
	1966-67	81%	19%	13%	14%	17%	22%	20%	9%	3%	57%	12%	19%	12%	10%	16%	16%
	1968-69	85%	15%	10%	11%	18%	22%	24%	11%	4%	73%	19%	27%	19%	15%	21%	21%

BASED ON A NATIONAL TOTAL
OF 5,394,000 HOUSES AS OF MAY,
1968. YUKON AND N.W.T. NOT
INCLUDED.

* The totals for 1962-63 include 666 houses in the District of Mackenzie but in subsequent years the
Mackenzie is not included.

NOT KNOWN 1.3 2.5 8.6 17.2 25.2 21.8 23.4 98.6 Not Known 96 93.5 91.2 94.2

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The objective of the Department in this field is to expand the options available to Indians in their endeavours to improve their economic well-being, by means of the extension of a broad range of technical, financial and professional assistance in the fields of wage-employment, commercial endeavour, and the development of Indian lands and available resources.

Assistance from Departmental sources is varied but, its main elements include credit measures for the securing of loans; technical advice and assistance in the planning, organizing and operation of income and employment – creating enterprises on and off reserves; the provision of equipment and capital facilities; training in business operation and management and survey and appraisal of Indian lands and business enterprises.

Indians have difficulty in securing loans and credit for commercial endeavours from conventional sources. The Department, therefore, operates a revolving loan fund, now standing at a level of \$6,050,000. Though this fund has been of great assistance to Indians, it is still too small, and, to effect major economic change more technical and managerial support must be made available.

The Department maintains a field staff of approximately 60 development officers, seven of whom are Indians, whose responsibility it is to provide technical assistance to individuals, groups and communities in all aspects of economic development, including cooperative development. This assistance has been undoubtedly beneficial but the services of personnel are thinly spread. In the forested regions and in the North, for example, in which some 90,000 Indians live, each officer must serve on the average over 2,000 people in scattered communities throughout an area of many thousands of square miles.

Indians are helped financially to procure the boats and motors, nets, agricultural equipment, sawmills and freezers needed for the economic projects that they may wish to undertake individually or cooperatively. Much of this is provided on a pay-back basis, but larger pieces of equipment are often charged directly to appropriations.

A major barrier to expanded commercial endeavour by many Indians arises from their lack of understanding of the requirements of business operation and management. Continuing effort, therefore, is put forth to eliminate this barrier by means of short-run courses and the hiring of specialists to guide and train Indians in the operation of various projects, but these efforts still fall short of meeting Indian needs.

Of the 6,000,000 acres of land in Indian reserves, some 3,000,000 acres, comprising about 600 reserves, out of a total of 2,237, are regarded as having further developmental potential. To this end, and as a basic step by which band councils can undertake planning in respect of the further use of their lands, a program to evaluate the economic capability of these lands was initiated three years ago. To date, only 79 complete appraisals of the economic potential of Indian reserves has been completed, together with 112 evaluations concerned mainly with the development of operational plans for specific projects and the determination of the feasibility of various resource development schemes. This programme still awaits major implementation.

Surveys of this kind serve two purposes. Firstly, they provide basic guidelines to Indians for future land development. Secondly, they enable them to place in juxtaposition two scales of values

respecting their lands; namely, their own and those that hold in the surrounding non-Indian community. An important learning process is involved in this regard, which requires advice to be available to each band council to assist them in capitalizing on every advantage.

Possibilities for broadened economic endeavour on or adjacent to Indian reserves vary from region to region and even within regions; consequently, the assistance required is just as varied. For example, 65 bands with an estimated total population of slightly over 40,000 persons hold lands that are strategically located relative to Canada's major urban growth centres. While considerable opportunity exists for the labour force on these reserves in the nearby cities, there is also undeveloped potential in these lands for urban, commercial, industrial and recreational land uses. A further 250 reserves with a population of some 40,000 Indians contain about 2,500,000 acres of agricultural land of which slightly over 50 per cent is developed. Nearly 2,700 Indian families could be supported on viable farm and ranching units on these lands if funds were available and the land-holding practices could be changed.

The remaining 80,000 to 90,000 Indians are scattered across the forested and precambrian regions of Canada and the majority of the adult breadwinners are dependent upon commercial fishing, trapping and woods operations for their livelihood. The first two occupations are handicapped by fluctuating prices, uncertain markets, poor extractive and marshalling equipment and overcrowding. Lack of credit and advisory services impede Indian people in developing alternative forms of resource use such as outfitting and guiding, wild crops harvesting, cottage development and so forth. These conditions apply to an equal or greater number of resident Métis and Euro-Canadian people who, like the Indian, use and depend upon the same resource base. Programming faces its gravest challenge in this vast region and requires a coordinated approach: in which the joint services and efforts of many federal and provincial agencies are brought to bear to restructure existing traditional industries, to open up new resource potentials and to assist those who so desire to relocate elsewhere in the region or in the settled southern parts of Canada.

It will take time to make basic changes. The Indian people themselves need time. In the interim short-term, reserve-centred economic development measures appear to be the only feasible alternative in many cases. Apart from their immediate value as sources of income, they also offer Indian people a much-needed opportunity to develop new working and managerial skills, to acquire new and more positive experiences in dealing with the broader community around them, and to develop a growing confidence from this background which may lead increasing numbers to think seriously about relocation. In this regard, it is significant that of the 237,000 registered Indians in Canada only 165,000 still reside on a year-round basis on reserves. A principle which is fundamental to any programming for Indians is one which recognizes the need for them to plan and implement their own development schemes. Therefore, every Band Council needs to be encouraged to create its own economic development committee or board of band members (and non-Indians if a band so wishes), so as to give direction to the many requirements for development. Assistance is needed by many such groups not only to defray office and clerical costs but also to provide travel expenses for committee members to visit and enquire into projects that are of relevant interest to the band.

A major improvement in the credit services available to Indian people is also required over a five-year period commencing April 1, 1970; it is planned that the Federal Government will seek to make available funds totalling \$50 million for the purpose of generating economic opportunity for Indians. It is expected that such funds will be provided by regular commercial lending institutions, with the Federal Government acting where necessary as guarantor, although, at least, initially additional funds will be available directly from governmental sources, in the form of loans and

support grants. Through this combination of private and public support, Indians will be assisted in the planning as well as the implementation of a wide variety of commercial endeavours in such fields as resource and land development, service enterprises and secondary industries. In addition, some assistance will be available to non-Indian commercial concerns which, in seeking to establish on or near Indian reserves, will help to broaden the scope of employment opportunities for Indians.

The impetus for this increased financial assistance has come about largely as a result of recommendations by Indian spokesmen, in their search for means of enabling Indians to have easier access to the developmental capital they require in order to take advantage of the economic potential that exists on or near a significant number of the 2,200 Indian reserves across the country. The provision of such financing should be seen as part of a larger program designed to give Indians the technical, professional and managerial services required to increase their economic levels.

Finally, increased support services to broaden Indian commercial activities are being planned to continue and expand the feasibility and economic potential studies of reserves; to provide more technical assistance; to help expand the potentially lucrative arts and crafts industry; and to help with the promotion of residential, industrial and commercial development on a number of reserves close to urban growth centres.

SOCIAL SERVICES FOR INDIANS

The objective of the Department in the provision of social services is to ensure that Indians have the same welfare benefits and social services available to them, and wherever feasible from the same sources as those that are available to other Canadians. This objective is being pursued by providing direct benefits and services from the Department as an interim measure, while seeking to arrange with the provincial governments and other relevant agencies to extend their programs to cover Indian and non-Indian alike.

The tendency to consider the problems of Indians as the exclusive concern of the Federal Government is gradually being replaced by recognition of the fact that all levels of government and private agencies share responsibility in this field. In this spirit, a Welfare Agreement covering the provision of all provincial welfare services to Indians was entered into with Ontario in May 1966. Subsequently, the Canada Assistance Plan was enacted which contains provision for agreements regarding special federal cost-sharing of welfare programs extended to Indians by provincial governments.

In the field of child welfare, maintenance and protection services are provided for Indian children through agreements with the governments of Manitoba, Nova Scotia and the Yukon Territory. The Federal Government also pays the costs of maintaining Indian children in foster homes and institutions where child care agencies provide services at the request of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Through agreements with the Alberta Tuberculosis Association, the Saskatchewan Society for Crippled Children and Adults, and the Manitoba Sanatorium Board, the Federal Government has also assumed financial responsibility for full maintenance and tuition of Indians participating in up-grading and social orientation programs arranged by those organizations. Special care services to prevent or ameliorate social problems associated with the illness and hospitalization of heads and members of families and to provide for the special needs of the aged, the disabled and the retarded, are provided chiefly through the purchase of suitable services from other governmental and private agencies.

Where welfare benefits and services are not available through provincial governments or agencies these are provided by the Department. Child welfare services are provided but these must be limited to counselling and placement in foster homes and institutions with the consent of parents, because Departmental staff cannot enforce provincial child welfare legislation.

Many Indians are desperately poor and, in many ways, unprepared for economic and social change. Their poverty is in the first instance, of an urgent kind, requiring immediate material assistance in the form of food, clothing and shelter. The amelioration of material poverty unfortunately cannot be achieved in most cases by the traditional pursuits of the native cultures. New ways of making a living and of utilizing scarce renewable resources must be learned and employed. This takes time and in the meantime urgent needs must be met. A great deal of emphasis is therefore placed on income maintenance programs and particularly on social assistance. Departmental expenditures for support of Indians under its Social Assistance program exceeded \$21 million in 1968-69.

The Department's welfare program is administered on a regional basis, to take account of regional differences. There are welfare staff in each of the seven regional offices of the Department. The rates and criteria of eligibility used by the Department in its Social Assistance programme are based on those of the province in which the people live.

Considerable progress has been made in recent years in bringing welfare services to remote areas of the country, where many Indians still live. Before 1957, welfare services for this group meant Family Allowances and Old Age Security, both paid in the form of credit at trading posts, the archaic Categorical Allowances and little else. By contrast, social welfare in 1969 for Indians means an expanded range of service and assistance measures provided in the same amounts, in the same manner and generally speaking under the same programs as elsewhere in Canada. Nevertheless, pending the signing of comprehensive welfare agreements with the provinces, the Department's most urgent need in the welfare field is further to improve the quality and quantity of the direct assistance and services it must continue to offer so as to achieve comparability with provincial standards and rates until such time as the services to Indians are provided from the same agencies that serve other Canadians.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Within Indian Affairs and Northern Development we view the philosophy of community development as being grounded in the belief that people and individuals must be free to make decisions about their own future and must be involved in the planning that affects their lives or the future of their communities. As an activity "community development", therefore, makes it possible for and encourages people to identify their own problems, to release their own initiative and energy in seeking out and using available governmental and non-governmental resources — funds, material and technical assistance — to help them solve their problems. It promotes communication between members of a community and thus helps them to work together to reach common goals. It also stimulates communication between the community and other organizations. If successful, it restores to the people a communal ability to solve their own problems and, in helping expand that ability, it removes that immobilizing effect of poverty — a sense of powerlessness.

The Indian people are in a subordinate position for some of the same reasons as are other groups in Canada.

In all societies there is a kind of sifting action by which those who, for whatever reason, are not able or are not permitted to contribute to society's objectives, and fall to the bottom of some roughly-operative socio-economic scale. This process is more pronounced in industrial societies such as Canada, in which a high degree of technical skill is in strong demand.

Special factors have contributed to the position in which Indians find themselves today. The reserve system, for example, has operated to keep them isolated both socially and geographically offering them little opportunity to learn about a different way of life. Ignored or made to feel unwanted, the effects have been drastic, psychologically, in terms of how they see themselves and measure their own worth.

A second factor which has operated adversely on Indian people is the existence of a special system to administer their affairs. Initially, as indicated earlier, such a system was intended to safeguard their rights and to protect them from exploitation. Yet we have come to see that protection by another person or by an institution inevitably results in loss of freedom of choice; decisions are made, moreover, not necessarily on the basis of the needs of the people but on the basis of what suits their protectors. When the Indian people began to live together on reserves and when survival depended, not on what the group achieved, but rather on the good graces of government officials, then the values and beliefs about the proper relationship of man to man appeared to lose much of their meaning.

The Department's experience with community development must be viewed against the background of community development in North America. On this continent, community development grew out of a dissatisfaction with the status quo. Very considerable money and effort had been put into programs of public assistance and social services. This money and effort did ameliorate symptoms — that is, it kept people from starving, kept families together, and so on — but large segments of the population continued to exist in a subordinate and dependent position in relation to the rest of society. Those who were dissatisfied looked hopefully for solutions that might be discovered in the self-help programs generally (called "community development") being implemented by newly emerging nations.

In the Department, community development objectives emerged from a growing awareness in the late 1950's that, after almost a century of government administration, the socio-economic state of the Indian people was still significantly lower than that of Canadians in general. Dissatisfaction, voiced by the Indian people, by members of the Department, and by numbers of other Canadians led to the realization that the Indian people themselves could perhaps solve their own problems, with a rather different kind of help from the Department. Thus it was that the community development program was introduced.

The Community Development Approach

When outsiders, for whatever reason, make decisions for a group of people about matters of direct concern to those people, and when decisions which the group makes of its own accord are overruled by outsiders, the group will eventually cease to make such decisions. When such a situation persists over a long period of time, as it has with Indian people, then these people will appear to be incapable of making even small decisions. They are unable, certainly, to make certain decisions affecting their condition of poverty and all its associated problems. To the outsider, they appear apathetic, disinterested, and irresponsible. They seem incapable of discussing, acting or participating in plans for their betterment.

To end this situation, it is necessary to permit and positively encourage people to make their own decisions in as broad a range of areas as feasible. Thus, a skilled community development worker begins where the people are. He refrains from telling them what they should do. He even refuses to tell them what he considers their problems to be. Instead, he encourages people to examine their way of life. Part of his task is to convince them that they *will* be expected to make decisions — that they are, indeed, quite capable of making decisions. He will point to past successes, and encourage any show of interest in community problems. He must arrange meetings between people with common interests so that they may encourage each other. No matter how trivial the problem — or how irrelevant it may seem to him — he must encourage the community to deal with it, generally by using only those resources already at their disposal.

Viewed in perspective, the process begins slowly, but with each small success the community's confidence increases, and it begins to tackle bigger problems. The community development worker indicates resources available to them but refrains from being the provider of those resources, or from arranging to have them provided. Soon the community is more ready to take — or reject — the advice of outsiders and, eventually, the help of experts in specific areas — economic, social and political. The community can then use these experts properly and selectively in resolving community problems. Increasingly, they become capable of making such drastic decisions as "Can we stay here where resources and services are scarce, but where the surroundings are familiar, or should we relocate to areas more economically productive with all the social upheaval this will cause?"

Objectives of Community Development in the Department

The objectives of community development are: the effective participation of Indian citizens in Canadian society to the degree that the Indians themselves consider desirable; and full acceptance by other Canadians of Indian social and cultural contributions.

This implies, ultimately, full participation in social, political and economic affairs; but, as noted above, in communities that have been caught in the cycle of poverty and powerlessness, such participation can take place only after the community has regained a measure of independence and self-reliance. Hence, the objectives of the community development process are, in effect, intermediate objectives of development. These are outlined below.

1. Self-reliance in Indian communities and groups in terms of local decision-making and problem solving. This may or may not mean economic self-sufficiency, depending upon the economic resources available and opportunities for their use.
2. Enhancement of social and political responsibilities of Indian communities towards their members.
3. Advancement of understanding among the members of the Indian communities of those forces which promote or hinder change, and an enhanced capability in the use of available resources so that they can change situations which they consider to be undesirable.

Present Program of Community Development in the Department

Community development services have been provided by the Department to Indian communities throughout Canada since 1964, (although Manitoba initiated services in 1961). In some instances, a corps of federally employed, skilled community development personnel works directly in Indian communities. In other instances cost-sharing agreements are negotiated with the province to enable them to undertake community development activities in Indian communities.

It is noteworthy that even before the new policy proposals were put forward by the Federal Government in June 1969, provincial governments were carrying out community development in Indian communities, and Indian associations were proposing to do so. This seems specially fitting because both the 1969 statement of government policy and the general statement of objectives for community development affirm that social problems associated with poverty are most effectively solved by giving responsibility and resources to those most immediately involved in those problems.

In 1966-67 formal cost-sharing agreements were signed with Ontario and Alberta. In general, these agreements provide that services are to be made available by the provinces to Indian communities on the basis of plans drawn up by the joint federal-provincial committee. In communities where there are both Indian and non-Indians, costs are shared on the basis of the proportion of Indians in the specific community.

In addition to these formal agreements with Ontario and Alberta, special arrangements have also been made with the governments of Manitoba and Saskatchewan under which provincial staff provide community development services to a number of Indian bands in those provinces. Project proposals (in which Indian people collaborate) are submitted annually by those provinces through federal-provincial coordinating committees for final approval by Treasury Board.

At present, the Department has 34 community development workers employed at the community level — 18 of whom are of Indian status. In addition, the provincial governments employ approximately 39 community development workers in 37 project areas. (The number of provincial workers is approximate because the Department does not possess up-to-date information on vacancies in the provincial services).

The Department has just completed a community development agreement with the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, which provides for community development workers to be employed by the Brotherhood for work in communities which are predominantly Indian. Provincial workers will continue to be placed by the province in the communities that are predominantly non-Indian.

Analysis of the Community Development Approach

Self-reliance There have been some successes and some problems in the use of the community development approach, but, on the whole, there is clear evidence that the community development approach to the solution of problems of Indian communities is an effective one and is accepted as such by the Indians themselves. Indian people generally have become more precise in stating their problems (and in looking for solutions). This suggests not only a growing self-confidence, but also a belief that they will be listened to. Many more Indian individuals and groups are now contributing to the decisions which affect them than was the case in 1964. In so far as provincial Indian associations are more articulate and more responsible, it is hardly a simple coincidence that one of the strongest provincial Indian associations is in Manitoba, where the community development program has had its longest run. The National Indian Brotherhood's efforts thus reflect the results of the community development process at the national level.

Local Government The Grants-to-Bands Program and the development of community government on reserves have each grown out of the community development program. In many places in the past, superintendents initiated and made decisions on the advice of the Band Councils. In some Indian communities this pattern has now been completely reversed and councils now make their own decisions with advice from Departmental staff. Many Indian Band Councils participate in the process of preparing estimates of expenditures required to carry out programs of various types of the reserves. Almost half of the Indian bands in Canada are receiving and handling some kind of grant from the Department for the operation of their own local government, and there has been a consequent withdrawal of agency staff from the day-to-day affairs of the bands. The new policy proposals envisage a speeding up of this process.

Social Responsibility A growing social responsibility is demonstrated by the increasing number of communities that are expressing concern about such problems as child neglect and consequently are taking the initiative in securing services for the amelioration of these problems.

Cultural Development The cultural development program which seeks to promote pride among Indians of their cultural achievements and an appreciation of Indian culture among non-Indians, was a direct out-growth of the community development program.

Education There is an increased interest in education, both academic and vocational.

Economic Development Many bands, in conjunction with outside experts, are planning the utilization of economic resources on reserves.

Relocation The decision to relocate is being made on an individual and family basis. A trend seems to be developing on a number of reserves where by band members work and live in urban cities and return to the reserve for holidays.

PROBLEMS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Drastic social changes have taken place in Indian life in the last few decades, and many of the problems associated with the community development approach result from this. There was a temptation at first for Indian bands to use newspapers and publicity to gain their rights. Officials were publicly attacked and embarrassed. Furthermore, bitterness accumulating over the years was sometimes expressed in negative and destructive ways by Indian people. Some staff who had worked sincerely for many years for the Indian people were not ready to accept increased Indian independence. Some of these difficulties might have been avoided by better education of staff, but it was, perhaps a necessary catharsis. In any case, this phase has come to an end. New attitudes are evident among staff. David Courchene, President of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, said in a recent speech:

"While discontent among Indian people is a factor we must contend with, we must also recognize that 'winds of change' are indeed blowing throughout the country. This is particularly true of the Department of Indian Affairs."

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS

Many Indian communities are still very poor and the residents appear, to the outsider, to be little interested in helping themselves. Some communities (and some staff members too) believe changes are coming too quickly. Some Indian people on the reserves believe that Indian provincial associations are dominated by urbanized Indians who are not really sympathetic to the reserve situation; but, as more and more provincial associations take over community development programs, it seems very likely that these two groups will be reconciled.

Enlightened departmental staff can assist the community development process, as they are doing in Manitoba; or, through misunderstanding and a lack of information, staff can severely retard the process.

There has been a dearth of programs in the cities where many Indian people are now living. Indeed, in some respect social problems faced by the Indian community in the city are often worse than those faced by reserve communities. More education and community development are needed among non-Indian people so that they will not only understand the problems faced by Indian people – and the moral implications of longstanding neglect which still lead Indian spokesmen to make resentful statements – but that they will also appreciate and accept the unique contributions of Indian culture.

There are some hopeful signs that such a start has been made. For example, Ontario now incorporates a section on Indian people in its schools social studies curriculum.

The Department proposes to:

1. accelerate community development programs through the extension of provincial community development services to Indian communities;
2. maintain and improve, where necessary, the Department's community development training program for Departmental staff generally;
3. encourage community development activity in the urban Indian communities, and, thus, enhance the ability of residents to cope with the new social milieu in which they find themselves.
4. promote more education and information about Indian history and Indian culture among non-Indian people, particularly in the schools.

The Department recognizes that while the community development approach is an essential component of any effort to reduce alienation of Indians, and to augment the extent of their participation in decision-making in their own and the nation's affairs, it is not a panacea; but without it all other efforts would be rendered far less effective.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

One of the fundamental concepts of Canadian life is the right of Canadian residents to a degree of self-determination in their local communities. In the past, circumstances have largely nullified this right of the Indian people. A recent study of the social, educational, and economic situation of the Indians in Canada, undertaken by the University of British Columbia, in conjunction with scholars of other universities contains the following statement:

.. the importance of local government resides essentially in the fact that it is at the local level that the administrative and political consequences of Indian status have had their greatest impact. It is only at this level that Indians can acquire any collective freedom. . . While the structures through which such self-government will operate may be similar to those employed by non-Indians, the result will inevitably be some increase in the capacity of Indians to determine their own future. . ."¹

A basic objective of the Department is to ensure that the Indian people have the opportunity to develop to the fullest extent, their own social, economic and cultural concepts and freely to participate in the social, economic and cultural life of Canada. Part of this objective is the evolution of socially stable communities. The development of local or community government is of primary importance in this respect, i.e., formal systems, developed by the Indian people with or without assistance from outside their communities, to provide for local needs and administer programs in a most efficient and economic manner.

It is the policy of the Department to encourage Indian bands, by every possible means, to assume greater responsibility for the management of their own affairs, as they are ready and willing to do so; but progress varies in pace and style from band to band. In some cases the systems are of a formality that approximate to municipal government of non-Indian communities; many of the systems, however, tend to be less formal. Some bands are too small to require much less support an advanced form of local government; many reserves lack the financial resources to support local administration and services; some lack knowledge or leadership, and a few do not appear to be convinced of the value of local involvement. Our experience has been, however, that most of them are willing to accept responsibility but initially they require help and guidance. Moreover, where Indian communities exist in close proximity to each other or to non-Indian communities, the clear need to consider this proximity has been evident.

Virtually all Branch programs affect or are affected by the matter of Indian self-determination. the federal programs immediately and directly involved include technical assistance; the phased withdrawal of agency offices and government control over local administration wherever feasible, and the transfer of government programs and funds to the control and administration of the bands; a special "Grants-to-Bands" program to encourage local initiative in program development and administration; the appointment of local government specialists at headquarters and in the field; studies and research into comparative local government systems and organizations; selective participation by Indians in non-Indian local government programs, associations, and structures; and diverse forms of training for band council members, staff, leaders and electorate.

In this latter connection of the Department has operated for several years a human relations training program in the Ottawa area for its own staff and for Indian leaders, supplemental to training provided at the regional and reserve levels. A study is now underway to search out new directions in human resource development. In addition, it will be Departmental policy to encourage Indian people to seek representation of their local governing bodies in the municipal frameworks of the provinces. Consultations and negotiations to this effect will be held between federal, provincial and Indian band officials.

Two hundred and fifteen Indian bands are now managing band revenues totalling, in 1969-70, approximately \$10 million. Many bands are carrying out basic community programs such as welfare, housing repairs and road construction under the Grants to Bands Program, and as of September 1969, grants issued to bands under this program totalled more than \$11,600,000. Twenty-one bands are managing housing construction programs on reserves, and a few have expressed interest in operating sanitation programs involving expenditures of over \$2 million.

Indians of the Quebec Association have entered into a contract with the Department to undertake a five-stage pilot project for the development of local government by bands in Indian communities in that province. In accordance with the terms of the contract, the Association has engaged a legal adviser to help organize, develop legislation and establish the pilot project, and a communications worker has been engaged to inform on financial, legal, technical, and other procedures involved in the project.

In Manitoba, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, in conjunction with the Department, has embarked upon a partnership called "The Manitoba Project". Its objectives are to involve Indians in full partnership with the Department in the development and assessment of policies, programs and priorities, in keeping with the changing needs of the population, and in general to encourage the assumption of greater responsibility by the Indian people in managing their own affairs.

INDIANS IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW

During the first half of the 1960's, it became clear that the number of Indian people in correctional institutions — especially juveniles and women — was growing sharply and out of all proportion to their population.

The need to find the causes and the possible solutions to this problem prompted the then Indian Affairs Branch to meet with the Canadian Welfare Council in the autumn of 1964 to discuss the matter. With financial backing from the Department, the Council agreed to do a preliminary statistical report "regarding the apparently special legal problems the Indian people of Canada were having, as reflected in a high frequency of appearances in court, jail committals and recidivism."

The result of their examination illustrated that a real and very large problem did exist. In December of the same year, the Canadian Welfare Council proposed that the Canadian Corrections Association undertake, with financial backing from the Department, a full study of the administration of justice in relation to Indian people. An "Indians and the Law" committee was quickly brought together. Chaired by Dr. G.C. Monture, himself an Indian, it included a magistrate, an Indian school teacher, a clergyman, two university professors, and representatives from the Departments of Northern Affairs and National Resources, of Citizenship and Immigration, of Justice, and of Labour, reform institutions, the National Parole Board, and the R.C.M.P., together with Indian leaders, and representatives from the provincial governments; private organizations were also advised of the study, asked to cooperate and invited to join the committee.

The study itself posed certain fundamental problems. It was obvious that whatever trouble Indian people were having with the law could only be understood in the light of economic conditions, culture patterns, minority group status and other underlying factors. It was also obvious that the extensive and profound research needed to answer these questions was not possible with the limited time and resources at the disposal of the committee.

What was possible was an inquiry, a survey, to examine the extent to which Indians were getting into trouble with the law and the kinds of offences involved; to trace these individuals back through the law enforcement, judicial and correctional processes to determine how they applied to Indians, what special services had been developed for them, and what effect arrest, conviction and correction had on them; and to reach back into the community and isolate the factors that led the individual into trouble. The report of this survey, broadened to include people of Indian and Eskimo ancestry, contained 14 major recommendations. Stating and commenting upon these recommendations appears to be a useful way to indicate the Department's position on what is being or might be done to reduce the problems of Indians in conflict with the law.

1. *Treaty Rights*: "Immediate steps by the Federal Government to resolve the conflict between treaty rights and federal and provincial legislation, with the Federal Government taking the initiative to secure a review of all legislation that infringes upon treaty rights."

The question of treaty rights is a fundamental issue in the relationship between the Indian people and the law. Field workers with the survey found that "what the Indian people regard as the failure of successive governments to live up to the terms and the spirit of the original Treaties is, in the eyes of most Indian people. . . a stumbling block to their acceptance of the white man's law in its widest terms."

The Federal Government recognizes the importance of this question and, as indicated in the 1969 policy statement, has proposed that the claims arising out of Indian treaties and the administration of Indian lands and funds be studied by a Commissioner, the Commissioner, after consultation with Indian representatives, will recommend how these claims may best be adjudicated.

2. *Excessive Drinking*: "Reduction in the use of jail sentences for those offences by Indians having to do with liquor. Wherever possible, there should be more extensive use of probation for liquor offences, and committal to detoxication centres along with treatment in alcoholic clinics should be tried as an alternative to incarceration."

"On a broader level, preventive steps through educational programs in the schools beginning with primary grades, adult education, expanded recreational programs and facilities, and the involvement of agencies such as alcoholics anonymous, the alcoholism foundations, the churches, and service clubs, should be encouraged."

In a consideration of specific aspects of the Indian people's relationship with the law, excessive drinking stands out as a major and complex problem. Jurisdiction with respect to sentencing rests, of course, with the courts, but the Department recognizes it has a responsibility to bring this recommendation to the attention of the authorities having jurisdiction, and regional seminars, initiated by the Department and held under the auspices of such agencies as the John Howard Society, have proved effective in this regard.

The Seventh Annual Winter Institute on Corrections, for example, held in Calgary, January 26-27, 1968, was sponsored by the John Howard Society of Alberta with the full support and cooperation of the Department, and has as the major topic of discussion, "Indians and the Law." This was also the subject of a seminar, held in 1967 at the Regina Indian and Métis Friendship Centre, in which Indian leaders, the Department and the Provincial Attorney-General's Department participated. Then, too, "Indians and the Law" was discussed at two seminars coordinated by Saskatchewan's Department of the Attorney-General and held in 1968 at Yorkton (June 18-21) and Prince Albert (June 25-28).

At each of these seminars the problem of liquor was put in the broadest possible perspective. Discussions touched on the special rights of Indians (including treaties, the Indian Act, hunting and fishing rights); adoption, neglected children and unmarried mothers; fair employment; fair accommodation; contracts; torts; criminal law; civil law; the structure of the courts; legal aid, and the duties and responsibilities of judges, policemen and citizens. Examination of the problem revealed that it was one of poverty and a lack of education, and deeply rooted in the life styles of the poor — Indian and non-Indian.

The study also recognized that emphasis had to be placed on education to combat alcoholism. Alcoholism instruction is now part of the educational programs of each province. Over half the

Indian school population, including most high school students, attend provincial schools, and in Indian schools the provincial curriculum is followed. Such instruction is, therefore, available to Indian children to the same degree as it is to non-Indians. It is also included in adult education programs attended by Indians. Improvement in the quality and scope of this instruction is being sought through close and continuous collaboration with the provincial departments of education, alcoholism foundations, churches and service clubs; the continued support of recreation programs and facilities in Indian communities and the provision of educational materials to schools, law enforcement personnel and service agencies.

3. *Discriminatory Aspects of Liquor Control*: "Immediate action by the Parliament of Canada to delete all provisions of the Indian Act relating to liquor control."

In a series of meetings held across the country between July 1968 and April 1969, the Indian people were consulted as to their views on what the Indian Act should and should not contain. One of the questions asked was whether the Indian people as a whole wanted the liquor provisions removed from the Act. Generally speaking, the Indian leaders were in favour of these provisions being deleted from the Act. The Government's new Indian policy proposes that the Act be repealed in its entirety and this will include, of course, the liquor provisions.

4. *Legal Aid*: "Provision of special services in magistrate's and justices of the peace courts to ensure that Indian and Eskimo people understand and exercise their rights. At present, most do not understand the nature of the charges against them, the type or implication of plea they may enter, court procedures and terminology, the right to speak on their own behalf or to request legal counsel. The few who do know these things seldom do anything about it when they are in court. Provision of legal counsel for serious charges is essential at this stage of the process. It is further recommended that provincial magistrates' associations be asked for their suggestions on these matters in the light of their special knowledge, experience and concern."

"All legal aid plans operating in a province should be made readily available to Indian people but where provision for legal aid has not been made the . . . (Department) . . . should broaden its own plan to ensure that legal counsel is provided to Indians for all indictable offences."

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development provides legal counsel for indigent Indians charged with murder, but this has been phased out where provincial legal aid services have been extended to Indians in such cases. The Department also provides legal aid in appeal cases involving constitutional issues, treaty rights or the establishment of a precedent which might affect the welfare of Indians in general, provided the issue has not been settled in prior cases.

The provision of adequate court services to Indians and non-Indians alike is a common problem in many areas of Canada. At the same time, many Indians are not aware of those services which do exist. Adult education, public discussions and in-school courses are helping to overcome this lack of knowledge and acquaint the Indian people with their civil rights.

The provision of legal aid for Indians and other court services, brings into focus a larger problem. The needs of the Indian people must be met, but special services for them may tend to further isolate them from services available to Canadian citizens generally. The Department believes that in the long run, this can only be harmful. It has proposed the policy that Indian people should be treated equally with other Canadians. This does not assume that the services presently available to non-Indians are completely adequate; what it *does* seek to do is press all government agencies to improve their standard of assistance to *all* underprivileged groups.

5. *Education in Legal Matters*: "Educational programs should be launched to give Indians and Eskimos an understanding of the principles underlying our criminal laws, what the provisions of the

laws are, and what protections and services are available to the individual citizen to ensure his legal rights. For children, this program should form part of the school curriculum. For adults, it should be offered in adult education classes."

"Our law is a foreign law to the Indians and Eskimos, not based on their culture or history and not reflecting their values. They, therefore, do not understand it and often resent it."

This statement points out the importance of a comprehensive educational program before the need for court services even arises. Indian children receive the same instruction in school as do other Canadian children. This includes citizenship education — human rights and privileges, respect for the law and democratic government. In addition, the Department employs guidance personnel to counsel Indian students in all areas of behavioural problems. The Department is also introducing the subject of legal rights and responsibilities into the citizenship instruction of adult education programs.

6. *Probation Services*: "An immediate examination should be made by provincial agencies of the extent of their probation service as it applies to Indian and Eskimo people, particularly to juveniles, because jail sentences or committals to training schools as a correctional device for most Indians are ineffective and costly."

Implementation of this recommendation is dependent upon provincial action. As indicated earlier, the new policy stresses the importance of this kind of cooperation from the provincial governments in all areas of service to Indian citizens. The Department is seeking, therefore, the extension of provincial services to Indian people and supports an improvement in the standard of those services that are already available to Indian and non-Indian alike.

7. *Parole Services*: "Increasing use should be made of parole services for people of Indian and Eskimo ancestry through more flexible parole conditions and more extensive use of suitable individuals, such as members of band councils and government personnel, to provide parole supervision, especially in rural and remote areas; and, further, a special procedure should be established by the National Parole Board whereby particular attention and consideration is given to parole applications from people of Indian or Eskimo ancestry." (In considering parole arrangements... it should be noted that)... "Indians are least able to make use of trade training and vocational training programs... because of low educational achievement, poor employment habits and lack of interest. For those planning to return to their home communities or reserves there is little incentive to pursue studies toward a trade that would in all likelihood have little relevance to their employment opportunities."

The success of the training program administered by the Canadian Penitentiary Service indicates that this last comment is not accurate. The focal point of this program is a system of academic upgrading to allow inmates who often have only primary grade education to take advantage of the vocational or trades training programs. These are specifically geared to the requirements of industry. Taken as a whole, the program not only seeks to orient both Indian and non-Indian inmates in the social sense, but to equip them with job skills, so that they can become useful, wage-earning members of their communities upon release. No attempt is made in these programs to distinguish between Indians and non-Indians, and the new Indian policy supports a continuation of this approach. Despite the differences in background, both groups face similar basic difficulties — insufficient education and job training, for example — in preparing themselves for life outside the prison, and the motivation to do so varies from individual to individual. At the same time, however, there is a feeling of community among some Indian inmates which is being put to good use. There is a highly successful "self help" project operating in the British Columbia Penitentiary, for example, where Indian inmates get together and — with the assistance of the Penitentiary's inmate Training Division and outside service agencies — try to help each other by discussing mutual problems.

With regard to parole itself, the National Parole Board is now adopting more flexible parole requirements, more closely geared to the special circumstances of the parolee and his home community. Many Indian communities, are now taking responsibility for parole supervision.

8. *After-Care Provisions:* "Provincial governments and the Federal Government should take the initiative in providing encouragement (particularly financial) to private after-care agencies with a view to stimulating an increased and expanded level of services to Indian and Métis people."

After-care services for juveniles are administered directly by the provincial governments; those for adults are usually handled by private agencies on behalf of the provinces. As would be expected, services in remote areas are less effective and less uniform than in the more settled regions. Since many Indians live in such areas, after-care services may not be available in all cases. Added to this are the special economic and social problems with which many Indians are confronted. However, the problem is largely regional rather than racial, and the Federal Government is exploring ways in which its resources, and the resources of the provinces, can be used to meet the needs of all those living in remote areas.

Grants for counselling service are now given to private after-care agencies by the National Parole Service and the Canadian Penitentiary Service under a formula based on the population of the province. The practice is to encourage the agencies to provide better service to the general population, including Indians, rather than to any special group. Under the Canada Assistance Plan, the provinces can recover half the cost of the care of any discharged prisoners in residential welfare institutions such as half-way houses. This program is not unique to Indians: they are in this respect treated exactly the same as other Canadians.

9. *Correctional Services:* "Immediate action by provincial governments to improve and coordinate correctional services to Indian and Métis people."

Removing the legal barrier between Indians and non-Indians would open the way towards a concerted effort by all levels of government to provide better services to all Canadian citizens, regardless of racial origin.

10. *Multiple Policy Jurisdiction:* "Termination of multiple police jurisdiction on Indian reserves through arrangements between the federal, provincial and municipal police forces, to remove confusion in the minds of the people and to avoid costly and inefficient use of police manpower. A single force on each reserve is recommended, assisted by an expanded and improved Indian constabulary."

"Expansion and improvement of the Indian constable system through:

- a) clear definition of terms of reference, including expanded authority under federal and provincial legislation;
- b) training of band constables to provide knowledge of modern police methods and skills;
- c) adequate and standardized pay levels and working conditions to recognize the importance of this as a career position;
- d) continuing supervision by the appropriate police force."

"That, where feasible, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police be requested to take responsibility for training and supervision of the Indian constable system."

On reserves in all provinces except Ontario and Quebec the R.C.M.P. enforces both the Criminal Code and provincial legislation on behalf of the provincial government, and the Indian Act

and federal legislation on behalf of the Federal Government. Multiple police jurisdiction is, therefore, not a problem in these provinces. However, except where local police forces exist, the Criminal Code and provincial statutes in Ontario and Quebec are enforced by the provincial police, while the Indian Act and other federal statutes are enforced by the R.C.M.P. This situation is not subject to administrative amendment.

To be effective, law enforcement must be a daily, on-the-spot affair. For this reason, steps have been taken to set up locally based police forces. The Indian Affairs Department is cooperating with the R.C.M.P. in promoting the development of a more comprehensive program regarding the employment, authority, pay, training and supervision of Indian band constables.

11. *Clarification of Jurisdiction*: "Clarification of the jurisdictional responsibilities between the provincial governments and the Federal Government for police, legal aid, probation and after-care services to Indians as a basis for expanding and improving existing law enforcement, judicial and correctional services."

Properly stated, the problem is not simply that of clarification of jurisdictional responsibilities, but of the quality and adequacy of the services provided to Canadians generally. This depends to a large extent on increased cooperation among all levels of government, not to provide better services to one group of people but to improve the standard of services to everyone.

12. *Adequacy of Programs*: "The role of the Indian Affairs Branch in all phases of the law enforcement, judicial and correction process should be reviewed with the objective of ensuring that adequate programs are available to Indians through federal, provincial and private agencies. Professional staff should be provided to carry out the necessary liaison to ensure that effective services are available to Indians who come into conflict with the law."

Again, the emphasis is on the quality and availability of law enforcement, judicial and correctional rehabilitation services. As in the case of legal aid, the Department of Indian Affairs does not intend to duplicate provincial and private correctional services, because it believes this would further isolate Indians from other Canadians who receive services from these sources. Because of this, the Department is working with correctional agencies, such as the John Howard Society and the Elizabeth Fry Society, to encourage the extension and improvement of their services to include all Indian people. Liaison with correction agencies will continue to be carried out by administrative and professional staff currently employed with the Indian Affairs Department.

13. *Friendship Centres*: "Encouragement to Indian-Métis-Eskimo Friendship Centres by substantially increasing federal, provincial and municipal grants. It is further recommended that the Citizenship Branch of the Federal Government undertake immediately a review of the function their liaison officers might perform in assisting these Centres and such organizations as the Indian-Eskimo Association, to develop sound programs for Indian people coming into the cities and towns. The positive role played by the Centres and the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada merits increased financial and administrative support from all levels of government and from the general public."

With regard to the need for improved relocation services, the Indian Affairs Department is working in close cooperation with the Department of Manpower and Immigration, municipal authorities and other interested agencies to develop further plans for assisting Indian people coming into towns and cities. The government recognizes Indian Friendship Centres are desirable where there is clearly a need and where there is provincial and municipal participation as well as federal involvement in encouraging the establishment and maintenance of these centres.

14. *Employment of Indians in Legal Services:* "Indians and Eskimos should be hired much more frequently than is now the case to work with Indian and Eskimo offenders in all aspects of law enforcement, judicial and correctional services. Non-Indian staffs with a caseload that includes any large number of Indians or Eskimos should be given special training to help them understand the unique problems and point of view of Indians and Eskimos."

Indians are being employed in increasing numbers by government departments, including those with responsibility for correctional services, and this is a reflection of the better academic training that Indian young people are now receiving. Representatives of the Department of the Solicitor General and the Indian Affairs Branch have under joint consideration the increased recruitment of Indian people into federal correctional and enforcement agencies.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development commissioned the "Indians and the Law" survey because it was concerned about the high rate of Indian conflict with the law. The purpose of this survey was to identify specific sources of irritation and inequity and bring them to the attention of those in a position to do something about eliminating the causes.

The Department does not seek to interpose itself in place of existing agencies and further isolate Indians from the specialized and expert services provided by these agencies, but its concern for the welfare of Indian people reaches beyond the limits of its jurisdictional responsibilities. In company with the Departments of Justice of National Health and Welfare of the Secretary of State and of the Solicitor General, it is a member of an Interdepartmental Committee on Indians and the Law which was set up last year to encourage remedial action via all levels of government, private agencies, and the general public. On the basis of the recommendations made by this Committee, a number of Interdepartmental Work Groups were established to deal with implementation in specific areas of concern covered by the recommended actions.

One work group dealt with the question of training of Indian constables for duty on reserves. As a result, special courses have now been established by the R.C.M.P. for this purpose. The first graduate are already in employment, and additional courses are planned. Indian constables are also receiving training from other police forces.

Another work group, consisting of selected officials from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the Department of the Solicitor General, is dealing with matters concerning federal parole, institutional programs, recruitment and training of Indians for the correctional field, and special training for correctional staff.

This work group also conducted an on-the-spot survey of federal correctional facilities throughout the West, and met each of the regionally established committees to discuss matters within their terms of reference. As a result, the group produced an implementation report which has received approval in principle from both participating Departments.

The regional committees in the West, with a broad representational base in the community, have continued to function and are producing plans and proposals for specific action and projects in their areas to improve the Indian's situation in regard to the administration of justice.

In Manitoba, the regional committee proposed and prepared a pilot project in special training for correctional staff. This project was carried out by the Extension Department of the University of Manitoba with financial sponsorship from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the Dept. of Manpower & Immigration. The course was designed to provide the participants with a better understanding of the Indian people, their culture, their background, and their problems. Indian organizations participated in the planning and presentation of the one-week course. Other projects are being planned by several of the regional committees in the other western provinces.

In connection with recruitment and training of Indians for correctional work, plans are proceeding for the early establishment of a pilot project course sponsored jointly by our Department and the Department of the Solicitor General.

Beside the efforts of the work groups, our Departmental field staff in the various regions continue to work closely with provincial authorities toward improvements in the correctional field. They participate as resource people in provincial in-service training programs for correctional personnel as well as in a variety of seminars, discussion and study groups. They are also working closely with private correctional agencies in joint efforts to improve services to Indians.

The Government's proposed new Indian policy has made it clear to the Canadian public generally that the separate law and administration for Indians and the policies which have flowed from them have kept the Indian people apart from *and behind* other Canadians. The new policy makes it clear that the Indian people, by and large, have been non-participating members of provincial society where social remedies are structured and applied. The Government believes that the traditional method of providing separate services to Indian people must be ended, and it is prepared to make the funds it has for Indian programs available to the provinces for this purpose.

At the same time, it recognizes the need for an improvement in the standard of services for all Canadians, a need which the "Indians and the Law" survey has already revealed. "Indians and the Law" has helped broaden understanding of the conditions of the Indian people today. The specific and immediate responsibility of the Department is to put this understanding to work, (1) by ensuring that all the agencies involved — and Canadians in general — become aware of the problems that do exist, and (2) by acting as a catalyst in the solution of these problems.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Cultural Development Program conducted by the Department is based on the conviction that a meaningful identity, with a well-established sense of self-respect, is a prerequisite to satisfactory participation in present day Canadian society. Cultural poverty can be as devastating to the individual as continual hunger or a hopeless economic situation.

A variety of forces have tended both directly and incidentally to downgrade the traditional cultures of the Indian nations. Although old folkways and values were assailed by waves of European culture and technology, and many of Canada's Indian population still retain a definable culture, a strong sense of identity and self-respect, some people of Indian ancestry have difficulty in sustaining this view of themselves. For many years, governments were not concerned with preserving or recognizing Indian culture and the fact that it has survived in any form is a fact worth nothing.

All cultures change. Indian culture, as it is expressed in language, religion, dances, dress and art forms, and in the ceremonials related to the daily life of a hunting society, has changed with an accelerating rapidity dating from Cartier's first visit to the present. The old religions were usurped; the languages eroded; ceremonies were replaced. Some ceremonies — like the potlatch and the sundance — were, for a time, actually forbidden by law. From the earliest times, the Indian has been the object of well-meaning, but essentially paternalistic programs, aimed at adapting him to European norms of behaviour and values. The larger Canadian society has not understood the Indian way of life, just as the Indian has failed to understand the new life that surrounded him.

In 1964, the Government recognized that a deliberate and planned effort must be made to nourish and develop Indian cultural expression. The program that was developed to do this was designed from the outset to give the Indian people full responsibility to rediscover, preserve, develop, and express all aspects of their traditional culture. Emphasis was placed on literature, and on the visual and performing arts, but the program also included plans for a documentation research

centre. The main tool to accomplish these objectives was the establishment of a system of grants for the preservation, growth and expression of Indian culture. Between June 1965 and September 1969, 83 such grants were awarded to individuals, groups and organizations, for a total amount of just under a quarter of a million dollars.

At "Expo", in 1967, Canada and the rest of the world were dramatically reminded of the contribution and depth of Indian art, by seeing for themselves that Indian artists have achieved, through their unaided efforts, a place of eminence in the world of fine arts. The artists who demonstrated their skill at Expo received financial assistance from the Government, but the Department's program can only encourage painters — it cannot produce them. It can acquaint the public with the ability of Indian artists, and promote the work of individuals, but the well-spring that nourishes these artists issues from traditions inherent in Indian culture.

The Indian tribes of Canada each have a unique and extensive literature in oral form. The Department, through its cultural development program, is now assisting individuals to preserve this literature, and to take it a step further by publishing it for the widest possible distribution. The Indian writer has an important role to play, not only with respect to his own people, but as an interpreter of their culture to Canadian society and to the world. Indian writers have been few; for many years, Emily Pauline Johnson, a poetess of Mohawk ancestry, was the only well-known personality in the field. Today, several Indian writers are hard at work, and more are on the threshold of success in the area of folklore, the novel, and social commentary. The cultural development program offers practical assistance to these individuals and to their publishers. The most recent example is the development under Departmental auspices of a new magazine which will feature the work of Indian writers exclusively.

Indian handicrafts — from those of the most northerly Loucheux to the Micmacs of the Maritimes — are well known to many Canadians. The Department has encouraged the retention of these traditional skills and encouraged their growth to the point where many groups are now producing handicrafts on a commercial scale. Indian pageantry, dancing and pow-wows are also being encouraged with financial help. This serves a two-fold purpose; not only does it promote group identity, it also brings to public recognition some of the most moving and beautiful of all Indian art forms.

The Department recognizes that the cultural expression of any ethnic group is primarily the responsibility of that group. Consequently, it has sought to build up a staff of Indian ancestry. Three permanent vacancies and a number of contract positions were filled by Indians in 1965, but staff resignations had reduced the number in 1967 to only one. In 1968, however, the program was revitalized by the appointment of an eminent Cree leader as Head, and in the autumn of 1968 the fine arts and literature programs of the Eskimo people became his responsibility as well. Currently, with the exception of two specialists in Indian and Eskimo art and a literature consultant, all of the staff are of Indian or Eskimo ancestry.

The importance of this modest program and its relationship to the problem of poverty tends to be overshadowed by more immediate and critical issues. Nevertheless, it has become increasingly evident that the retention of historical and ethnic identity is necessary for full participation in Canadian society. In practical terms the rightful aspirations of Indian people cannot be achieved without the encouragement and assistance of the larger determining group of non-Indian Canadians.

CONSULTATION AND COMMUNICATION

In a broad sense, all the programs presently operated by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development for the Indian people share one goal: a higher standard of living and a fuller

life for Indian communities. In terms of programs as already indicated this has involved such activities as building roads and houses, installing electricity and water and sewer systems, giving financial and technical assistance to mining, logging, fishing, farming and tourism activities, and encouraging Indian people to manage their own affairs. Most important, in terms of the future, is the Department's education and vocational training programs which are giving Indians the skills they need to take advantage of these programs and to grasp other opportunities designed to lessen the incidence and effects of poverty.

Programs of assistance and programs of opportunity are weapons in the war against poverty. These weapons can never be fully effective, however, if they are not put to use by those for whom they were designed. They will not be put to full use until the Indian people themselves are fully involved in them. For too long, this involvement has been too limited. Despite the money that has been spent in improving living conditions in Indian communities in recent years, the standard of living is still appreciably lower, by and large, than it is in other Canadian communities.

To be effective in isolating and meeting needs, programs of assistance and opportunity must be part of a continuing interaction between the helper and the helped. There can be no involvement of this sort if there is no real communication between the two. Yet communication between government and the Indian people is a complex and difficult problem. Many Indian communities are remote and transportation to them is a major difficulty. Language barriers exist: many Indian people do not read, write or speak French or English. The Indian population is increasing. Traditionally, senior officers of the Department used to know all the senior persons in Indian communities: that day is passing just at the time when consultation has become more necessary than ever.

In seeking to come to grips with the problem of poverty, we have been exploring and developing increasingly flexible avenues of communication to and from Indian communities. We have also been seeking and will continue to seek constant and improved dialogue at all levels, a dialogue that involves Indian bands, Indian Band Councils, national and provincial Indian organizations, departmental staff at both regional and headquarters level, and staff of other agencies which have an interest or responsibility in Indian matters.

There is a need, for an increased variety of communication at all levels. There must be a flow of people, to and from Indian communities who will not only make the views of these communities known to governments, but also inform communities of departmental policies and programs. There must be a flow of printed and audio-visual information from governments to these communities and to the Canadian public generally, presenting the problems and offering vital information as the basis for hammering out workable solutions.

Moreover, there must be an adequate system of communication within Indian communities. A high proportion of these communities are cut off from one another by distance and by a lack of postal, telephone and transportation facilities. There is little opportunity under the existing conditions for groups such as these to forge any consensus of what is required to meet the needs — needs that can be identified only by the people involved in the difficulties.

The impressive achievements of the Indian people must be publicized in the Canadian community as a whole, as a means of establishing a firm foundation and of sustaining an incentive for further social and cultural development.

All these beliefs have shaped the Department's approach to the development of an effective communications program: a program that has as its goal a constant give and take of information and opinions between the Indian and Eskimo people, all levels of government, and the Canadian public generally.

The present commitment to consult Indian people before policies are implemented reflects the Federal Government's awareness of the need for communication and involvement. Consultation provides, in part, a formal forum in which Indian spokesmen can express their people's views and make proposals for the provincial and federal governments to consider.

The Indian people have developed their community systems under a law which has set them apart; a law which is not understood by non-Indians and which affects others only peripherally. Therefore, little informed public debate has taken place concerning the Indian Act. There is not much public knowledge of the origin or rationale of many of its provisions. Some of the clauses which have caused some Canadians the greatest discomfort, did reflect the earlier wishes of the Indian people fairly accurately. However, the law is now eighteen years old and is considered by many to be out of date.

Consultations concerning the Indian Act began in July 1968, and meetings were held in centres across Canada. A final meeting was held in Ottawa at which representatives of the various regional meetings came together to review the discussions of the earlier meetings. Each band was invited to send a spokesman, each of the major organizations was represented and representatives of the women's Homemakers' Clubs were invited.

The meetings reviewed the proposals which had been evolved in a series of meetings of regional and national advisory groups of Indian people. The reports of the meetings cover a wide range of views but certain general observations can be made. The Indian spokesmen asked that certain rights arising from treaties and certain rights described as "aboriginal" rights should be preserved in law. These rights were defined in various ways but generally conferred various stages of freedom from the application of existing law. The spokesmen endorsed the concept that land reserved for Indians should be more truly in the hands of the Indian people than it is under the existing system of trusteeship. They asked for more assistance from governments to help them break out of the cycle of poverty and deprivation which they vividly documented at many meetings. Time and again spokesmen expressed the frustration of their people. They asked for equality of opportunity in Canadian society and in the Canadian economy. They sought an end to discrimination.

We believe that the request, on the one hand, to preserve treaty and 'aboriginal' rights in law and, on the other, to end discrimination are contradictory, and have proposed as the ultimate goal a non-discriminatory society. We recognize the necessity of an evolutionary approach to this goal but have offered to implement certain steps in a short period of time. We now wish to consult the Indian people as to the phasing and means of attaining the non-discriminatory society.

Consultation, as we understand the concept, is a process of seeking advice and stimulating discussion so that those who have responsibility to make recommendations may do so in the light of the advice tendered. It is not a means of giving groups or individuals a veto over government action but rather a forum in which the views of those affected can be fully examined. Negotiations, on the other hand, is a process of reaching agreements which are binding on the parties involved. In determining the course of policy, consultation is necessary so as to ensure that those responsible for policy are fully informed. In implementing a policy that requires cooperation, consent and activity by all the groups and institutions affected, it is necessary to ensure, by negotiation, that all the parties who must act will fully understand and agree as to what will be their role and obligation.

An end to the spiritual isolation of the Indian and Eskimo people can come from a greater understanding of their views and attitudes on the part of others, and a greater recognition on the part of the Indian of the way in which Canadian society operates so that they may take advantage of those features of society which will help them to realize their aspirations. An end to physical isolation requires that the spiritual separation must diminish and that governments, at many levels, must work to ensure that Indian and Eskimo people are an integral part of the entire community.

The proposed new policy emphasizes the further development of a close working relationship with the Indian community, because it recognizes the central and essential role of the Indian people in solving their own problems. It offers the Indian people a non-discriminatory framework within which they can work out their own destiny and since it must be done effectively, it envisages a system of extensive and continuing consultation as the basic element of this framework. The Indian associations offer a means of encouraging discussion at the band level, of working with Indian bands to forge common goals, and of working with representatives of government at all levels in finding ways to translate these goals into action for the Indian people. The Department has already made organizational and operating grants to the National Indian Brotherhood and to the various provincial Indian associations, and intends to provide funds to Band Councils to enable them to support these associations. The Department has done this because it recognizes that the Indian people will need spokesmen to make their views known to government and to the public, spokesmen who must be financially independent if they are to play an objective role in the many discussions which will flow from the new policy.

Chapter 4. Liaison with Other Government Agencies

Much of the Department's activities relate closely to other government agencies, some provincial and some federal. In most cases relationships develop rapidly in field situations and programs as well. The Department maintains a close link with the Department of National Health and Welfare which operates the Indian Health Service. This liaison is effective at both the national and regional levels. Every effort is made to ensure that field officers maintain close links with other federal agencies and with provincial agencies whose activities affect Indian people.

Whatever efforts are made there are two points to be borne in mind: separate services, no matter how effective cooperation may be, are not an adequate substitute for a well developed, comprehensive cohesive agency which specializes in a service area; and, secondly, it must be noted that in cases where the Indian people's problems relate closely to those of the surrounding community, it is not possible for any mechanism of liaison to bring about the kind of renewal and redevelopment which is often the only answer.

The Department is represented on many interdepartment and interagency committees. It maintains close links with all authorities whose work affects the work of the Department. It encourages Indian people to develop links with those who can help. It has pressed for the inclusion of Indians in all aspects of programming and implementation of programs, both within the Department and in peripheral activities. None of these things is a substitute for effective participation by Indian people in society as a whole. This has been demonstrated in the Northwest Territories in respect to the Eskimo people. The lines of responsibility are well defined, the Eskimo people are participants in the Territorial Government processes and problems of liaison are minimal.

The matter of effective liaison the various departments and agencies concerned with the well-being of Canada's Indians will be discussed later in more detail.

PART 2

The Indian and Eskimo in the Northern Territories and Arctic Quebec

Chapter 1. The Economic and Political Background

THE ECONOMY OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES

Canada's northern territories cover an area of 1,511,979 square miles. The Northwest Territories alone extend over an area of 1,304,903 square miles, which is larger than the combined areas of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The Yukon Territory, with its 207,076 square miles, is equal in area to the four Maritime provinces.

The enormous size and low population of the northern territories comprise one set of factors which influences the economic development of the region. While the territories represent almost 40 per cent of the total area of Canada, they contain less than one-quarter of 1 per cent of its population. When the small population and the large geographic area are viewed together, it is obvious that the over-all population density is very low. The Northwest Territories have a population density of 2 per 100 square miles, and the Yukon of 8 per 100 square miles, compared to an average of 950 per 100 square miles for all Canadian provinces. However, it is important to bear in mind that the population of the territories is not evenly distributed in a geographic sense, and that some relatively dense clusters of population occur in areas such as the southern Yukon, the Mackenzie Basin, Baffin Island, and the Mackenzie Delta. Population concentrations of lesser density exist along the Arctic Coast and in the Keewatin Region.

Climate is another factor which affects the economic development of the North. There are large variations in climate throughout the region. The climate of the Yukon, and much of the Mackenzie Basin, does not differ too greatly from that of more southerly regions such as parts of the Prairie Provinces. However, in the barren lands of the central part of the District of Mackenzie, in the Keewatin, and in the Arctic Islands, the climate is much more severe and inhibiting to economic activity. It is in these areas that continuous permafrost, and a very short ice-free season on major waterways, have posed particularly severe problems for construction and transportation.

There are large regional variations in the level of private economic activity in the northern territories. The over-all pattern of private activity has generally tended to follow the basic geographic pattern set by climate, natural transportation routes and population distribution. In the southern Yukon and the Great Slave Lake area of the Mackenzie Basin, where a large proportion of the people of the territories live and the climate is not too severe, a reasonably "rounded out" economy has emerged. Economically, and in terms of physiography, these areas have more in common with the southern Yukon and the Great Slave Lake region of the Mackenzie Basin are served by railroads and systems of roads and highways providing internal communications and links with the south. Each area has been the scene of major industrial development. There are a number of mines in the southern Yukon and the Anvil Mine, a large lead-zinc mine located near Ross River, is to begin production of some 400,000 to 500,000 tons of concentrates annually, this year. Pine Point, in the Great Slave Lake region, is the site of a large lead-zinc mine, Pine Point Mines Ltd., which began production in 1964, and currently produces at an annual rate of 400,000 tons of concentrate. In addition to such major industries, and good transportation, the economies of the two regions are characterized by significant secondary and tertiary activities such as retailing and tourism.

Most of the other regions of the northern territories are not so well developed economically. The Mackenzie Delta has some economic base as a consequence of government activities, indigenous activities such as muskrat trapping, and, more recently, the exploration for oil and natural gas. Military investment in facilities such as the DEW line has provided some income and employment along the Arctic Coast, and throughout the Arctic. Government activity has provided some economic base in regions, such as Baffin Island and the Keewatin. Generally, however, with the

exception of the southern Yukon and the Mackenzie Valley, few northern areas have anything resembling a viable economy that derives its main impetus from activities of the private sector.

The present situation notwithstanding, the potential for large-scale industrial development, based on the exploitation of primary resources, definitely exists. Geological surveys conducted to date suggest that Canada's northern territories are rich in mineral deposits and in oil and gas. For example, of the 1.7 million square miles of precambrian rock in Canada, 710,000 square miles are in the Northwest Territories; and the mineral wealth of the Precambrian Shield in the northern parts of Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba has been amply demonstrated. Already the value of mining production in the North is of some importance; mining production in the Northwest Territories jumped from \$17 million in 1964 to \$126 million in 1968; and in the Yukon it advanced from \$14 million in 1967 to \$23 million in 1968 and is expected to reach \$50 million by 1970.

As another example of the possible wealth of the territories, the Yukon contains an estimated 64,500 cubic miles of potential oil-bearing sediments and the Northwest Territories an estimated 930,633 cubic miles as compared with the 341,715 cubic miles which have brought wealth to the province of Alberta. The recent discovery of massive oil reserves at Prudhoe Bay in Alaska gives good reason to believe that similar large reserves of oil and gas may be found in the territories, perhaps in the Mackenzie Delta, which is adjacent to the Alaskan North Slope, or in the Arctic Islands. A major oil rush has developed in Canada's north since the Prudhoe Bay discovery. The sale of permits by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in 1968 realized \$8 million compared to \$2 million in 1967. In addition, oil firms have committed themselves to spend more than \$27 million in the northern territories in 1969.

The Territories have other natural resources. For example, the north has 60 per cent of Canada's supply of fresh-water, which is increasingly being recognized as a major natural resource. There are very substantial undeveloped hydro-power resources, particularly in the Yukon Territory. Valuable stands of timber exist in both the Mackenzie District and the Yukon Territory. The Northwest Territories have substantial inland commercial fisheries under exploitation and other fisheries are capable of development.

To a large extent the future of the North, therefore, is the future of the development of its natural resources; its minerals, oil, forests, water, land, fish and game. The natural resource potential of the North shows promise of contributing substantially not only to the expansion of the northern economy, but also to that of the whole nation. While this resource potential has as yet hardly been touched, as demand increases in Canada and throughout the world, and as technological advances make it possible to open new mines and to transport their products more economically, the North will inevitably be called upon to supply natural resources in increasing volume. Moreover, it is resource development, and activities which such development can bring into being, that can provide the key to a rising standard of living for the indigenous people of the North.

INDIAN AND ESKIMO POVERTY

The indigenous Indian, Eskimo and Métis represent a significant part of the total population of the North and especially so in the Northwest territories. Where, throughout Canada, Indians and Eskimos make up only 1 per cent of the total population, in the Yukon 16 per cent of the population is Indian and in the Northwest Territories the majority of the population is either Eskimo (33 per cent) or Indian (19 per cent). Moreover, of the remaining 48 per cent in the Northwest Territories close to one-quarter are Métis, living under much the same social and economic conditions as the Indian people. In round numbers, there are 9,500 Eskimos, 6,000 Indians, and perhaps 3,000 Métis, in the Northwest Territories. There are only a very few Eskimos who are not native to the Territory, in the Yukon, but there are approximately 2,700 Indians and

Métis. The total population of the Northwest Territories is 32,000 and of the Yukon 16,000. Non-indigenous populations are 15,300 for the Northwest Territories and 13,300 for the Yukon; of these, many are transient because of the nature of their occupations.

As the foregoing section has indicated, parts of the northern territories have already undergone substantial development, and there is a large potential for further development. Despite this, large segments of the Indian, Eskimo and Métis live in poverty and, in some cases, severe poverty. Surveys undertaken by the Department indicate that the average per capita annual cash income of Indians living on the south shore of Great Slave Lake is around \$500 while the Eskimo population of the Keewatin Region receives only \$610 as compared to an average annual per capita income \$3,100 for Canada as a whole. A considerable proportion of these amounts, perhaps up to 45 per cent on the average, consists of transfer income such as subsistence and family allowances. Many indigenous people supplement their meagre cash incomes by hunting and fishing, but such pursuits are not believed to add significantly to total income. In marked contrast to the low incomes received by the indigenous population, few non-indigenous residents of the North earn less than \$6,000 per year.

The problem of the northern Métis is more serious in some respects than that of either the Indian or Eskimo. According to statutory definitions, the Métis is neither an Indian nor an Eskimo and is, therefore, ineligible for many of the benefits which are made available to Indian or Eskimo alike. Yet he lives in the same harsh environment and is subject to the same social and economic disadvantages as the Indian and Eskimo. The causes of Métis poverty and the obstacles which the Métis must overcome do not differ significantly from those affecting the Indian or Eskimo, but he has had, therefore, the additional problem of having fewer sources of public assistance to turn to. This Department realizes that this is not a tenable position and that the problem of poverty in the North should be recognized as a phenomenon which has no ethnic boundaries.

The causes of poverty among northern Indians, Eskimos and Métis are complex, and where there are no simple causes there cannot of course be any simple solutions. Some of the causes are associated quite directly with the absence of significant economic activity in various regions. Where there is little activity, there are few jobs, and hence few opportunities to earn income. Such situations would appear to be most characteristic of the Arctic homelands of the Eskimo. However, even where significant economic development has taken place the Indian, Eskimo and Métis have often not participated in such development in more than a marginal way. In some rare instances, this may have been due to prejudicial attitudes on the part of white employers or trade unions, but there is good reason to believe that most companies and unions active in the North would favour having a greater number of indigenous people on their employment rolls. Probably the most significant factor accounting for the inability of Indians, Eskimos and Métis to find and hold jobs in areas which offer employment opportunities is that their productivity, relatively, is well below that of non-indigenous workers.

This is due to a variety of factors. Perhaps most importantly, the cultural traditions of the indigenous peoples, including attitudes toward work, leisure and time, are substantially different from Euro-Canadian traditions and attitudes. To survive the harsh northern environment, Eskimos and Indians have had to work prodigiously, but they have done so in an environmental and cultural framework meaningful to them and unlike our own. Nevertheless, even where cultural factors are not an obstacle, the productivity and employability of indigenous people has been limited. In terms of modern labour market requirements, they are under-educated. Only 5 per cent of the Indian and Eskimo population of the northern territories have achieved Grade VIII or better. While there has been great progress with respect to health, health standards are nonetheless well below national levels. Another factor is that the Indians, Eskimos and Métis are not particularly mobile, and do not readily move to localities which may provide better opportunities. In part, this may be due to the uncertainty of what awaits them in a new situation and the desire to retain a cultural identity. The scale of distance and the costs of moving also impose severe barriers to mobility in the North.

Whatever the reasons, the relatively low mobility of the northern native has often prevented him from taking part in a growing prosperity in the North even where this has been relatively close at hand.

A subsequent section will outline the various government programs underway within the northern territories for alleviating poverty, and raising the productivity and employment of northern residents. In concluding this section, a note on the possible future character of the problem of the northern Indian, Eskimo and Métis would seem appropriate. Something of a paradox may soon develop in the North. Preliminary estimates indicate that, by 1981, the demand for labour in the northern territories will exceed the labour force, as this is conventionally defined. There may thus be jobs in plenty. Yet it is doubtful whether more than a small percentage of the indigenous labour force, which is increasing rapidly, will actually be in a position to take advantage of growing job opportunities.

Levels of Income to \$4,000 in the Keewatin and Lower Great Slave Lake, N.W.T. and all Canada

Annual Income Less Than	Keewatin Eskimos 1/		Lower Great Slave Lake Indians & Métis 2/		All Canada 3/	
dollars	per cent		per cent		per cent	
500	39.4		44.8		12.0	
1,000	59.6		60.8		26.2	
2,000	77.6		78.8		41.2	
4,000	92.0		91.0		71.2	

Average Earned and Unearned Income Per Family and Per Individual
for Eskimos of Keewatin Region and All Canada (Dollars)

	Average Per Person		Average Per Family		Average Per Wage Earner	
	Unearned	Earned	Unearned	Earned	Unearned	Earned
Keewatin Eskimos 1/	112	498	610	2,489	—	1,647
All Canada 3/	3,131		3,048	3,048	—	1,674
						5,449

1/ Figures for year period July 1, 1967 — June 30, 1968 — D.I.A.N.D.

2/ Figures for year period July 1, 1966 — June 30, 1967 — D.I.A.N.D.

3/ Census of Canada 1961, D.B.S.

Levels of Income to \$4,000 for Keewatin Region of the N.W.T. and for all Canada, by percentage

	Under \$500 per cent	\$500 — \$1,000 per cent	\$1,000 — \$2,000 per cent	\$2,000 — \$4,000 per cent	Average dollars
Keewatin Eskimos	42.4	53.8	70.3	86.8	1,647
All Canada	5.4	9.6	26.5	55.5	2,051

Clearly, if this paradox is to be avoided, much greater attention must be given to programs which have the effect of adapting the Indian, Eskimo, and Métis to the requirements of the modern labour market. Such programs should aim at increasing the mobility and self-reliance of the indigenous residents of the northern territories. Hopefully, too, the programs would have the effect of stimulating migration from economically stagnant localities to growth localities. The pay-off would be a better and more competent labour force, reduced social costs, and a higher standard of living in the North than currently prevails.

Apart from humanitarian and social welfare considerations, there is another reason for giving the problem of poverty in the North strong attention. Wherever it exists, social and economic inequalities breed discontent and often lead to actions which may be disruptive of normal political, social and economic processes. The Indians, Eskimos and Aluets of Alaska have already shown a strong propensity for political action in connection with the Alaska Land Claims issue. Some argue that certain segments of the Canadian Indian and Eskimo population may not be too far behind the Alaskan native in this regard. Issues similar to the Alaskan Land Claims' issue could flare up in the Canadian North unless the Indian and Eskimo is given greater opportunity to become a fully participating member of the developing northern economy.

THE NEED FOR A DEVELOPMENTAL FRAMEWORK

The foregoing sections have attempted to establish a number of facts. One of these is that the level and diversity of development varies greatly from region to region in the North and that some regions show much greater viability than others. A second is that the North is rich in minerals and other natural resources such as waters and forests and that the over-all potential for economic development is great. A third fact is that the Indians, Eskimos and Métis, forming a substantial proportion of the population of the northern territories, have existed in a state of chronic poverty for a prolonged period, and have been unable to contribute significantly to the development that has occurred.

What these facts and other considerations suggest is that there is a strong requirement for a framework within which the overall economic development of the northern territories can be carried forward. Such a framework would, specifically, provide ways and means of diversifying and "rounding out" the northern economy in areas which already show considerable economic viability. It would provide for a more rapid exploitation of natural resources not only where such exploitation is already underway, but also in other areas which show good potential: for example, northern Baffin Island and the Arctic Islands. It would provide for enlarging the number and diversity of job opportunities available to northern Indians, Eskimos and Métis, and encourage these people to migrate from stagnant economic backwaters to areas in which employment opportunities are available. To prepare the indigenous people for employment, the over-all framework would have to allow for greater efforts and expenditures on education, mobility, housing, and other programs than have been made to date.

Until very recently, it has not been possible to formulate and implement a developmental strategy of such breadth and scope. To the present, government activity in the northern territories, apart from military activity, has had to focus on two major areas of concern. Of these, the most important has been the alleviation of hardship among the indigenous people. While the present economic status of these people is one of poverty, only a decade ago it was one of desperate poverty. Much has been accomplished since the mid-nineteen fifties, but this has only been possible at considerable cost and effort. A second area of government concern and one whose importance has increased rapidly, has emerged somewhat more recently. This has related to providing a base for economic activity in the North. In this area mines including major mines, have been brought into production with government assistance, many mile of roads have been built at public expense, and truly major transportation facilities such as the Great Slave Lake Railway have been provided.

Now that the worst aspects of indigenous poverty have been overcome, and viable economic structure has been developed in at least some part of the territories, it would seem that more rapid progress is possible. This is the view taken by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Accordingly, planning for more comprehensive and rapid northern development is underway within the Department. It would be premature to indicate the details of this plan but, generally, it incorporates many of the provisions which have been discussed in this section. It suggests that a regional approach should be followed in undertaking and encouraging public and private activity. It emphasizes the need for an optimum balance between programs developing infrastructure, supporting investment in directly productive activities, and encouraging and enabling the indigenous population to adapt to the requirements of the modern economy. It suggests specific guidelines for public investment. Finally, in view of the growing complexity of activity in the North, it suggests an administrative structure which would permit close co-ordination of agencies which are involved. It is intended that the plan will be pursued in accordance with the major objectives of northern development policy: namely, ensuring that the North makes a greater contribution to the national welfare, raising the standard of living of northern residents, and maintaining effective occupation of the region.

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Currently, the framework of government for both Territories is essentially the same. Under the Northwest Territories' Act and the Yukon Act, the executive authority is placed in the Commissioner, who is appointed by and responsible to the Federal Government, and who must administer the government of his respective Territory according to instructions received from time to time from the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development or the Governor in Council. Apart from such instructions, and covering broad areas of activity, the Commissioner is responsible to the Territorial Council. He cannot spend any territorial funds which have not been approved by Council; normally, the Commissioner obtains prior federal approval of proposed legislative and budgetary measures before submitting them to Council. All major policy decisions are taken by the Commissioner on the advice of the Territorial Council, and there is a growing number of territorial ordinances which require the Commissioner to obtain the Territorial Council's approval for specific actions.

With the principal exception of natural resources, and subject to certain controls to protect the Federal Government's interests, the territorial governments play an active role in most fields of endeavour for which the Canadian provinces are responsible. The territories thus have large responsibilities with respect to programs having a bearing on the problem of poverty within territorial boundaries, including poverty among the Indian, Eskimo and Métis populations. These responsibilities cover areas, such as basic, academic, and vocational education; social welfare programs including aspects such as child welfare services, rehabilitation, corrections, and social assistance payments for the economically underprivileged; health services; and municipal affairs. The question of federal and territorial jurisdiction over particular programs is complex. Moreover, responsibility for various programs is currently in the process of being transferred from the federal to the territorial governments. A subsequent section will discuss questions relating to governmental jurisdiction and the arrangements which have been made to provide for the continued financing and staffing of programs bearing on poverty which have been, or are being, transferred to the territories.

As a concluding note, it should be pointed out that responsibility for the administration and development of the major natural resources of the territories — minerals, waters, forests, and land — are not being transferred to the territorial governments. As suggested previously, these resources are expected to provide the main impetus for the economic development of the northern territories, but their development must necessarily be related to both national and territorial aspirations. The Federal Government will also continue to maintain the primary responsibility in matters such as the preservation of the environment, and the protection of wildlife resources, since such issues are of interest to all Canadians.

Chapter 2. The Legal Framework

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

Under section 91(24) of the B.N.A. Act, the exclusive legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to Indians and lands reserved for the Indians. In 1939, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that this section was to be construed as applying to Eskimos also.

The Government Organization Act, 1966, provides in section 17 that the duties, powers and functions of the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development extend to and include all matters over which the Parliament of Canada has jurisdiction, not by law assigned to any other Department, branch or agency of the Government of Canada, relating to Indian and Eskimo affairs and the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory and their resources and affairs.

There are no basic differences in the constitutional position of Indians in the northern territories from those who reside in the provinces. The provisions of the *Indian Act* apply to all Indians irrespective of their residence in Canada. The Act, however, is specifically excluded from application to Eskimos (section 4).

Constitutionally, the legal position of the Eskimo is quite different from that of the Indian but, with few exceptions, it does not differ from that of white citizens. There is no specific statute for the Eskimo, although they are referred to in various Acts and Regulations. The basic definition which commonly appears in federal legislation, and on which a definition of "Eskimo" is built in the *Northwest Territories Game Ordinance*, for example, is "the race of aborigines commonly referred to as Eskimos." This definition may be found in such federal statutes as the *Indian Act*, as amended and the *Canadian Citizenship Act*, as amended.

Beyond the general definition of Eskimo which appears in the legislation, Eskimo status is determined administratively for the purpose of applying aid programs for Eskimos in such areas as child welfare and housing. Identification of those with Eskimo status is generally based on the claim of a person who believes himself to be an Eskimo and is commonly considered to be an Eskimo in the community in which he lives. Discs are issued to those claiming Eskimo status as an identification aid only. However, certain persons of Eskimo status, such as those residing in Labrador, may not possess a disc. A recent proposal by the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories to eliminate the disc system is currently under consideration by this Department, in conjunction with other interested federal departments and agencies. In lieu of discs, Eskimos would be encouraged to select and use family or surnames, and identification would be aided by the use of social security numbers.

THE YUKON TERRITORY AND NORTHWEST TERRITORIES ACTS

The construction of these Acts is quite similar and many of the sections which deal with identical subjects are the same, such as specific references to Indians and Eskimos who reside in the two territories. All laws of general application in force in the territories are, except where otherwise provided, applicable to Eskimos in the territories. Special reference to Indians and Eskimos is made in the two Acts only in relation to game and the herding of reindeer.

Provision is made in each Act for the Commissioner-in-Council of the Territory to make ordinances in relation to the preservation of game applicable to Indians and Eskimos in their respective Territory. However, on unoccupied Crown lands, Indians and Eskimos may hunt game for food, other than game declared by the Governor in Council to be in danger of becoming extinct.

With respect to reindeer, the Governor in Council may authorize the Minister to enter into agreements with Eskimos or Indians or persons with Eskimo or Indian blood, living the life of an Eskimo or Indian, for the herding of reindeer that are the property of Her Majesty.

TREATIES IN THE NORTH

Treaties 8 and 11 are the only Indian treaties applying to the northern territories. Canada is obligated under these treaties to set aside reserves for the Indians living in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories.

Since the signing of Treaty 8 in 1899 and Treaty 11 in 1921 no reserves have been set aside for Indian bands and the present land entitlement is estimated to exceed 1,200 square miles. Until 1959 neither the Indians nor the Federal Government were concerned that the land provisions of the treaties had not been fulfilled. However, at that date the Government, foreseeing the probability of future development in the area, felt that steps should be taken to implement the treaty and appointed a commission to discuss the matter with all the Indian bands. On the basis of what was learned during meetings with the bands the commission, in its report dated September 10, 1959, recommended against the establishment of reserves and proposed the re-negotiation of the treaties to provide cash and other benefits in lieu of land.

While the recommendations have not been implemented by the Government the whole question has been under fairly active discussion with the Indians during the intervening years. There remains considerable uncertainty as to whether the Indians want to take land in the amounts guaranteed by the treaties or would prefer other benefits. Most of the older Indians are not well educated and it has proved difficult for them to appreciate not only what was implicit in the treaties but the relative advantages or disadvantages of taking land and/or other benefits. This problem of understanding persists.

It is foreseeable that all Indian bands in the northern territories will make a claim based on unfulfilled treaty provisions. The question of unfulfilled treaty obligations is under current consideration by the Federal Government. The 1969 Indian policy statement, contained the explicit statement that lawful obligations would be recognized and that a Commissioner would be appointed who, in consultation with Indian representatives, would examine treaty questions in detail and recommend acceptable procedures for the adjudication of claims. In view of the fact that most Indian bands in the Northwest Territories do not want reserves, however, settlement of treaty questions may well involve re-negotiation of Treaties 8 and 11, along the lines discussed earlier.

Chapter 3. Current Federal Programs in the North

EDUCATION

Policies and Objectives of Northern Education

In general, the policy of the northern educational administration is to provide equalized educational opportunities for all residents of the Yukon, Northwest Territories and Eskimo and Indian residents of Arctic Quebec. In pursuing this policy, various programs are being developed in an attempt to realize the four major objectives of Northern education, the provision of:

1. programs and facilities for all children at the pre school, elementary and secondary school levels on an ethnically integrated basis;
2. vocational training for all who show interest and aptitude;
3. adult education for those who indicate an interest;
4. financial assistance for post-secondary education.

The Educational Programs

THE YUKON TERRITORY

A school system dating from the time of the Gold Rush developed in the Yukon under local auspices similar to provincial school systems. Until recently there were also federal schools for Indians operated separately from territorial schools. Carcross residential school, which closed last year, was the last Indian school in the Yukon. Two federal residences, Countert Hall and Yukon Hall, continue to operate in Whitehorse, but discussions are currently under way for their transfer to territorial administration.

The Yukon Territory has a population of some 16,000 with a school enrolment in 1968-69 of 3,671. This includes an Indian population of about 2,000 with an enrolment of Indian students of 725. Three hundred of the Indian students live in the two Whitehorse residences.

The physical standards of the schools are comparable to urban areas in the provinces. In 1968-69, a kindergarten program was established as part of the regular school program.

There is a growing vocational education program and the Yukon Vocational and Technical Training Centre provides programs in business, technical and skilled trades and service occupations. The Territorial Government also provides assistance to residents for post-secondary education outside the Yukon Territory, which includes return transportation plus a maximum of \$500 for tuition, books and living costs. Some scholarships are also available based on performance merit.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES AND ARCTIC QUEBEC

In 1955 the Federal Government accepted entire responsibility for education in the Northwest Territories. In its northern system it also included schools in Inuit communities in Arctic Quebec. Since that time the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (formerly the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources) has developed in the eastern and western Arctic a comprehensive education system based on ethnic integration, including regular schooling, pre-school, vocational and adult education, employment placement and post-secondary financial assistance.

Over the years the system has become progressively decentralized. This year the Government of the Northwest Territories assumed control of education in the Mackenzie District and by 1970 will have extended its responsibility to the whole of the territories. The Department currently administers education in the eastern Arctic and will continue to be responsible for its schools in Arctic Quebec after next year's transfer of the Keewatin and Frobisher Districts of the Territories to the Northwest Territories Government.

Enrolment In 1968-69, over 9,000 pupils were enrolled in 70 schools of the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec, comprising some 4,000 Eskimo pupils, 1,600 Indian pupils and 4,000 white and Métis pupils. More than 90 per cent of school-age children in the north now attend school, compared with less than 50 per cent in 1955. Northern pupils range in age from 5 to 20; in 1968-69, there were about 600 pre-school pupils, about 7,000 in Grades I to VI and 2,000 in Grades VII to XII.

Schools and Classrooms There are 70 schools in the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec, and a total of 525 elementary, secondary and special classrooms in operation. Most of the school buildings are of good standard, and are designed for community activities, but the rapid growth of the school population has necessitated the conversion of other types of buildings to school use and the use of other types of temporary classrooms, particularly in the eastern Arctic.

Pupil Residences During the school year 1968-69, about 1,400 northern pupils lived in nine large pupil residences located at Inuvik, Fort McPherson, Fort Simpson, Yellowknife, Fort Smith, Chesterfield Inlet, and Fort Churchill, Manitoba. Another 100 students were accommodated in small, eight- and twelve-bed residences under the care of Eskimo house parents. The trend towards urban living, reinforced by the Eskimo Rental Housing Program, along with the policy of establishing local elementary schools, has reduced the proportion of students requiring residential care from 22 per cent in 1960-61 to 15 per cent in 1968-69.

Teaching Staff There are approximately 520 teachers and principals in northern schools. All are fully qualified by provincial standards and most have had between three and four years, teaching experience before employment in the north. New teachers are given short orientation courses in August to help familiarize themselves with the northern curriculum and teaching methods. Subsequently, during the school year and at summer workshops, teachers participate in study groups to adapt courses of study to meet the local environment and also to develop special methods for teaching English as a second language to Indian and Eskimo pupils.

To help overcome the problems of cross-cultural education required in northern classrooms, Indian and Eskimo classroom assistants are employed. These are bilingual people trained to assist the teacher and especially to act as a bridge in language and culture for younger children between the home and the school. About 40 young Eskimos and Indians are employed in this capacity.

The first phase of an experimental teacher training program was completed in June, 1969 at Yellowknife. In this program a group of 17 Indian, Eskimo and Métis people were given a course of teacher education along with practice teaching and some senior matriculation subjects. Almost all students completed the course successfully and in the 1969-70 year will be engaged in teaching in local schools. During the next three to five years they will complete the academic and professional requirements for full teaching certification.

The Northern Curriculum Four provincial programs form the basis for school curricula in the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec for pupils in Grades I to XII.

Mackenzie District — Alberta Program
Keewatin District — Manitoba Program
Frobisher District — Ontario Program
Arctic Quebec District — Quebec Protestant Program

Modifications to these programs to meet environmental and cultural needs are provided by curricular materials, programs and teaching resources especially developed for northern schools. Currently, sixteen basic school readers for northern schools are being published. Other productions include curriculum guides in social studies and language arts; a program for teaching English as a second language; a variety of supplementary readers with northern content; audio-visual services handbook; special curriculum guides and programs for vocational and academic upgrading classes; 'Northern Cookbook'; a pre-number activity program; 'Physical Education Program for Arctic Schools,' which includes a special section on Eskimo games; colour slides of northern flora and fauna; and a series of film strips on the 'Government of the Northwest Territories.' For the most part, these programs, materials and publications are the end products of lengthy and intensive work by curriculum specialists and by local district curriculum committees of teachers at workshops and in-service training courses.

Post-Secondary A broadly based program of vocational education provides training for wage employment both in the north and in the south. The low educational level of older youth and adults, however, limits their entry into the trades and professions where they are needed the most. About 1,000 vocational courses are available to territorial residents, including engineering and boat-building courses provided by defence establishments and the railways. On-the-job training schemes have been most successful. In the Northwest Territories apprenticeship programs have now been established for 26 occupations leading to journeyman's certificates acceptable in the provinces.

Financial assistance is provided for technological and university training by way of outright grants for all education, transportation and living costs. Only a few northern Indians and Eskimos have yet entered university, however, and no more than four or five are university graduates. Primarily, the relatively recent establishment of the educational system accounts for the paucity of students in higher education, but there are also a number of academic social and psychological barriers related to poverty and culture.

Adult Education A major feature of the Eskimo housing rental program is the associated housing education program. This has now provided assistance to over 1,000 Eskimo families in their adjustment to modern living conditions. This program is now being extended to Indian families in the Mackenzie District.

Northern Education and Poverty

In northern education the factor of poverty appears to be reflected in the area of student attainment and to an extent in the instructional program. By and large, school plant and facilities rank among the best in Canada. Since 1955, when the Federal Government began its program of educational expansion in the Northwest Territories, all teachers have been experienced and fully qualified. On the other hand, there continues to be significant age-grade retardation among Indian and Eskimo students in the Northwest Territories, and only about 5 per cent of the Indian-Eskimo enrolment is in senior high school. A significant factor, however, is the fact that a majority of the Eskimo children have not had access to school until the present decade, and they come from homes completely lacking in the normal educational experience and traditions. In the early 1960's, there was a decided social and educational gulf between students and their parents, and the lack of educational reinforcement in the home affected school performance. In the last five years, however,

with accelerated northern development, parents now place increasing value on education and an improvement in school performance can be expected in the 1970's. To support this trend, the Federal and Territorial Governments must continue to expand the pre-school program, the in-service courses for teachers, the number of classroom assistants, the adult education program, and research oriented to cross-cultural educational problems.

The vocational education program, too, is limited by school attainment and northern economic development and employment opportunities. When these conditions are favourable, there is no lack of training programs. Currently, a new 30-classroom vocational school under construction at Frobisher Bay will provide vocational training and high school facilities for over 600 students in the eastern Arctic.

HOUSING IN THE NORTH

The role of the Federal Government in providing housing to Eskimos and Indians has expanded progressively. In the Northwest Territories, the Federal Government has supplied housing to some Eskimo people since 1956. Until then, the majority of Eskimos lived in igloos or snow houses in winter, and skin tents during the summer. The gathering of Eskimo families in the vicinity of trading posts and church missions created the problem of providing permanent housing. Overcrowding in tents, and a variety of shelters made from packing cases and scraps of lumber, resulted in social and public health problems. Consequently, in 1959, a federally financed and operated housing program for Eskimos was established.

Resale and Welfare Housing Program

In the search for an economically acceptable and yet an adequate type of housing for northern conditions, various experimental buildings were designed. Styrofoam igloos, corrugated aluminum houses, and frame buildings insulated with moss proved to be impractical. A small, one-room rigid frame-type of house was, therefore, selected as a standard design. Theoretically, the supplied houses were originally to be provided on a purchase basis; but under this program the minimum size one-room house (256 sq. ft.) including fuel oil for heating and cooking, was rent free to indigent Eskimo families. A small rental fee was charged provided if the financial position of the occupants subsequently improved. Those who could afford to purchase a house were required to repay in annual instalments the cost of material. It soon became evident that the size of houses would have to be increased if the generally poor health of Eskimos was to be improved. The purchase program was therefore revised in 1961-62 and a larger prefabricated house of new design was selected. A subsidy of \$1,000 was made available to each home purchaser, and loans up to \$6,000 could be obtained from an Eskimo Loan Fund at 5 per cent interest. Even with these changes the cost of the houses was still prohibitive to the majority.

While the increase in size lessened the ill effects of overcrowding, additional problems were being created: the cash contribution required of the purchaser increased in proportion to the size and cost of the house; the cost of heating increased in proportion to the size of the house; the cost of supplying additional services such as sewer, water and electrical power also increased considerably; and the cost of heating (at an average cost of \$500 yearly) made it impossible for many families earning incomes of \$2,000 or less annually to purchase fuel to heat their homes. Under this program, during the period of 1959-1965, a total of 1,332 housing units were supplied at a total capital cost of \$3,225,000.

A survey of the housing conditions of the Eskimo people in the Northwest Territories and the northern portion of the province of Quebec was undertaken in 1964-65. The survey included a total of 11,416 Eskimos accommodated in 1,910 separate housing units of various kinds. Of those interviewed, 1,966 were occupying 386 igloos or tents while another 2,041 were living in 390

completely unacceptable houses. Of the remaining 1,156 units, only a few were larger than one room and as a result the majority were hopelessly over crowded. The survey indicated that six was the average number of occupants of a single-room dwelling.

As a result of the survey it was found that there existed an urgent need for 1,600 new housing units. Thus, if the new program was to achieve more than merely meeting the physical requirements of the people, consideration would also have to be given to other equally important needs. In this respect, the survey revealed that the family-centred life of the Eskimo was becoming a community-oriented one. His isolated life, with its dependence on fur for income and caribou and sea products for food, was being replaced by one in which, henceforth, his own employment and the health and education of his family were the goals.

The move from the igloo, tent, or the overcrowded house of the past, into a relatively spacious, serviced unit, would be a concrete example of his new way of life, and the terms and conditions under which the new houses were to be supplied, could well prove to be the most useful sociological liaison between past and present.

Northern Rental Housing Program

The proposed plan, first called the Eskimo Rental Housing Program and later the Northern Rental Housing Program received approval from the Federal Government on October 12, 1965. The new program takes the following acts into consideration:

1. that incomes are too low for most families to afford even the operational costs of an adequate home let alone the capital cost;
2. that the provision of fuel and basic services is as vital as the housing itself;
3. that some form of subsidization of the total package is essential;
4. that participation of the tenants in the program is necessary if the dangers of over-dependency are to be avoided.

Under the plan, no Eskimo family pays more than 20 per cent of the family income for rent and this includes payment for essential services. For the purpose of assessing rent, the families are divided into three categories: first, those who have an adequate, steady income; second, those whose income is irregular and who depend upon hunting and casual labour; and third, those requiring special assistance, such as widows, handicapped persons, and the aged. Family allowances are not included in determining annual income. The maximum monthly rent charged for the various sized houses is: \$37 for a one-room house; \$42 for a one-bedroom house; \$62 for a two-bedroom house; and \$67 for a three-bedroom house. Welfare housing has been discontinued, all tenants being required to pay some rent. In order to encourage home ownership, a credit of 33 per cent of the annual rent paid each year and an allowance of \$100 per year for adequate house maintenance, is allotted towards a reserve account for each tenant. The accumulated amount can be used under the Northern Purchase Housing Program as part payment towards the purchase of a home.

The program provides for 1,600 new dwelling units to be supplied to 43 separate settlements in the North. They are scheduled to be delivered during a five-year period, at a total capital cost of \$12,500,000.

A prefabricated three-bedroom house with a floor space area of 700 sq. ft. is provided to eligible applicants under this program. Basic furniture up to a value of \$500, an oil burning space heater and kitchen range, kitchen cupboards, a chemical toilet, and a sink are included in each house. The operating costs of these units include a maximum amount of 1,800 gallons of fuel, 1,920 k.w.h. of electricity, water, sewage, garbage, and building maintenance. The average yearly

operating cost per unit for 1970-71 is estimated between \$900 and \$1,000, and the average yearly rental is estimated between \$200 and \$300; therefore, there will be an average annual subsidy of between \$700 and \$800 per unit.

During the 1959-1967 period, the Indian Affairs Branch provided a different form of housing assistance to Indians in the Northwest Territories. Under the Subsidy Housing Program, persons on welfare were provided with free shelter. Other Indian families were expected to pay for a portion of the cost of their houses by cash payments, or by a contribution of labour. About 400 houses were built during this period. The Federal Government contributed \$1,213,200 under this program in the Northwest Territories. By a Treasury Board amendment dated February 28, 1968, benefits under the Northern Rental Housing Program were extended to treaty Indians of the Northwest Territories.

An essential part of the program is the participatory aspect. To accomplish this purpose an intensive housing education program was launched in each of the settlements prior to housing construction. Its objectives were to teach the concepts, foreign to most of the people, of housing rental and of home management and maintenance. Housing associations were formed among the ingoing tenants and they were encouraged to co-operate in the construction, management and maintenance of the housing. This, the key part of the program, has been a success.

Northern Purchase Housing Program

This program was approved by Treasury Board in February 1968 for the purpose of providing assistance to all Indians and Eskimos in the Northwest Territories who have sufficient income to afford to purchase their own homes. The conditions of the program required that the applicant have sufficient income to repay the mortgage loan and to provide fuel and necessary services for the house. Financing is provided up to a maximum amount of \$9,000 consisting of a repayable first and forgivable second mortgage. The first mortgage is up to a maximum of \$7,000, at prevailing N.H.A. interest rates, amortized over a period of 25 years. The second mortgage loan, up to a maximum of \$6,000 is interest-free and repayable over a period of ten years; however, provided that the house is in continuous occupancy by the mortgagor, there are no defaults in repayment of the first mortgage, and the house has been adequately maintained, the second mortgage loan can be forgiven at a proportionate rate of one-tenth of the total loan amount per year during the term of the mortgage. No applications for assistance under this program have yet been received.

Indian Off-Reserve and Eskimo Re-establishment Housing Program

The Indian Off-Reserve and Eskimo Re-establishment Housing Program provides financial assistance to those Indians and Eskimos who, for employment purposes, wish to relocate to areas of economic development within the N.W.T., such as Fort Smith, Hay River, Inuvik, Pine Point and Yellowknife. It combines the N.H.A. first mortgage loan that must be obtained from an approved lender or C.M.H.C. with a forgivable interest-free second mortgage loan up to a maximum of \$10,000. The term of the second mortgage loan is ten years and the terms of forgiveness are similar to those applicable to the Northern Purchase Housing Program. The amount of the second mortgage is determined by the income of the family. No applications for loans have so far been made under this program, since its inception in February, 1968.

Indian Subsidy Housing Program

As mentioned earlier, until 1967, housing assistance for Indian families in the Northwest Territories was provided under this program by the Indian Affairs Branch. Only minimum shelter was provided, mainly in a welfare context. In the Yukon, the same program for Indians continues to be administered by the Indian Affairs Branch. Band members who have the financial ability to do so are required to make a small down payment, as a personal contribution towards the acquisition of housing. Persons on welfare are provided with free housing. The required down payment is related to the applicant's income. Housing under this program is available to all Indian bands in Canada.

Effects of the Housing Programs

The original housing units supplied under the Resale and Welfare Housing Program were too small; however, it was the first step of the Eskimo's transition from igloo and snow-house to southern type accommodation. The Northern Rental Housing Programs had had a much greater effect on the day-to-day life of the Eskimo in the Northwest Territories, as most families now have access to adequate if modest homes. Community services have improved and, in many instances, are operated under contract by the housing associations or an Eskimo co-operative. The quantity and quality of housing provided has had far-reaching social effects on the community.

There are other effects which cannot be so clearly defined. Improved health of the Eskimo people can be credited to other programs; certainly better housing can share in this achievement. To illustrate this point, the following table shows the time spent in hospital resulting from two types of diseases which can result from housing conditions.

Types of Diseases	1964	1965	1966	1967
Respiratory (Patient days)	7,036	7,381	6,559	6,313
Digestive (Patient days)	1,709	2,240	2,329	2,110
Total Patient days	8,745	9,621	8,888	8,423
Patient days per capita (Eskimo)	.98	1.02	.91	.82

From the above data it will be noted that although medical services were improving during 1964 and 1965, the number of patient days were increasing, but that with the beginning of the housing program in 1966, a gradual decrease began.

Due to increased costs per unit, and some transportation difficulties, provision of housing under the Northern Rental Housing Program has fallen behind the schedule originally approved by the Federal Government. Housing facilities are obviously essential, to the maintenance of physical health and human dignity, and the provision of housing has tended to make some small communities more permanent. The housing associations formed in most settlements are not only taking an active part in the housing program but also in many other matters in which they have been influential in creating a community spirit. Development of the non-renewable resource potential could provide greater opportunities for employment and a considerable domestic income distribution, which may induce the creation of "linkage" industries in the more permanent communities that are now growing.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A Guaranteed Annual Income

Some form of guaranteed income may be one means of breaking the poverty cycle in many Indian and Eskimo communities. We have been examining various current theories in this field and the administrative methods needed to put them into practice.

Appendix B provides an outline of the most important types of guaranteed income proposed by contemporary social scientists. As we understand them, all of these proposals seek to do one or more of three things:

1. provide an adequate income;
2. retain the incentive to work;
3. lessen the costs of social assistance.

Many economists and social scientists in Canada and the United States favour variations of the negative income tax plan because they could be operated through minor modifications to the current income tax administrative system. The other popular theories include the Social Dividend and the Universal Family Grant plans, advocating a sum of money paid to all but returned by those in the higher tax brackets.

We believe, that an approach which does not lean so heavily on the concept of taxable cash income levels might be more effective in dealing with poverty in Indian communities. Income that an Indian person earns on a reserve is at present non-taxable. No real or personal property of an Indian person on a reserve is subject to taxation. In a situation where income tax plays a minor and sometimes non-existent role — as is the case with many Indian people — arguments concerning taxable cash income levels cease to apply. In addition to this, the level of cash income levels cease to apply. In addition to this, the level of cash income of many Indian households often does not accurately reflect the family's standard of living. Costs of major services that are met by other Canadians through the taxes they pay — education is one of the more obvious examples — are not encountered by Indian people living on reserves. In addition to this, many Indian and Eskimo families are able to supplement what cash income they do have by hunting and fishing. Another point that is just as important, in our view, is the misunderstanding among many Indian people of the whole concept of taxation. Thus, a plan of social assistance that operates on other concepts, is likely to inspire far greater co-operation within the Indian and Eskimo community: with this in mind, we are currently considering a "guaranteed opportunity" program as a preferred alternative to a guaranteed annual income.

Although our thinking has not yet matured sufficiently to make a firm proposal in this regard, what we have in mind when we speak of a Guaranteed Opportunity Program is an extension of programs currently being operated by ourselves and the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Through these programs, Indian individuals and families are provided with financial support to move to areas of job opportunity or job training opportunity, and are subsequently provided with the support in terms of counselling and training that will ease their adjustment to new surroundings.

Our problem, of course, is that in seeking to guarantee the opportunity to work (as a more significant guarantee, surely, than that of an annual minimum income) we have had to encourage families to leave the areas in which they wish to live and make what may often be extremely painful social and family adjustments. Moreover, it has not always been possible to find suitable job opportunities. On the basis of this experience, we are currently studying the possibility of extending the definition of "job opportunity" to cover a far wider spectrum. It might properly include, for example, and not in "make-work" fashion, the general enrichment of the local community (e.g., physical planning, landscaping, roads, recreation). It might also include supporting Indian mothers in the learning of skills required in everyday family and community life. Certainly it will include as we discuss later, opportunities to engage in community-based, arts and crafts oriented cottage industry.

In essence, while we support without qualification the right of all Canadians to a guaranteed annual income sufficient to cover the basic necessities of life and to leave scope for the development of an individual's positive potential, we are aware from our experience in doing just this, for many Indian and Eskimo families, that it is simply not enough. If there is any doubt on this score, two examples among a great many extending beyond Indian and Eskimo communities, might be considered. The first, and one with which many people are familiar, is the problem of the neglected and dependent child who becomes a public ward — and in doing so often reaches a new level of physical well-being, with the provision of material requirements being far more generous than exists among the children of the very poor who are "unfortunate" enough to remain with their own parents. A second problem area and still not widely recognized among the general public, is that of

Canada's homeless, transient men who each winter, go on a circuit of Salvation Army hostels and missions in many provinces simply to stay alive. In the one province that has made generous provision for such men, including a tobacco allowance along with room and board, there are no illusions that the real problems of well-being for such men are being met.

A realistic financial flow is a necessary but not sufficient conditions for human well-being and those who suggest that a guaranteed annual income will significantly reduce the incidence of problems of human well-being are guilty of gross self-delusion.

SOCIAL SERVICES IN THE NORTH

Arrangements for the provision of social services for Indians and Eskimos in the Canadian North (the Yukon and Northwest Territories, and Nouveau Québec) differ to some extent from those that exist in the provinces.

The Yukon Territory has for some years provided certain social services to Indians (there are no Eskimos in the Yukon), either directly as a territorial responsibility or through formal contracts with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The services provided directly by the territorial government are essentially those categorical allowances and rehabilitation, adult care and correctional services which are usually provided by provincial authorities. In addition, the territorial government extends its child welfare services to Indians as a result of a formal contract with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. On the other hand, Departmental staff directly administer a basic income maintenance program for Indians in the Yukon, mainly through the provision of social assistance.

In the Northwest Territories, social service programs similar to those outlined in the Yukon were for some years provided for all territorial residents by staff of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. With the recent inception and growth of a territorial civil service the process of transferring responsibility for the administration of programs, including social services, to the territorial government has begun. It is expected that this transfer will be completed by April 1, 1970. The territorial government will then be providing social services to all residents of the Northwest Territories, including Eskimos and Indians.

In general terms, a full range of social service programs is available to Indians and Eskimos in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, but these programs are lacking in both quality and quantity primarily because of a shortage of staff.

The Department has for some time recognized the desirability of having all social services available to all residents of both territories and administered by the respective territorial governments. Considerable progress has been made along these lines, particularly in the Northwest Territories. New emphasis will be placed on fully attaining this objective in the years immediately ahead. There seems to be little negative response from the Indians and Eskimos of the territories to closer ties with their territorial governments and this is an encouraging sign.

A major problem faced by both territories is the fact that they do not have an adequate tax base to finance all their activities. Thus far this problem has been met through financial assistance from the Federal Government, provided under federal-territorial financial agreements which are reviewed regularly. Territorial social service programs will be able to recover certain expenditures under appropriate federal programs such as the Canada Assistance Plan. This should facilitate an increase in social service staff with a corresponding rise in the quantity and quality of the services provided in both the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development continues to be responsible for the well-being of approximately 3,000 Eskimos living in Nouveau Québec. The Department administers a considerable range of non-statutory social services to this group. In addition Quebec Eskimos are eligible, as residents of the province of Quebec, for various welfare benefits and allowances provided under provincial legislation. As in the territories, what is lacking is not essentially the range of welfare programs, but quality and quantity.

The Department is continuing negotiations with the object of having all social services for Eskimos in Quebec administered by that province. There is some concern on the part of the Eskimo people in this regard, but they are being closely consulted on the kinds of guarantees they wish to have from both governments should a transfer of administrative responsibility take place.

Indians and Eskimos living in Labrador now receive all provincial welfare services from the province of Newfoundland under the terms of a special agreement between Canada and the province.

THE EMPLOYMENT LIAISON PROGRAM

Initial emphasis in northern development was placed on providing information and incentives to encourage developers to search for and exploit the major natural resources of the North. At present, and in the foreseeable future, the development of natural resources is expected to form the only substantial base for economic development. It became apparent that the automatic flow of benefits and opportunities for northern people to participate in development and share in the benefits of northern development was not occurring. This was due to many cases, the two principal ones being: 1) a lack of adequate information exchange between developers and government officers concerning the training and placement of northern peoples; and 2) a general lack of special efforts by developers to take the initially more complex route of attempt to involve, essentially through meaningful employment, northern people in their operations.

Short run expediencies, such as assembling exploration crews in southern Canada quickly, without involving government placement officers in the North, have been the rule rather than the exception. Yet major cost reductions can be obtained through the employment of trained persons close to the area of operation. The purpose of the Employment Liaison Program, therefore, is to urge developers to undertake the special effort required to enable local people to participate in northern development.

In actual figures, the employment of the native people in the resource industries in the North has been low. In absolute numbers it ranged from 0-30 per mine in September, 1968; in percentages it ranged from 0 per cent to 12 per cent per mine. For the Yukon as a whole, indigenous employment in the mining industry was 3.4 per cent of the total industrial work force, (that is 28 Indians out of a total of 820 workers). In the Northwest Territories it was 5.3 per cent of the total or 63 Indians and Eskimos out of a total of 1182 workers.

As 17.6 per cent of the Yukon population is Indian and as the Indian, Eskimo and Métis represent 63.5 per cent of the Northwest Territories' population, it is obvious that many more native people could find employment in the resource development industries.

The Liaison Employment Program was established in the spring of 1969 with the appointment of two liaison officers in the Northern Economic Development Branch. One office was established in Calgary to work with the petroleum industry, while the other was established in Ottawa to coordinate employment opportunities in the mining industry and other resource development industries. Both offices work with personnel of the various development companies and government agencies in an effort to promote opportunities for northern residents.

Since its establishment last spring, the Employment Liaison Program has begun to show some results. The most important result has been an increased awareness on the part of industrial people in the North of the potential and need for employing northern people. This increased awareness has been particularly noticeable in the petroleum industry where the change has been obvious in the work of the Petroleum Industry Committee established at the urging of this Department. The committee, which is composed of representatives of all facets of the petroleum industry, is using its considerable influence to promote this awareness in the industry.

In the mining industry, an agreement has been finalized with Cominco Limited for implementation at Pine Point Mines, N.W.T. The agreement is a combined training and employment program which will provide opportunities for at least six indigenous people per year. At Pine Point, an experimental position has been set up by the Government of the Northwest Territories as part of the agreement, whereby an officer of the N.W.T. Government is stationed on site at Pine Point to locate suitable indigenous workers and to arrange and coordinate training programs. It is also his task to assist indigenous workers in adjusting to their jobs. This involves both counselling and directing workers to agencies which can help with particular problems.

A number of specific training programs have also been set up, such as training N.W.T. residents at the Petroleum Industry Training School in Edmonton for subsequent employment by the oil drilling contractors. A second training program has been set up with Okanagan Helicopters Ltd., for the training of helicopter pilots from the eastern Arctic. This agreement also involves subsequent employment with the Company.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In general, in the Northwest Territories there are no Indian reserves in the accepted sense. Moreover in addition to the problems of distance, geography, climate and communication historically nomadic cultures have mitigated against ties to a restricted geographic community. A large somewhat undefinable resource region, and not the smaller urbanized center, has been "home". The lack of reserves, and identity in this respect does not give the band any base on which to operate under the terms of the Indian Act insofar as the local government functions are concerned. Even among the non-Indian population local self-government is a relatively new possibility, other than two or three notable exceptions. The indigenous people have not therefore been exposed or educated to the theories of local community administration and have retained a tendency to look to centralized government.

Since municipal institutions are the responsibility of the Territorial government any attempt by an Indian band to operate under the Indian Act in this respect, would bring them into conflict with the Territorial Ordinances. In the Northwest Territories there are no legislative bars to the individual Indian's participation in the total community framework under the municipal ordinances, as he can both stand for office and vote. Yet few do either. The new *Hamlet Ordinance* is an attempt to develop local government in smaller communities as a developmental stage and an extensive educational program is currently underway. However, the Yukon Territory still retains the real property qualification for both voting and office privileges in organized communities. In the non-organized areas the Commissioner is deemed to be the municipal council. Since the Indians are not normally assessed as the owners of property they are effectively barred from participation here.

The Eskimo, historically, has always been nomadic. It is only recently that he has tended to settle in or around a permanent physical community. He also is, therefore, not attuned to the Western concepts of local government. In addition he does not have the responsibilities of the Indian Band Council as given in the Indian Act. As indicated previously, in the Northwest Territories there is no legislative bar to his participation in community affairs but it is new and

strange to him, requiring time and education. As pointed out in previous papers, there are no Eskimos in the Yukon Territory so that the situation is not applicable there.

The administration of the programs of the Indian Affairs Branch has now been turned over to the Government of the Northwest Territories and the Territorial Division. They are also responsible for the application of the Indian Act to the extent possible. In the Yukon Territory, the Branch programs are in effect to the extent possible considering the adverse conditions and lack of a community base.

Chapter 4. Liaison with Other Governments

In addition to the Yukon and Northwest Territorial Governments, there are no less than twenty eight federal departments, agencies and Crown corporations that are active in the northern territories. However, apart from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the two territorial governments, only four other federal departments — Agriculture, Fisheries, Manpower and Immigration, and National Health and Welfare — are directly involved in ameliorating the conditions of poverty among the native people of the region.

The Department of Agriculture is responsible for investigating the agricultural potential in northern Canada; for determining, through research, the possibilities of gardening and farming; for advising other government agencies on matters related to agriculture in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, and other unsettled areas of the North; for conducting botanical and ecological surveys as required; and for studying the biology, distribution, and systematics of northern insects, plant diseases and soils.

The Department of Fisheries is responsible for, among other things, the conservation, protection and wise utilization of the fisheries in the North, while the Department of Manpower and Immigration is responsible for furthering the growth of the region through the optimum development and utilization of manpower resources by promoting the effective and rapid matching of men and jobs, and for providing through the provinces the required occupational training. Indeed, a very important longrange program of the Department of Manpower and Immigration is that of determining the manpower needs of all northern employers, and making every effort to arrange for suitable training courses for northern workers so that their job qualifications will be acceptable to employers.

The Northern Health Services Division of the Department of National Health and Welfare assumes all responsibilities of the federal and territorial governments and is, therefore, the *de facto* territorial health department.

There are a number of ways (both formal and informal) through which the agencies involved in the northern territories are linked with each other; the main form of liaison, however, is through interdepartmental committees. The principal committee on interdepartmental discussion is the Advisory Committee on Northern Development (A.C.N.D.) which was established by Cabinet in 1946 to:

“advise the government on matters of policy relating to civilian and military undertakings in northern Canada and to provide for the effective coordination of all government activities in that area.”

For the benefit of the Senate Committee, the A.C.N.D. considered the following subjects, all of which relate to the improvement of the indigenous population and the ways to improve their standard of living:

- Document No. 63 Government Policy Toward the Eskimo
- " No. 77 The Move of Aklavik
- " No. 90 The problem of Coppermines
- " No. 92 Northern Health Services
- " No. 96 Northern Health Services
- " No. 119 Agricultural Possibilities in the Ungava Bay Region
- " No. 147 Briefs Presented to Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects by the Commissioners of the Northwest and Yukon Territories
- " No. 151 Coordination of Health Facilities in the North
- " No. 161 Economic Conditions Among the Natives of the Northwest Territories
- " No. 164 Study of Northern Economic Problems
- " No. 172 The Caribou Crisis
- " No. 176 Health Facilities in the North
- " No. 177 The Economic Crisis of the Resident Population in the North
- " No. 231 Development of Frobisher Bay
- " No. 256 Development Road Program in the Yukon and Northwest Territories
- " No. 300 N.W.T. Welfare and Housing Project
- " No. 357 Development of the Town of Churchill
- " No. 369 Administration of New Quebec
- " No. 431 Employment of Northern Residents
- " No. 433 Employment of Northern Residents
- " No. 453 Furthering Employment of Northern Residents in Federal Departments and Agencies

In the Northwest Territories, the various social security programs, to which both Indians and Eskimos are entitled (as are all Canadians), are administered by the federal and territorial governments. Until the transfer of territorial administration to Yellowknife, this responsibility was undertaken by the Northern Administration Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In addition, indigent Eskimos benefit from social welfare programs providing free care through the Department of National Health and Welfare.

Liaison between the Federal Government and the territorial governments is now through the Territorial Relations Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

PART 3

The Indigenous Peoples and poverty in Canada

Chapter 1. An Overview

The material presented in earlier sections indicates that a not unimpressive attempt has been made, and certainly in more recent years, to deal with the problem of poverty among the indigenous peoples of Canada. Yet, by any definition of poverty, the Indian and Eskimo are still two of the most disadvantaged groups in Canada.

This, surely, is the most striking implication of our review of those programs that have been mounted to deal with Indian and Eskimo poverty. In the Indian and Eskimo populations we have had groups identifiable in both size and physical location, and have failed to make major inroads on all but the most basic problems of physical distress. Yet the Senate Committee, acting on behalf of the Government of Canada, is seeking ways to alleviate and eventually eradicate the conditions of poverty that may extend to embrace in excess of 20 percent of Canada's total population. Canadians exist in poverty in all of Canada's ten provinces and the two territories, across a range of cultural groups and in communities of diverse size and character.

The central question, of course, is why, with dedication, a great deal of goodwill on the part of those working within many agencies besides our own, and the outlay of considerable funds, we have made so little progress in combatting Indian and Eskimo poverty.

Our experience as a Department has led us to the conclusion that there have been, basically, three weaknesses in our approach to this matter: we have been paternalistic, even though it has been benevolent; we have tackled the problem of poverty in a fragmented and discriminatory rather than an integrated way; and we have misjudged the degree of competence required in human relationships; and in the evolution and implementation of effective policies. Although our experience has been of a specialized nature, moreover, our contacts with others engaged in seeking to alleviate or eradicate poverty lead us to suspect that paternalism, fragmentation of programmes and a lack of competence in framing policies and in management are not peculiar to ourselves.

That we have been paternalistic in the past is surely above dispute. From the very beginning of our relationships with the Indian people of Canada they have been regarded as a subject people, living at a different level of civilization. To our credit we have accepted the responsibility for making certain that the necessary, rudimentary, conditions of life were present in their communities, and in our more benevolent eras we have sought to raise the level of Indian life generally to that of Canadians as a whole. Yet in doing so we have violated one of the central tenets of democratic society; that each individual has the right to the necessary degree of freedom to develop his positive potential as a human being, in his own way, — and this implies the right to make his own decisions and to profit from the experience, even and perhaps especially where the decision is a wrong one. A group brought up in tutelage, however benevolently, is denied the opportunity for such growth, and we have impeded such growth among Indian and Eskimo people.

One of our younger staff members, with a sociological background, recently prepared a paper on the Indian problem and showed, quite skillfully, that the rather scathing indictment of many traditional managers contained in Douglas McGregor's increasingly well-known discussion of "Theory X" can be applied, with equal force, to our former posture regarding both the Indian and the Eskimo. Like McGregor's "Theory X" managers, we have tended to see them as by nature indolent, working as little as possible; lacking ambition, disliking responsibility, preferring to be led; inherently self-centred; by nature resistant to change; and "gullible, not very bright, the ready dupe of the charlatan and the demagogue." The rational approach in dealing with such people is, of course, to *manage* their affairs on their behalf, to give them the strong leadership they obviously require. Yet, paradoxically, there is no one group more familiar with the Indian and Eskimo people than members of our own Department, and our experience indicates how much of a parody of the actual nature of the Indian and Eskimo such a description really is.

There are peculiarities of culture that differentiate the Indian and Eskimo both from each other and from other cultural groups in Canada, but once this is recognized, and once allowance is made for the fact that they have, indeed, lived under tutelage for so many years, we believe them to be virtually indistinguishable from a cross section of any other group in Canada in similar economic and geographic circumstances. We have become convinced, therefore, that to continue the paternalistic pattern that has existed since Confederation would be a grave error, self-defeating and perpetuating unacceptable conditions.

If our programs have suffered from paternalism, they have suffered equally from their fragmented nature. There are two different aspects to fragmentation that have broader implications than those of our own Departmental programs. First, in keeping the treatment of Indian and Eskimo problems distinct from the problems of Canadians generally, we have created serious problems of discrimination as well as lowering the quality of certain of our programs below that available to Canadian citizens generally. Second, viewing Departmental programs as a whole and in their relationship to other public and private programs, some lack of communication among the various units and agencies, together with the very real difficulties of noting and taking into account the complicated interrelationships of one program with another, have worked against the success of our programs. Indeed, the situation is not unlike that which exists in our larger cities in work associated with disadvantaged families. In the same sense, innumerable visits by countless separate agencies, each approaching a fragment of the total problem from its own peculiar vantage point and with its own special methods of treatment, have tended to work against the healthy functioning of the family as a whole. As a result, (in terms of actual contact with a particular family) the "multi-problem" family worker has been used in place of the visits of representatives of many different agencies. In dealing with the Indian and Eskimo, we have seen most force-fully the very considerable disadvantages of a host of individual workers and separate programs working with the individual Indian or Eskimo community. Consequently, we have begun to search for ways and means to achieve a vital coordination of programs *before* their impact is felt by the individual.

As an example, the standard of housing available to the Indian and Eskimo might be considered. If viewing this problem independently of all other problems, we might well devise an approach that will permit us to provide each Indian and Eskimo family with adequate accommodation by 1975. On first examination, this is a worthwhile goal; yet if we "provide" such houses as grandiloquent gifts from a generous government, without regard to the economic prospects of a particular location and without regard, too, for general trends in terms of remaining on or leaving a particular reserve, then we could be working at cross-purposes with other facets of our total program. Those who have become acquainted with poverty in its broadest aspects know how close are the interrelationships between housing and education, economic development, pride in culture, pride in community, the development of institutions of local government, health and physical well-being generally, the extent of social security and the availability of social services, and the level of acceptability of the particular group in the surrounding community.

This brings us to the third factor mentioned earlier, our failure in the past to realize the extremely high degree of competence in the formulation of suitable policies and their implementation, that is required to in order to cope with the problems of poverty, even in as small and identifiable a group as the Indian and Eskimo peoples. There is something of a paradox in asserting, on the one hand, that we must reject a paternalistic approach while, on the other, asserting that the alleviation and eventual eradication of poverty will occur only if a far higher degree of policy and managerial competence is applied henceforth. Yet this paradox is more apparent than real, if it is acknowledged that strong, informed and highly intelligent leadership can succeed only if it is applied with the deepest conviction concerning the worth of human dignity and self-determination. There is no substitute for integrity of purpose, but integrity is not enough.

Within our Department we have experimented with the more extreme approach of those community development workers who enter an individual community with the conviction that all that is necessary to effect beneficial social change is to begin an agitational process which, once begun, will produce over a time a healthily-active total community in which "the establishment" and the very poor will be working together, harmoniously, for the good of every member of the community. On the basis of our experience we are now convinced that whatever the merits of pointing out the inadequacies of existing structures, and persuading those living in poverty that they have a legitimate interest in changing the existing situation and a potential power to do so, there is both a peculiar arrogance and an incredible naiveté in the belief that extremely complex communities can reach a new and healthier level of functioning with such minimal understanding and effort.

On the positive side there is an idealism existing alongside the arrogance and naiveté of the approach described above. Moreover, this essential insight is that traditional methods have suffered from the lack of involvement of the very poor themselves in the process of change, and also the real sense of distance that exists between the traditional agencies, staffed by people who tend to come from different economic, social and cultural groups, and their clients. We believe that what is needed is a recognition of the right and wisdom of letting the poor participate in those decisions which affect their well-being; that this right should be combined with an informed insight into what *does* produce the essential social climate that is conducive to the well-being of everyone. Not least of all, they should be made aware of the requirements of taking agreed-upon goals and translating them into systems that will work. In looking back on our performance — measured against the views now expressed above — we know that we have fallen short.

We have not involved Indians and Eskimos in the various programs mounted on their behalf. Our planning has lacked the rigor and clarity that it might have had, and as a consequence we have expended considerable resources with far less effective results than might otherwise have been achieved. It is no serious reflection on the abilities, and certainly not on the degree of commitment, of Departmental staff that we now recognize that the problems with which we are involved are sufficiently complex to tax managerial capacity of a very high order — and of an order that has not always been available.

The main point we are making, and we believe it to be a vital one, is that we should not underestimate the high degree of competence required in seeking to deal with the problems of poverty and its eventual eradication. There is a colloquial saying that "An army of deer led by a lion will defeat an army of lions led by a deer". Unless we can attract into the fight against poverty some of our most idealistic people, who are at the same time among our most well-endowed in terms of managerial potential, and develop this potential in a way that will produce impressive skills in effecting social change, we cannot hope for any major success. Success will also elude us if this competence is not upheld by an equally high degree of clarity concerning the interrelated set of goals or objectives serving the one simple end of eradicating poverty — a set of objectives that has been agreed upon in full consultation with those who are its central concern, the poor themselves.

The foregoing views have provided a background to thinking within our own Department concerning the next steps we might take not only in ameliorating poverty among the indigenous people but also in its eventual eradication. Steps taken as recently as the past six months indicate how profoundly we have been influenced by the rejection of a paternalistic and fragmented approach, and by a new respect for advanced skills in policy analysis and in managing.

The Proposed New Indian Policy

A conviction that the paternalism of the past must disappear is a central aspect of the White Paper which appeared in June, 1969. That the statement in the White Paper was not an idle gesture

is indicated by the fact that, for the first time, there is within the Department a senior official, holding the rank of Assistant Deputy Minister, charged with the major responsibility for consultation and negotiations with the Indian people, and having a staff sufficient to pursue this goal vigorously. It is significant, too, that the title of this unit is "Consultation and *Negotiations*"; not only are we prepared and willing to consult those who are most affected by our program; we are further committed to an acknowledgement of the fact that those most affected must be regarded as equal participants in the process and, hence, to be negotiated with on many issues rather than merely consulted.

That programs and practices related to Indians and Eskimos are to be integrated with those for other Canadians is evidenced by the fact that the members of our Consultation and Negotiation Group have been charged with the very difficult responsibility of making certain that every group or agency affected by the proposed new policy is consulted, and conditions established for effective negotiations when necessary. Involved, therefore, will be the ten different provinces and the two territories, and the large variety of departments and agencies within these respective governments; Indians and Eskimos themselves, in a heterogeneity that may surprise many of those who are not familiar with how complex these two groups really are — and particularly the Indian people with their twelve tribal groups, their 560 separate bands owning and variously occupying many of their over 2200 reserves, and the many single individual Indians among the 237,000 with whom we are concerned for whom particular programs will have individual meaning; other federal departments or agencies now cooperating with our Department and which may eventually assume responsibilities which are now ours, e.g., the Department of Health and Welfare, the Department of the Secretary of State, the Department of Regional and Economic Expansion, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and so on; the private agencies and groups now providing services to other Canadian citizens and which may provide similar services to the Indian and Eskimo; and existing municipalities and local government districts adjacent to Indian communities, with whom cooperative relationships must be established. We are also conscious of the need to seek assurance that these public and private agencies which may eventually replace ourselves in Indian and Eskimo affairs, will themselves not adopt a paternalistic attitude in their relationships with the Indian and Eskimo people.

A commitment to consultation and negotiations within the new Indian policy is a major aspect, therefore, and one on which we are already vigorously working. It is fraught with difficulties, of course, and difficulties that are by no means entirely within the control of our own Department. To succeed, consultation and negotiation will require a considerable measure of goodwill by all participating. They pre-suppose an identification of acceptable and proper agencies for such negotiation and consultation, and we have still to resolve this particular issue. Nevertheless, what is encouraging is that over the past several months, after a period of understandable skepticism concerning the strength of our degree of commitment to meaningful consultation and negotiation, there are encouraging signs in every direction that this particular initiative has been long awaited and is enthusiastically welcomed; we expect, therefore, that progress in this area will take place at an accelerating rate.

Then, too, in fairness to our predecessors in the Department, it must be acknowledged that we are not beginning entirely anew. In a great many of our programs in the past, whatever degree of success we have achieved has been possible only because those working at various levels in the Department evidenced a willingness to work with many other agencies, and recognized that such cooperative effort was essential to the success of their programs. Moreover, while our approach in the past has tended to be far more paternalistic than we would now support, it has been at the same time carried out in a manner that has been at the very least humane, and at its best cognizant of the requirements of a proper regard for human dignity and of establishing close working relationships with the individual Indian or Eskimo. In fact, in this regard while it is quite true to say that in the past our programs have suffered from excessive paternalism, fragmentation, a lack of clarity of

objectives and an inadequate awareness of the very real demands on managerial competence, nevertheless there is something tantalizing, in reviewing the history of the Federal Government's involvement in Indian and Eskimo affairs, in noting how close we have come to finding the right track, while succeeding merely in running parallel to it.

The overriding objective of the proposed new Indian policy is that as soon as feasible the Indian and Eskimo will join the mainstream of Canadian life, freed from the adverse effects of a paternalistic discrimination. If consultation and negotiation are major tools towards the accomplishment of this particular trend there are substantive commitments that are equally worth nothing. A vital one, for example, is that in encouraging this process of entering the mainstream of society full acknowledgement is made of the strengths and skills required to do this. If the Indian Act, as currently written, is in the long run harmful to the Indian because of its discriminatory aspects, it nevertheless contains certain positive discriminations that the Indian correctly does not want to lose.

If, therefore, the Indian can look with considerable acceptance on the Federal Government's commitment to ensure that the reserve lands set aside for Indian use are turned over, at an appropriate time, for direct ownership and control by the Indian bands themselves and can applaud, equally, the Federal Government's commitment to take the initial step towards straightening out vexatious treaty issues and claims through the appointment of an independent Commissioner, he should, at the same time, make certain that the special forms of assistance he requires in educating his children, in maintaining his family's health and well-being generally, in finding adequate accommodation, in being safeguarded against the threats of an inadequate social security system and inadequate social services, and in protecting and preserving his cultural heritage, are still available. The recent policy proposals acknowledge this, and activity now under way within the Department is directed towards ensuring that programs currently in effect continue to be operated with maximum effectiveness until such time as the Indians themselves, provincial or territorial departments, municipalities, private agencies, or other federal departments assume these responsibilities and provide services of adequate quality supported by sufficient resources.

The search for ways and means of bringing the Indian and Eskimo into the mainstream of Canadian life is going on hand in hand, therefore, with a proving review of the strengths and weaknesses of existing programs. There is no one working within our Department who believes that to end the federal support being given the Indian and Eskimo, abruptly, at this point in time, would be anything but highly disadvantageous; yet the prevailing opinion, of equal strength, is that to continue these services beyond a reasonable time into the future would be self-defeating in terms of the very real need for the Indian and Eskimo to assume their proper position of equality in Canadian society. The current review of our programs is therefore an intensely demanding one; at one and the same time, we hopefully foresee and must therefore plan for the disengagement of the Department from its great variety of programs in Indian and Eskimo affairs, while ensuring that the individual Indian and Eskimo, and the various Indian and Eskimo communities across Canada, are neither temporarily nor permanently disadvantaged in the process.

The manner in which we are undertaking the review of existing problems may be of interest to the Senate Committee. As a first step, we have been seeking a clear-cut, coherent statement of what it is, precisely, we are doing. This may seem elementary, and that we consider it a necessary first step may appear as an admission of extremely inadequate management in the past; yet there are very few public servants who would not acknowledge (and for that matter administrators working within agencies in the private sector) that the pressures of day-to-day activities militate against this clear awareness. Even if each particular facet of our total program was clear to those within it, it has by no means followed that everyone throughout the Department who should have been aware of current happenings in related programs was provided with the material necessary to such an awareness. For such reasons, therefore, we have found the initial clarification of existing programs extremely beneficial.

The next stage has been to review, very carefully, stated objectives, for each program, and each activity within each program, in terms of their relevance both to changing circumstances and, particularly to the proposed new Indian policy. Like other departments with a commitment to modern management concepts, we are fully convinced that unless we are clear on our objectives, at every level in the organization, and unless these objectives are fully adequate in terms of current needs, then we cannot hope to make the progress we desire. Then, too, the fact that every single objective must be reviewed in terms of its acceptability to the many groups concerned, beyond our own departmental officials, is a highly complicating factor and one that has taken us into territory that we have never explored. Nevertheless, we have made considerable progress over the last six months in reviewing our policies in light of the proposed new Indian policy and, in the process, clarifying our objectives.

Where objectives have been clarified, we have moved ahead to analyze our various programs in terms of their efficiency and effectiveness. This has involved a willingness to look critically at programs and methods of operating that have existed for many years and might, therefore, be thought to have fully established their acceptability. In the process we have discovered that many existing programs do, indeed, require revision, and sometimes radical revision. Moreover, even though we have concluded that existing programs are sound we have, in the process, settled upon ways of improving them. In all cases, because of our commitment to involving the Indian people themselves in such review and analysis we have been able to gain considerable insight into how our programs have in the past been received by those whose lives they were intended to benefit.

It would be claiming far too much to suggest that we believe we have at last discovered answers to the many questions that have plagued us concerning the Indian and Eskimo poverty. We have not. Yet we are convinced that we are now on the right track with our commitment to involve with ourselves those most directly affected by poverty, in the search for solutions and in their implementation. The intermediate goal, to disengage the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from its traditional paternalistic role in Indian Affairs through transferring its many responsibilities and concomitant functions to more appropriately prepared and experienced agencies, will become a reality during the next several years. The achievement of this objective will lead to the disappearance of the century-long discrimination against the Indian people. In the process, and in part through Departmental programs in the interim period, the Indian and Eskimo will have taken significant strides forward in developing the necessary strengths and understanding to adjust to a changed situation.

It is of some significance to the present discussion, perhaps, that we have made a recent decision to involve our entire management group, at all levels of managing, in a re-examination and reassessment of our objectives and of the skills we are bringing to their achievement. The first important step in this direction was a three-day conference of all members of top management, with the conference itself being the culmination of a great deal of activity within the various programs, to clarify the overall objectives of the Department and of the program objectives of which the overall objectives are constituted. This conference was highly successful and took every member of the top management group a long way towards understanding what each of the other members was doing or planning to do, and gave each in turn a chance to react to such plans. This three-day session was followed by a week-long residential session for each member of senior management (from the Director level down to Division Chief, and including equivalent field personnel), to continue the examination of objectives and to examine current managerial practices and possible alternatives. As a final stage, every member of middle management will spend five days in programs with a similar orientation. Taken in conjunction with the many sessions that have been held, in parallel, between members of our own Department and the various groups with which we must keep in contact, the past six months and the months ahead will have constituted a period of great ferment.

In closing, it might be helpful to indicate, without attempting to be comprehensive, what has been emerging from this total process by way of new or revised programs of direct relevance to Indian and Eskimo poverty:

Education — in this particular area the proposed new Indian policy was already well under way towards implementation before June 1969. Our goals remain those of integrating Indian and Eskimo children into the regular school systems available, in particular areas, to non-Indian and non-Eskimo children, and we are confident that within the next three years this particular goal will have been achieved. A second goal is to make certain that Indian and Eskimo people who have already left the school system but still possess a potential for growth through formal education, and have evidenced a desire to do so, have vocational and adult education opportunities available to them. Once again, we have every reason to believe that within the next three or four years such services will be available to the Indian and Eskimo from the same sources as all other Canadians.

Still at issue is the extent to which we should go, or may go, in the intervening period in providing a program similar to Operation Headstart in the United States but on a year-round basis, to give Indian and Eskimo children the opportunity to enter a regular school system at an early age without the many disadvantages that come from growing up within isolated, culturally deprived communities or under conditions of extreme stress. We are also seeking the increased involvement of Indian communities in educational decision-making, with thorough representation on local school boards — as in Ontario, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Manitoba and through Indians being invited to act as advisors to school boards.

Housing — The review of our activities in this area has produced significant results. It has become clear that the massive program mounted in 1965 to ensure that each Indian and Eskimo family was adequately housed before 1970 has fallen short of its objective. In part, this was a result of the unavailability of hoped-for federal funding; only 50 percent of what was at first realistically anticipated was actually received. Even had such funding been forthcoming, however, a major housing backlog would still exist. Indeed, if today's goal was "to provide each Indian and Eskimo family with housing equivalent to that of housing in adjacent non-Indian/Eskimo areas, "keeping in mind properly-adjusted C.M.H.C. or N.H.A. minimum standards as indicated in an earlier section, over \$250 million would have to be found from the various possible sources.

We now recognize, however, as mentioned earlier, that "to *provide*. . ." such housing would be a serious mistake. That every family currently living in substandard housing that is detrimental to health, family cohesion, educational progress and general well-being, has the right to better housing we do not question — and many Indian and Eskimo families fall into this group. Yet time and again we have discovered that housing *provided* and to our specifications, has been rejected overtly or otherwise by the families for whom it was intended. The pride in ownership that many non-Indian families display in their housing has been significantly lacking among many Indian families, who persist in referring to their houses as "your" (the government's) housing rather than their own. We are now exploring, therefore, the possibility of channeling essential funds through different auspices, and particularly Indian Band Councils, as well as permitting greater flexibility in the design and construction of houses.

Then, too, as mentioned earlier we are seeking to place housing needs in proper perspective, in light of other needs. We are also seeking a far greater measure of accuracy in our understanding of long-and-short term community goals, including community "longevity" — it is clearly pointless, for example, to encourage the building of substantial permanent housing in areas which have very little prospect of becoming economically viable, unless they are to be "dormitory" or retirement communities. This dilemma has yet to be resolved.

Economic Development — Too often in the past, pressing welfare and maintenance needs have used up funds initially designated for economic development; yet without massive investment in economic development we have been simply perpetuating a cycle of poverty. In the past year, therefore, a great deal of careful work has gone into the evolution of proposals for Indian and Eskimo economic development. While these proposals are still in their formative stages, it is possible to indicate the general shape of two of them.

Of most significance, for the Indian people, is a proposed Indian Economic Development Fund, to total over a 5-year period \$50 million in basic funding. Yet in keeping with our increased emphasis on involving the Indian with regular community institutions it is our intention to create wherever feasible a "guarantor" relationship with the chartered banks or other lending agencies. In this way, not only will the banks in time come to regard the Indian entrepreneur very much as they do other Canadian businessmen, but the Indian will himself have the benefit of a banker's counsel in pursuing his goals. Moreover, once we are clear on the "risk" factor in such guarantees — and in view of a commitment to link financial support to strong managerial support and counsel where required we are hopeful that this will not differ too greatly from that in non-Indian ventures of a similar nature — it will be possible to generate funds for economic development very considerably in excess of the initial \$50 million.

A second proposal in its final stages of completion is an Indian Arts and Crafts Development and Marketing Program. This has been designed to give support in finding markets to Indian artists and craftsmen similar to that now available to Eskimos. It has also been designed, however, and from an economic development standpoint more importantly, to encourage the growth of a "cottage industry" in arts and crafts among the many Indian families who, living on the more isolated reserves, have limited access to other forms of employment.

These are only two aspects of a much broader concern, of course; we have indicated in earlier sections the range of our current programs in economic development. In improving the skill level of individual Indians and Eskimos; in providing funds for Indian-controlled and staffed housing and other programs; in providing assistance to Indians and Eskimos who need to travel away from their homes in the search of employment; in providing vocational counselling; and in such special programs as those for Indian and Eskimo fishermen, we are seeking to assist Indians and Eskimos in developing their economic potential.

Education, housing, and economic development are only three of the many areas in which a greatly-increased level of Departmental activity is taking place. Enough has been said in earlier sections to indicate our continuing concern with cultural development, with community development, and with the provision of suitable forms of local self-government. Communication and consultation with Indians and Eskimos in both the planning and implementation of programs are also under continuous review, as are the attempts to resolve grievances arising out of treaties and the administration of lands and funds.

Conclusion

We have been frank concerning our own shortcomings in the past, and in the current intensity of our collective soul-searching, because we believe our experience to have general relevance to the broader problems of poverty. Poverty will not be eradicated in Canada, or elsewhere, without dedication, goodwill, and the application of informed intellect and good judgement. Neither will it be eradicated without a massive infusion of developmental funds in the short run — and we stress “in the short run”, finding persuasive the comments of those many economists who seek to demonstrate, with sound cost/benefit analysis, the potential healthy return on major investment in eradicating poverty.

It is appropriate, we believe, to give the Special Senate Committee on Poverty our best wishes in its endeavours. Our particular concern with Indian and Eskimo poverty has not blinded us to the existence of poverty among other groups in Canada and as a Department we will cooperate wherever appropriate in furthering those measures that may result in the amelioration and eventual eradication of poverty wherever it exists in Canada or, indeed, throughout the world.

APPENDIX "A"

Statistical Supplement: Social Services to Indians and Eskimos

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS (INDIAN)

MONTH	TOTAL NO. OF PERSONS ASSISTED	% OF RESIDENT MEMBERSHIP	TOTAL NO. OF ADULTS ASSISTED	EMPLOYABLE ADULTS ASSISTED	TOTAL NO. OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS ASSISTED	EMPLOYABLE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS ASSISTED
February 1964	58,860	37.4	23,601	9,653	11,471	7,694
February 1965	62,675	38.5	25,184	10,525	12,497	8,778
February 1966	67,727	40.0	26,567	10,705	13,993	9,883
February 1967	64,850	39.5	24,028	9,853	12,956	7,659
February 1968	67,395	40.5	25,742	11,487	13,989	8,322
February 1969	73,339	44.8	28,590	13,603	15,674	10,159

N.B. February 1964 — Food Assistance only.

February 1965 — All inclusive social assistance in British Columbia, District of Mackenzie and Saskatchewan.
Food only in all other regions.

February 1966 — All inclusive social assistance except in Quebec and Maritimes.

February 1967 — District of Mackenzie social assistance statistics no longer included.

February 1968 — All inclusive social assistance except in Quebec.

MONTH	TOTAL NO. OF PERSONS ASSISTED	% OF RESIDENT MEMBERSHIP	TOTAL NO. OF ADULTS ASSISTED	EMPLOYABLE ADULTS ASSISTED	TOTAL NO. OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS ASSISTED	EMPLOYABLE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS ASSISTED
February 1964 *	58,860	37.4	23,601	9,653	11,471	7,694
February 1965 **	62,675	38.5	25,184	10,525	12,497	8,778
February 1966 †	67,727	40.0	25,567	10,705	13,993	7,659
February 1967 † †	64,850	39.5	24,028	9,853	12,956	7,659
February 1968 #	67,395	40.5	25,742	11,487	13,989	8,322

* February 1964 — Food Assistance only

** February 1965 — All inclusive social assistance in British Columbia, District of Mackenzie and Saskatchewan.
Food only in all other regions

† February 1966 — All inclusive social assistance except in Quebec and Maritimes

†† February 1967 — Excludes District of Mackenzie social assistance statistics

February 1968 — Excludes District of Mackenzie social assistance statistics.
All inclusive social assistance except in Quebec

INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

INDIAN WELFARE EXPENDITURES

1968-69

\$1000

	(1230) Admini- stration	(1240) Social Assistance	(1250) Care of Adults	(1260) Child Care	(1270) Other Services	TOTAL
Maritimes	78	1,308	25	284	12	1,707
Quebec	58	2,073	10	224	16	2,381
Ontario	27	2,437	147	1,130	46	3,787
Manitoba	28	3,197	85	396	60	3,766
Saskatchewan	25	5,128	17	625	54	5,849
Alberta	60	2,787	24	515	20	3,406
B.C.	30	4,797	96	3,661	50	8,634
Headquarters	49	1	—	—	64	114
	355	21,728	404	6,835	322	29,644

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development — Survey of Public Assistance (INDIAN)
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

Poverty

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Agency or Region	Total No. of Relief Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults		Heads of Households		Frequency of Assistance	
	No.	Percentage of resident population *	Total No. of Adults assisted	Percentage of resident population assisted **	No. of adult recipients who were employable	Percentage of adults assisted who were employable (Col. 6, over **)	Percentage of adults resident on reserves who were employable and rec'd assistance (Col. 6, over **)	Adult recipients who were heads of households	Employable % (Col. 10 over 9)	Employable Heads of households who received help each month in previous 11 months or more (Col. 12 over 9)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total No.	No.	No.
Maritimes	4,233	64.1	1,842	60.0	638	34.6	20.7	867	524	488
Quebec	7,220	33.7	3,298	15.6	1,692	51.3	16.2	1,743	1,743	422
Ontario	6,484	30.5	3,002	29.3	1,440	48.0	14.0	1,550	1,015	480
Manitoba	13,511	47.6	4,444	42.0	2,713	61.0	25.6	2,680	1,893	770
Saskatchewan	18,896	70.3	7,416	63.1	3,516	48.2	40.0	4,124	2,795	1,092
Alberta	11,769	53.0	4,324	39.0	1,918	44.0	17.0	2,152	1,361	889
British Columbia and Yukon	11,226	30.2	4,264	28.2	1,686	39.5	11.1	2,558	1,279	335
Canada	73,339	44.8	28,590	40.0	13,603	47.6	19.0	15,674	10,159	4,476

N.B. * Resident Population: 163,664

** Resident adult population (Reserves and Crown Land): 71,449

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development — Survey of Public Assistance (INDIAN)
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

1968

Month

Agency or Region	Total No. of Relief Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults			Heads of Households		Frequency of Assistance		
	No.	Percentage of resident population *	Total No. of Adults assisted	Percentage of residents adult population assisted **	No. of adult recipients who were employable	Percentage of adults who assisted (Col. 6 over 4)	Percentage of adults resident on reserves who were employable and rec'd assistance (Col. 6 over **)	Total No.	Adult recipients who were heads of households	Employable No. (Col. 10 over 9)	Employable Heads of households who received help each month in pre- vious 11 months or more	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Maritimes	3,620	53.6	1,788	56.6	690	38.6	21.9	754	492	65.3	369	48.9
Quebec	7,927	37.8	3,543	33.9	1,820	51.4	17.4	1,816	1,344	74.0	489	26.9
Ontario	7,196	31.2	3,363	27.7	1,551	46.1	12.7	1,672	921	55.1	251	15.0
Manitoba	10,836	39.5	3,720	34.3	1,856	49.9	17.1	2,045	1,350	66.0	830	40.6
Saskatchewan	17,012	61.0	5,995	61.2	2,795	45.3	34.9	3,341	1,968	55.1	1,119	26.1
Alberta	10,388	41.0	3,628	34.6	1,430	41.4	17.8	2,241	1,243	58.4	467	17.6
British Columbia and Yukon	10,416	27.3	3,705	24.3	1,345	36.3	8.8	2,120	1,004	47.3	254	11.9
Canada***	67,395	40.5	25,742	34.6	11,487	44.6	15.4	13,989	8,322	59.5	3,779	27.1

N.B. * Resident Population: 166,234

** Resident adult population (Reserves and Crown Land): 74,360

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development — Survey of Public Assistance (INDIAN)
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

Poverty

14 : 145

Agency or Region	Total No. of Relief Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults			Heads of Households		Frequency of Assistance		
	No.	Percentage of resident population *	Total No. of Adults assisted	Percentage of resident adult population assisted **	No. of adult recipients who were employable	Percentage of adults who were employable (Col. 6 over 4)	Percentage of adults resident on reserves who were employable and rec'd assistance (Col. 6 over **)	Adult recipients who were heads of households	Employable No.	% (Col. 10 over 9)	Employable heads of households who received help each month in pre- vious 11 months or more	Percentage of heads of house- holds assisted (Col. 12 over 9)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Maritimes	4,397	65.1	1,855	58.0	705	38.0	22.0	760	567	74.6	483	63.6
Quebec	6,255	32.5	2,894	30.3	1,349	46.2	14.1	1,452	1,033	71.2	436	30.0
Ontario	6,955	30.6	2,698	24.7	1,105	41.0	10.1	1,390	750	51.6	230	16.5
Manitoba	11,767	44.1	4,287	36.6	1,726	40.3	14.7	2,116	1,429	67.5	827	39.1
Saskatchewan	16,317	59.1	5,833	57.8	2,255	37.7	36.6	3,247	1,772	54.8	867	24.4
Alberta	9,127	45.2	3,144	34.8	1,377	43.8	15.2	1,742	1,081	62.5	592	34.0
B.C. & Yukon	10,032	24.7	3,317	17.9	1,336	40.2	5.6	2,849	1,018	45.2	303	13.4
CANADA**	64,850	39.5	24,028	33.1	9,953	41.0	13.6	12,956	7,659	59.1	3,738	26.8

N.B. * Resident Population: 163,972

** Resident adult population (Reserves and Crown Land): 72,527

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development — Survey of Public Assistance (INDIAN)
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

Agency or Region	Total No. of Relief Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults		Heads of Households		Month		1966	
	Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults		Heads of Households		Month		1966	
	Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults		Heads of Households		Month		1966	
	No.	Percentage of resident population *	Total No. of Adults assisted	Percentage of resident adult population who were assisted **	No. of adult recipients who were employable	Percentage of adults assisted who were employable and rec'd assistance (Col. 6 over 4)	Percentage of adults resident on reserves who were employable and rec'd assistance (Col. 6 over **)	Total No.	Employable No.	% (Col. 10 over 9)	Adult recipients who were heads of households	Frequency of Assistance Employable Heads of households who received help each month in pre- vious 11 months or more
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Maritime	3,832	56.7	1,402	44.4	624	44.5	19.8	698	535	76.6	281	40.3
Quebec	6,949	36.2	3,104	32.6	1,371	44.2	14.4	1,582	1,339	84.6	475	30.0
Ontario	7,096	33.0	2,911	27.9	1,189	40.1	11.4	1,558	1,130	72.8	300	19.3
Manitoba	13,734	51.3	5,289	45.2	2,046	38.7	17.5	2,621	1,804	68.8	459	17.5
Saskatchewan	16,592	60.3	6,362	54.9	2,702	42.5	23.3	3,433	2,526	73.6	956	27.8
Alberta	8,280	38.0	3,212	35.6	1,211	37.7	13.4	1,628	1,084	66.6	297	18.2
British Columbia and Yukon	9,889	24.4	3,730	20.2	1,355	36.3	7.3	2,128	1,263	59.4	359	16.9
District of Mackenzie	1,355	25.5	557	20.9	207	37.2	7.8	345	202	58.6	87	25.2
CANADA	67,727	40.0	26,567	34.7	10,705	40.3	14.0	13,993	9,883	70.6	3,214	23.0

N.B. Resident Population: 169,375 (Including 1,649 (Off Reserve) in the Yukon Agency)

Resident adult population (Reserves and Crown Land: 87,565 (including 750 "Off Reserve" in the Yukon Agency)

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development - Survey of Public Assistance (INDIAN)
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

Poverty

14: 147

Agency or Region	Total No. of Relief Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults			Heads of Households			Frequency of Assistance	
	No.	Percentage of resident population *	Total No. of Adults assisted	Percentage of resident adult population assisted **	No. of adult recipients who were employable	Percentage of adults who were assisted (Col. 6 over 4)	Percentage of adults resident on reserves who were employable and rec'd assistance (Col. 6 over **)	Adult recipients who were heads of households	Employable	% (Col. 10 over 9)	Employable Heads of households who received help each month in previous 11 months or more	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Maritimes	3,705	56.5	1,403	44.1	597	42.6	18.8	651	483	70.9	282	41.4
Quebec	4,843	30.9	2,133	25.8	982	46.0	11.9	1,051	894	85.1	467	44.4
Southern Ontario	1,106	19.7	377	13.6	133	35.3	4.8	183	122	66.7	41	22.4
Northern Ontario	5,369	29.7	2,296	25.5	874	38.1	9.7	1,228	847	69.0	199	16.2
Manitoba	12,921	50.3	5,040	42.8	1,936	38.4	16.4	2,453	1,630	66.4	529	21.6
Saskatchewan	16,072	60.8	6,398	55.1	3,021	47.2	26.0	3,185	2,342	73.5	845	26.5
Alberta	8,667	42.7	3,519	38.8	1,423	40.4	15.7	1,474	1,109	75.2	368	25.0
B.C. and Yukon	8,857	22.4	3,506	18.7	1,322	37.7	7.1	1,918	1,117	58.2	262	13.7
Dist. of Mackenzie	1,135	22.1	512	19.0	237	46.3	8.8	324	234	72.2	93	28.7
CANADA	62,675	38.5	25,184	32.7	10,525	41.8	13.7	12,497	8,778	70.2	3,086	24.7

N.B. * Resident Population: 162,942 (including 1,587 (Off Reserve) in the Yukon Agency)

** Resident adult population (Reserves and Crown Land: 77,105 (including 265 "Off Reserve" in the Yukon Agency))

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development — Survey of Public Assistance
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

1964

Month

Agency or Region	Total No. of Relief Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults			Heads of Households		Frequency of Assistance		
	No.	Percentage of resident population *	Total No. of Adults assisted	Percentage of adult population assisted **	No. of recipients who were employable	No. of adults who were assisted	Percentage of adults residing on reserves who were employable and rec'd assistance (Col. 6 over **)	Adult recipients who were heads of households		Employable Heads of households who received help each month in previous 11 months or more		
								Total No.	Percentage	Total No.	Percentage	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
P.E.I.	33	13.3	14	10.9	6	42.9	4.7	7	6	85.7	2	28.6
Nova Scotia	1,757	57.0	677	44.2	253	37.4	16.5	342	217	63.5	107	31.3
New Brunswick	2,051	65.5	753	52.4	332	44.1	23.1	359	264	73.5	139	38.7
Quebec	5,876	30.7	2,665	26.5	1,122	42.1	11.2	1,286	1,014	78.8	451	35.1
Ontario	5,821	30.7	2,376	19.5	855	36.0	7.0	1,229	766	62.3	200	16.3
Manitoba	11,577	46.8	4,638	40.8	1,761	38.0	15.5	2,190	1,463	66.8	464	21.2
Saskatchewan	13,880	54.9	5,359	48.1	2,380	44.4	21.3	2,497	1,757	70.4	863	34.6
Alberta	8,363	42.9	3,511	37.6	1,629	46.4	17.4	1,503	1,047	99.4	366	24.4
B.C.	8,567	23.6	3,192	18.6	1,207	37.8	7.0	1,801	1,052	58.4	184	10.2
Yukon	215	10.0	104	9.8	16	15.4	1.5	67	16	23.9	3	4.5
N.W.T.	720	14.4	312	11.9	92	29.5	3.5	190	93	48.4	27	14.2
TOTAL	58,860	37.4	23,601	30.2	9,653	40.9	12.4	11,471	7,694	67.1	2,806	24.5

N.B. *Resident Population: 157,483 (including 1,538 "Off Reserve" in the Yukon Agency)

**Resident adult population (Reserves and Crown Land) 78,021 (including 748 "Off Reserve" in Yukon Agency)"

SUMMARY OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE
(INDIAN)

Maritime Region

Annual Survey	No. of People	Fiscal Year	Total Amount Expended
February 1964	3,841	1963-64	\$ 632,192
February 1965	3,705	1964-65	683,550
February 1966	3,832	1965-66	757,457
February 1967	4,397	1966-67	883,711
February 1968	3,620	1967-68	1,261,970
February 1969	4,233	1968-69	1,308,590

Quebec Region

Annual Survey	No. of People	Fiscal Year	Total Amount Expended
February 1964	5,876	1963-64	\$ 997,011
February 1965	5,677	1964-65	1,110,539
February 1966	6,949	1965-66	1,415,903
February 1967	6,255	1966-67	1,471,291
February 1968	7,927	1967-68	1,582,170
February 1969	7,220	1968-69	2,073,328

Ontario Region

Annual Survey	No. of People	Fiscal Year	Total Amount Expended
February 1964	5,821	1963-64	\$ 979,392
February 1965	5,641	1964-65	1,067,416
February 1966	7,096	1965-66	990,102
February 1967	6,955	1966-67	1,298,439
February 1968	7,196	1967-68	1,798,000
February 1969	6,484	1968-69	2,436,540

Manitoba Region

	No. of People	Fiscal Year	Total Amount Expended
Annual Survey			
February 1964	11,577	1963-64	\$ 1,645,892
February 1965	12,921	1964-65	1,777,893
February 1966	13,734	1965-66	2,497,240
February 1967	11,767	1966-67	2,247,250
February 1968	10,836	1967-68	2,612,694
February 1969	13,511	1968-69	3,196,606

Saskatchewan Region

	No. of People	Fiscal Year	Total Amount Expended
Annual Survey			
February 1964	13,880	1963-64	2,136,655
February 1965	16,072	1964-65	2,851,981
February 1966	16,592	1965-66	3,954,063
February 1967	16,317	1966-67	4,307,006
February 1968	17,012	1967-68	4,737,691
February 1969	18,896	1968-69	5,127,485

Alberta Region

	No. of People	Fiscal Year	Total Amount Expended
Annual Survey			
February 1964	8,363	1963-64	\$ 742,803
February 1965	8,667	1964-65	905,094
February 1966	8,280	1965-66	1,319,703
February 1967	9,127	1966-67	1,516,905
February 1968	9,921	1967-68	1,910,237
February 1969	11,769	1968-69	2,786,675

B. C. & Yukon Region

Annual Survey	No. of People	Fiscal Year	Total Amount Expended
February 1964	8,782	1963-64	1,565,834
February 1965	8,857	1964-65	1,847,734
February 1966	9,889	1965-66	3,139,765
February 1967	10,032	1966-67	3,266,361
February 1968	10,416	1967-68	3,762,118
February 1969	11,226	1968-69	4,796,536

All Regions

Annual Survey	No. of People	Fiscal Year	Total Amount Expended
February 1964	58,140	1963-64	\$ 8,699,779
February 1965	61,540	1964-65	10,244,207
February 1966	66,372	1965-66	14,074,233
February 1967	64,850	1966-67	14,990,963
February 1968	66,928	1967-68	17,664,880
February 1969	73,339	1968-69	21,725,760

MAINTENANCE OF INDIGENT ADULTS
(INDIAN)

FISCAL YEAR	MAINTENANCE COSTS	% INCREASE IN COSTS OVER PREVIOUS YEAR
1963-64	\$ 142,172	33.0
1964-65	163,406	14.9
1965-66	235,591	44.2
1966-67	279,326	18.6
1967-68	308,822	10.5
1968-69	403,855	30.7

**CHILD MAINTENANCE AND PROTECTION SERVICES
(INDIAN)**

Fiscal Year	Number in Care	% Increase — % Decrease	Total Cost	% Increase in Cost
1963-64	3,360	13.7	1,732,445	23.0
1964-65	2,829	-18.7	2,157,131	24.5
1965-66	3,244	14.6	2,566,078	18.9
1966-67	3,639	12.1	3,084,735	20.2
1967-68	4,311	18.5	4,745,282	53.8
1968-69	4,535	5.2	6,834,974	44.0

**Indian Affairs and Northern Development
Welfare Expenditures
1967/68
\$'000**

	(1230) Adminis- tration	(1240) Social Assistance	(1250) Care of Adults	(1260) Child Care	(1270) Other Services	TOTAL
Maritimes	69	1,262	19	234	15	1,599
Quebec	50	1,577	7	124	22	1,780
Ontario	24	1,800	118	1,026	42	3,010
Manitoba	17	2,613	64	308	69	3,071
Saskatchewan	15	4,775	21	514	36	5,361
Alberta	28	1,925	18	321	28	2,320
B.C.	28	3,773	61	2,324	45	6,231
Headquarters	125	64	189
	356	17,725	308	4,851	321	23,561

MONTH	TOTAL NO. OF PERSONS ASSISTED	% OF RESIDENT MEMBERSHIP	TOTAL NO. OF ADULTS ASSISTED	EMPLOYABLE ADULTS ASSISTED	OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS ASSISTED	HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS ASSISTED
February 1964*	58,860	37.4	23,601	9,653	11,471	7,694
February 1965**	62,675	38.5	25,184	10,525	12,497	8,778
February 1966 †	67,727	40.0	26,567	10,705	13,993	9,883
February 1967 ††	64,850	39.5	24,028	9,853	12,956	7,659
February 1968#	67,395	40.5	25,742	11,487	13,989	8,322
* February 1964	— Food Assistance only					
**February 1965	— All inclusive social assistance in British Columbia, District of Mackenzie and Saskatchewan Food only in all other regions					
† February 1966	— All inclusive social assistance except in Quebec and Maritimes					
††February 1967	— Excludes District of Mackenzie social assistance statistics					
# February 1968	— excludes district of Mackenzie social assistance statistics All inclusive social assistance except in Quebec					

SUMMARY — SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

Welfare — Maritimes

Year	No. of People	Year	Total Amount Spent*
1964 (February)	3,841	1963-64	\$ 632,192
1965 (February)	3,705	1964-65	683,550
1966 (February)	3,832	1965-66	757,457
1967 (February)	4,397	1966-67	883,711
1968 (February)	3,620	1967-68	1,261,970

*Assistance in kind and cash payments.

Welfare — Quebec

Year	No. of People	Year	Total Amount Expended for Fiscal Year*
1964 (February)	5,876	1963-64	\$ 997,011
1965 (February)	5,677	1964-65	1,110,539
1966 (February)	6,949	1965-66	1,415,903
1967 (February)	6,255	1966-67	1,471,291
1968 (February)	7,927	1967-68	1,582,170

*Assistance in kind and cash payments.

Welfare — Ontario

Year	No. of People	Year	Total Amount Expended for Fiscal Year*
1964 (February)	5,821	1963-64	\$ 979,392
1965 (February)	5,641	1964-65	1,067,416
1966 (February)	7,096	1965-66	990,102
1967 (February)	6,955	1966-67	1,298,439
1968 (February)	7,196	1967-68	1,798,000

*Assistance in kind and cash payments.

Welfare — Manitoba

Year	No. of People	Year	Total Amount Expended for Fiscal Year*
1964 (February)	11,577	1963-64	\$1,645,892
1965 (February)	12,921	1964-65	1,777,893
1966 (February)	13,734	1965-66	2,497,240
1967 (February)	11,767	1966-67	2,247,250
1968 (February)	10,836	1967-68	2,612,694

*Assistance in kind and cash payments.

Welfare — Saskatchewan

Year	No. of People	Year	Total Amount Expended for Fiscal Year*
1964 (February)	13,880	1963-64	\$2,136,655
1965 (February)	16,072	1964-65	2,851,981
1966 (February)	16,592	1965-66	3,954,063
1967 (February)	16,317	1966-67	4,307,006
1968 (February)	17,012	1967-68	4,737,691

*Assistance in kind and cash payments.

Welfare — Alberta

Year	No. of People	Year	Total Amount Expended for Fiscal Year*
1964 (February)	8,363	1963-64	\$ 742,803
1965 (February)	8,667	1964-65	905,094
1966 (February)	8,280	1965-66	1,319,703
1967 (February)	9,127	1966-67	1,516,905
1968 (February)	9,921	1967-68	1,910,237

*Assistance in kind and cash payments.

Welfare -- B.C. and Yukon

Year	No. of People	Year	Total Amount Expended for Fiscal Year*
1964 (February)	8,782	1963-64	\$1,565,834
1965 (February)	8,857	1964-65	1,847,734
1966 (February)	9,889	1965-66	3,139,765
1967 (February)	10,032	1966-67	3,266,361
1968 (February)	10,416	1967-68	3,762,118

* Assistance in kind and cash payments.

Poverty

Agency or Region	Total No. of Relief Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults			Heads of Households			Frequency of Assistance	
	No.	Percentage of Resident population *	Total No. of Adults assisted	Percentage of adult population who were assisted **	No. of adult recipients who were employable	Percentage of adults assisted who were employable (Col. 6 over 4)	Percentage of adults resident on reserves who were employable and rec'd assistance (Col. 6 over **)	Total No.	Employable		Adult recipients who were heads of households	Employable Heads of households who received help each month in previous 11 months or more
									No.	% (Col.10 over 9)		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Maritimes	3,620	53.6	1,788	56.6	690	38.6	21.9	754	492	65.3	369	48.9
Quebec	77,927	37.8	3,543	33.9	1,820	51.4	17.4	1,816	1,344	74.0	489	26.9
Ontario	7,196	31.2	3,363	27.7	1,551	46.1	12.7	1,672	921	55.1	251	15.0
Manitoba	10,836	39.5	3,720	34.3	1,856	49.9	17.1	2,045	1,350	66.0	830	40.6
Saskatchewan	17,012	61.0	5,995	61.2	2,795	45.3	34.9	3,341	1,968	55.1	1,119	26.1
Alberta	10,388	41.0	3,628	34.6	1,430	41.4	17.8	2,241	1,243	58.4	467	17.6
British Columbia & Yukon	10,416	27.3	3,705	24.3	1,345	36.3	8.8	2,120	1,004	47.3	254	11.9
Canada ***	67,395	40.5	25,742	34.6	11,487	44.6	15.4	13,989	8,322	59.5	3,779	27.1

N.B. * Resident Population: 166,234

** Resident adult population (Reserves and Crown Land): 74,360

*** Excluded are 38 Indian Bands in Ontario operating their own Welfare Programs under the Provincial General Welfare Assistance Act, and 4 Bands in Alberta administering their own Welfare Programs. The report also excluded Social Assistance statistics for the District of Mackenzie.

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development — Survey of Public Assistance (INDIAN)
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

1967

Month

Agency or Region	Total No. of Relief Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults		Heads of Households		Frequency of Assistance			
	No.	Per- centage of resident popu- lation *	Total No. of Adults assisted	Percentage of resident adult population assisted**	No. of adult recipients who were employable	Per- centage of adults assisted who were employ- able (Col. 6 over 4)	Percentage of adults resi- dent on reserves who were employ- able and rec'd assistance (Col. 6 over**)	Adult recipients who were heads of households		Employable heads of house- holds assisted (Col. 12 over 9)	Percentage of heads of house- holds assisted (Col. 12 over 9)	
								Total No.	Employable No. (Col. 10 over 9)			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Maritimes	4,397	65.1%	1,855	58.0%	705	38.0%	22.0%	760	567	74.6%	483	63.6%
Quebec	6,255	32.5	2,894	30.3	1,349	46.2	14.1	1,452	1,033	71.2	436	30.0
Ontario	6,955	30.6	2,698	24.7	1,105	41.0	10.1	1,390	759	54.6	230	16.5
Manitoba	11,767	44.1	4,287	36.6	1,726	40.3	14.7	2,116	1,429	67.5	827	39.1
Saskatchewan	16,317	59.1	5,833	57.8	2,255	37.7	36.6	3,247	1,772	54.8	867	24.4
Alberta	9,127	45.2	3,144	34.8	1,377	43.8	15.2	1,742	1,081	62.5	592	34.0
B.C. & Yukon	10,032	24.7	3,317	17.9	1,336	40.2	5.6	2,249	1,018	45.2	303	13.4
Canada ***	64,850	39.5	24,028	33.1	9,853	41.0	13.6	12,956	7,659	59.1	3,738	28.8

N.B. Resident Population: 163,972

** Resident adult population (Reserves and Crown Land): 72,527

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development — Survey of Public Assistance (INDIAN)
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

1966

Month

Poverty

14 : 159

Agency or Region	Total No. of Relief Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults			Heads of Households		Frequency of Assistance		
	No.	Percentage of resident population *	Total No. of Adults assisted	Percentage of resident adult population assisted **	No. of adult recipients who were employable	Percentage of adults assisted who were employable (Col. 6 over 4)	Percentage of adults resident on reserves who were employable and rec'd assistance (Col. 6 over **)	Adult recipients who were heads of households		Employable Heads of households who received help each month in previous 11 months or more		
								Total No.	Employable %	Total No.	Percentage of heads of household assisted (Col. 12 over 9)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
P.E.I.	150	72.5	59	59.0	26	42.2	25.0	31	25	80.6	11	35.5
Nova Scotia	1,651	50.9	585	37.1	259	44.3	16.4	313	246	78.6	111	35.5
New Brunswick	2,031	61.5	758	51.2	340	44.9	23.0	354	264	74.6	159	44.9
Quebec	7,463	36.5	3,266	34.2	1,446	44.3	15.2	1,680	1,414	84.2	514	30.6
Ontario	6,582	32.5	2,749	26.4	1,114	40.5	10.7	1,460	1,055	72.3	261	17.9
Manitoba	13,734	51.3	5,289	45.2	2,046	38.7	17.5	2,621	1,804	68.8	459	17.5
Saskatchewan	16,592	60.3	6,362	54.9	2,702	42.5	13.3	3,433	2,526	73.6	956	27.8
Alberta	8,280	38.0	3,212	35.6	1,211	37.7	13.4	1,628	1,084	66.6	297	18.2
British Col.	9,569	25.0	3,607	20.7	1,337	37.1	7.7	2,056	1,245	60.6	355	17.3
Yukon	320	14.0	123	11.4	18	14.6	1.7	72	18	25.0	4	5.6
N.W.T.	1,355	25.5	557	20.9	207	37.2	7.8	345	202	58.6	87	25.2
Canada	67,727	40.0	26,567	35.0	10,705	40.3	14.0	13,993	9,883	70.6	3,214	23.0

N.B. * Resident Population: 169,375

** Resident adult population on reserves and Crown Land: 76,565

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development — Survey of Public Assistance (INDIAN
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH)

1965

Month

Agency or Region	Total No. of Relief Recipients		Adults			Employable Adults		Heads of Households		Frequency of Assistance	
	No.	Per- cent- age of resident popu- lation *	Total No. of Adults assisted	Percentage of resident adult population assisted **	No. of adult recipients who were employable	Per- cent- age of adults assisted who were employ- able (Col. 6 over 4)	Percentage of adults res- erves who were employ- able and rec'd assistance (Col. 6 over **)	Adult recipients who were heads of households	Employable No. (Col. 10 over 9)	Employable Heads of households who received help each month in pre- vious 11 months or more	Percentage of heads of house- holds assisted (Col. 12 over 9)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Maritimes	3,705	56.5	1,403	44.1	597	42.6	18.8	651	483	70.9	282
Quebec	4,843	30.9	2,133	25.8	982	46.0	11.9	1,051	894	85.1	467
Southern Ontario	1,106	19.7	377	13.6	133	35.3	4.8	183	122	66.7	41
Northern Ontario	5,369	29.7	2,296	25.5	674	38.1	9.7	1,228	847	69.0	199
Manitoba	12,921	50.3	5,040	42.8	1,936	38.4	16.4	2,453	1,630	66.4	529
Saskatchewan	16,072	60.8	6,398	55.1	3,021	47.2	26.0	3,185	2,342	73.5	845
Alberta	8,667	42.7	3,519	38.8	1,423	40.4	15.7	1,474	1,109	75.2	368
B.C. & Yukon	8,857	22.4	3,506	18.7	1,322	37.7	7.1	1,918	1,117	58.2	262
Dist. of Mackenzie	1,135	22.1	512	19.0	237	46.3	8.8	324	234	72.2	93
Canada	62,675	38.5	25,184	32.7	10,525	41.8	13.7	12,497	8,778	70.2	3,086

N.B.

* Resident Population: 162,942 (Including 1,587 "Off Reserve" in the Yukon Agency)

** Resident adult population (Reserves and Crown Land): 77,105 (Including 765 "Off Reserve" in the Yukon Agency).

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development — Survey of Public Assistance (INDIAN)
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

1964

Month

Agency or Region	Total No. of Relief Recipients		Adults		Employable Adults		Heads of Households		Frequency of Assistance	
	No.	Percentage of resident population *	Total No. of Adults assisted	Percentage of resident population assisted **	No. of adult recipients who were employable	Percentage of adults who were employable (Col. 6 over 4)	Percentage of adults resident who were employable and rec'd assistance (Col. 6 over **)	Adult recipients who were heads of households	Employable heads of households who received help each month in previous 11 months or more	Percentage of heads of households assisted (Col. 12 over 9)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total No.	Employable No.	(Col. 10 over 9)
Prince Edward Is.	33	13.3	14	10.9	6	42.9	4.7	7	6	85.7
Nova Scotia	1,757	57.0	677	44.2	253	37.4	16.5	342	217	63.5
New Brunswick	2,051	65.6	753	52.4	332	44.1	23.1	359	264	73.5
Quebec	5,876	30.7	2,665	26.5	1,122	42.1	11.2	1,286	1,014	78.8
Ontario	5,821	30.7	2,376	19.5	855	36.0	7.0	1,229	766	62.3
Manitoba	11,557	46.8	4,638	40.8	1,761	38.0	15.5	2,190	1,463	66.8
Saskatchewan	13,880	54.9	5,359	48.1	2,380	44.4	21.3	2,497	1,757	70.4
Alberta	8,363	42.9	3,511	37.6	1,629	46.4	17.4	1,503	2,047	99.4
British Columbia	8,567	23.6	3,192	18.6	1,207	37.8	7.0	1,801	1,052	58.4
Yukon	215	10.0	104	9.8	16	15.4	1.5	67	16	23.9
Northwest Terr.	720	14.4	312	11.9	92	29.5	3.5	190	93	48.4
TOTAL	58,860	37.4	23,601	30.2	9,653	40.9	12.4	11,471	7,694	67.1
								2,806		24.5

N.B. * Resident Population: 157,483 (including 1,538 "Off Reserve" in the Yukon Agency)

** Resident adult population (Reserves and Crown Land): 78,021 (including 748 "Off Reserve" in the Yukon Agency)

Poverty

14:161

CHILD MAINTENANCE AND PROTECTION SERVICE

FISCAL YEAR	NUMBER IN CARE	% INCREASE	TOTAL COST	% INCREASE IN COST
1963-64	3,360	13.7	1,732,445	23.0
1964-65	2,829	15.8	2,157,131	24.5
1965-66	3,244	14.6	2,566,078	18.9
1966-67	3,639	12.1	3,084,735	20.2
1967-68	4,311	18.5	4,745,282	53.8

MAINTENANCE OF INDIGENT ADULTS

FISCAL YEAR	MAINTENANCE COSTS	% INCREASE IN COSTS OVER PREVIOUS YEAR
1963-64	\$142,172	33.0
1964-65	163,406	14.9
1965-66	235,591	44.2
1966-67	279,326	18.6
1967-68	308,822	10.5

of Canadian Indian Males surviving at each year of life compared with all Canadian Males
(based on Indian mortality 1960-65)

Poverty

14:163

Present age	Average additional years lived by survivors at each age	Average Total Span of Life for each year of age	Present age	Average additional years lived by survivors at each age	Average Total Span of Life for each year of age	Present age	Average additional years lived by survivors at each age	Average Total Span of Life for each year of age
	Canadian Indians	All Canadians		Canadian Indians	All Canadians		Canadian Indians	All Canadians
0	59.61	68.35	59.61	63.35	71.27	72.56	30.47	30.67
1	63.47	69.50	36	35.49	36.64	71.49	9.39	30.89
2	63.58	63.63	37	34.70	35.71	72.72	9.34	61.63
3	63.10	67.71	38	33.92	34.79	71.92	8.81	32.14
4	62.31	66.73	39	33.13	33.87	72.13	8.30	32.67
5	61.49	65.83	40	32.33	32.96	72.33	7.81	33.21
6	60.63	64.83	41	31.53	32.15	72.53	7.34	33.76
7	59.75	63.92	42	30.73	31.35	72.73	6.89	34.33
8	58.86	62.96	43	29.93	30.26	72.93	6.47	34.92
9	57.93	61.99	44	29.14	29.37	73.14	6.07	35.52
10	56.99	61.02	45	28.35	28.49	73.35	5.69	36.14
11	56.05	60.05	46	27.58	27.62	73.53	5.33	36.77
12	55.12	59.08	47	26.81	26.76	73.71	4.98	37.42
13	54.19	58.12	48	26.04	25.91	73.91	4.66	38.08
14	53.26	57.15	49	25.23	25.08	74.28	4.34	38.76
15	52.35	56.20	50	24.52	24.25	74.52	4.07	39.46
16	51.45	55.24	51	23.75	23.43	74.75	3.81	40.17
17	50.56	54.30	52	22.99	22.63	74.99	3.55	40.85
18	49.69	53.36	53	22.23	21.34	75.23	3.32	41.54
19	48.84	52.43	54	21.47	21.07	75.47	3.09	42.29
20	48.01	51.51	55	20.72	20.30	75.72	2.83	43.06
21	47.21	50.58	56	19.98	19.56	75.98	2.69	43.84
22	46.42	49.67	57	19.24	18.83	76.24	2.51	44.64
23	45.65	48.75	58	18.51	18.11	76.51	2.33	45.45
24	44.88	47.83	59	17.79	17.41	76.79	2.17	46.27
25	44.11	46.91	60	17.07	16.73	77.07	2.02	47.10
26	43.33	45.98	61	16.36	16.06	77.36	1.88	47.94
27	42.54	45.05	62	15.65	15.40	77.65	1.74	48.79
28	41.75	44.11	63	14.96	14.77	77.96	1.62	49.65
29	40.96	43.13	64	14.28	14.14	78.28	1.49	50.51
30	40.17	42.24	65	13.60	13.53	78.60	1.38	51.39
31	39.39	41.30	66	12.94	12.93	78.94	1.30	52.26
32	38.61	40.37	67	12.30	12.34	79.30	1.21	53.14
33	37.83	39.43	68	11.67	11.76	79.67	1.10	54.00
34	37.05	38.50	69	11.06	11.21	80.06	1.04	54.83

"Average additional years lived" or "Expectation of Life" taken from current Life Tables produced by Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Department of National Health and Welfare respectively

Average Total Life Span
of Canadian Indian Females surviving at each year of life compared with all Canadian Females
 (based on Indian mortality 1960-65)

Present Age	Average additional years lived by survivors at each age		Average Total Span of life for each year of age		Present Age	Average additional years lived by survivors at each age		Average Total Span of life for each year of age		Present Age	Average additional years lived by survivors at each age		Average Total Span of life for each year of age	
	Canadian Indians	All Canadians	Canadian Indians	All Canadians		Canadian Indians	All Canadians	Canadian Indians	All Canadians		Canadian Indians	All Canadians	Canadian Indians	All Canadians
0	63.23	74.17	63.23	74.17	35	37.26	42.18	72.23	77.18	70	10.72	12.58	80.72	82.58
1	66.24	74.98	67.24	75.98	36	36.48	41.22	72.48	77.22	71	10.09	11.92	81.09	82.92
2	66.35	74.11	68.35	76.11	37	35.69	40.28	72.69	77.23	72	9.48	11.28	81.48	83.23
3	65.34	73.18	68.34	76.18	38	34.90	39.33	72.90	77.33	73	8.90	10.66	81.90	83.66
4	65.07	72.23	69.07	76.23	39	34.10	38.39	73.10	77.39	74	8.33	10.06	82.33	84.06
5	64.25	71.27	69.25	76.27	40	33.30	37.45	73.30	77.45	75	7.76	9.48	82.76	84.48
6	63.39	70.31	69.39	76.31	41	32.47	36.51	73.47	77.51	76	7.24	8.92	83.24	84.92
7	62.51	69.34	69.51	76.34	42	31.84	35.58	73.64	77.53	77	6.74	8.36	83.74	85.38
8	61.59	68.37	69.59	76.37	43	30.80	34.65	73.80	77.65	78	6.27	7.86	84.27	85.86
9	60.65	67.35	69.65	76.39	44	29.97	33.73	73.97	77.73	79	5.83	7.37	84.33	86.37
10	59.69	66.41	69.69	76.41	45	29.15	32.82	74.15	77.82	80	5.41	6.90	85.41	86.90
11	58.72	65.42	69.72	76.43	46	28.35	31.91	74.35	77.91	81	5.02	6.45	86.02	87.45
12	57.77	64.45	69.77	76.45	47	27.55	31.00	74.55	78.00	82	4.65	6.03	86.65	88.03
13	56.81	63.47	69.81	76.47	48	26.76	30.10	74.76	78.10	83	4.30	5.62	87.30	88.62
14	55.86	62.49	69.86	76.49	49	25.97	29.21	74.97	78.21	84	3.98	5.24	87.93	89.24
15	54.93	61.51	69.93	76.51	50	25.18	28.33	75.18	78.33	85	3.67	4.89	88.67	89.89
16	54.00	60.53	70.00	76.53	51	24.37	27.45	75.37	78.45	86	3.39	4.55	89.39	90.55
17	53.09	59.56	70.09	76.56	52	23.57	26.53	75.57	78.58	87	3.13	4.23	90.13	91.23
18	52.19	58.59	70.19	76.59	53	22.76	25.72	75.76	78.72	88	2.88	3.93	90.88	91.93
19	51.30	57.67	70.30	76.62	54	21.98	24.86	75.98	78.86	89	2.66	3.65	91.66	92.65
20	50.40	56.65	70.40	76.65	55	21.21	24.01	76.21	79.01	90	2.45	3.39	92.45	93.39
21	49.51	55.66	70.51	76.68	56	20.46	23.17	76.46	79.17	91	2.25	3.15	93.15	94.15
22	48.61	54.71	70.61	76.71	57	19.74	22.34	76.74	79.34	92	2.07	2.92	94.07	94.92
23	47.72	53.74	70.72	76.74	58	19.02	21.52	77.02	79.52	93	1.90	2.70	94.90	95.70
24	46.83	52.77	70.83	76.77	59	18.32	20.71	77.32	79.71	94	1.74	2.51	95.74	96.51
25	45.94	51.80	70.94	76.80	60	17.61	19.90	77.61	79.90	95	1.60	2.32	96.60	97.32
26	45.04	50.84	71.04	76.84	61	16.90	19.11	77.90	80.11	96	1.46	2.15	97.46	98.15
27	44.15	49.87	71.15	76.87	62	16.19	18.33	78.19	80.33	97	1.34	1.98	98.34	98.98
28	43.26	48.91	71.26	76.91	63	15.49	17.57	78.49	80.57	98	1.23	1.83	99.23	99.83
29	42.33	47.94	71.38	77.13	64	14.79	16.81	78.79	80.81	99	1.10	1.69	100.10	100.69
30	41.51	46.98	71.51	76.98	65	14.09	16.07	79.09	81.07	100	0.92	1.56	100.92	101.56
31	40.64	46.01	71.64	77.01	66	13.39	15.34	79.39	81.34	101	0.75	1.44	101.75	102.44
32	39.78	45.05	71.78	77.05	67	12.71	14.63	79.71	81.63	102	?	?	?	?
33	38.94	44.09	71.94	77.09	68	12.03	13.93	80.03	81.43	103	?	?	?	?
34	38.10	43.13	72.10	77.13	69	11.37	13.25	80.37	82.25	104	?	?	?	?

INDIAN LOAD OF DEPENDENCY¹

Province	"Dependents" Supported by each "Productive" Indian	Ratio of Indian "Load" to Provincial "Load"
Prince Edward Island	8.24	0.99 - 1
Nova Scotia	8.11	1.09 - 1
New Brunswick	9.45	1.19 - 1
Quebec	8.60	1.31 - 1
Ontario	8.95	1.35 - 1
Manitoba	11.82	1.69 - 1
Saskatchewan	12.62	1.68 - 1
Alberta	12.14	1.68 - 1
British Columbia	10.78	1.61 - 1
Yukon	11.01	1.54 - 1
Northwest Territories	10.00	1.22 - 1
Canada	10.48	1.53 - 1

The "Load of Dependency" or ratio of Indians under 15 and over 64 (conventionally regarded as the "unproductive dependents" in society) to Indians between 15-64, (conventionally the "mainstay" of any population).

Indians, aged 15-64 years, are "supporting" significantly more "dependents" on the prairies than elsewhere. Indians in the Eastern provinces are a little more "burdened" by dependents than other residents of the province but, in the Prairie provinces, they "carry" almost twice the "load" carried by their fellow provincials. British Columbia and Yukon Indians are only slightly "less burdened" than the prairie Indians.

1 - Highlights of Indian Vital Statistics, Medical Services, National Health and Welfare

APPENDIX "B"

Approaches to a Guaranteed Income

APPROACHES TO A GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

Basic Economic Security – (Theobald) a guaranteed minimum income for all as a matter of constitutional right, involving a minimum guarantee of \$1,200 for each adult, \$750 for each child; an annual increase of 5 percent – plus a committed spending program to supplement income of these in the middle income group underemployed because of technical advances.

The Negative Income Tax – a federal subsidy to be given to everyone whose income falls below the amount of their income tax exemption. Most proposals suggest that payments be a percentage only of the standard exemptions and deductions calculated either on a flat percentage basis or on a progressive scale in order to ensure continuation of the incentive to work.

Recipients would be permitted to retain some percentage of the income they earn in addition to their basic grant – up to a “break even” point. In a formula used by Milton Friedman the break even point would be reached for a family of four when they had earned \$3,000. Anyone earning more than \$3,000 would begin to pay taxes.

Many alternatives to the Friedman negative income tax proposal have been made, notably by James Tobin, Robert Lampman, and Leon Keyserling. These suggest higher or lower percentages of income which recipients would be permitted to retain. Some include more generous basic grants.

Most economists disagree with Friedman that a primary intent of a negative income tax is to do away with present welfare programs. All who wish to use the normal income tax machinery for implementation, agree on the importance of allowing recipients to keep some portion of their earned income as an incentive to work. The negative income tax method can be universal in coverage, inexpensive to administer, and can furnish realizable incentives for program recipients to escape from poverty. Further, the system can be structured to avoid the invasion of privacy which is so pervasive in existing social assistance processes.

The Social Dividend – the social dividend is like the negative income tax but involves a basic grant or subsidy given to everybody, rich and poor alike. The amount of the social dividend is included in taxable income, thus the poor keep most of theirs, while the well-go-do return theirs to the government in the form of increased taxes. The gross cost of the social dividend is large, but the net mathematics is the same as for other negative income tax proposals. It eliminates the question of a needs test.

Family Allowances – this is a universal demogrant related to the social dividend plan. As administered in Canada it is not related to income or salary, but to family size. In Canada the family allowance is an income supplement rebated in taxes by the higher income groups.

A Guaranteed Income in Kind – has been partially implemented through food stock programs. Some suggest that in the present age of abundance our society should simply make the actual necessities of life (food, shelter, clothing) available without charge. Any number of variations of these schemes, if implemented, would have to be based on a scale of food needs for families, housing needs for families and clothing needs. Proponents argue that the present relief rates are too low, have a social stigma attached and often do not reach those primarily in need.

Categorical Assistance – provides income payments to people on the basis of their particular needs and problems. It attempts to match payments to needs in a more refined way than the guaranteed income. Requires considerable case work to determine the actual financial needs of clients. This method is a component of our present social assistance system.

Guaranteed Annual Wages — a term which cannot be interchanged with guaranteed income. It only applies to those who are employed. The guaranteed annual wage refers to an annual rather than hourly or daily basis of wage payments in industry, while guaranteed income is provision of income whether or not one is working. The guaranteed annual wage has been promoted by the labour movement particularly since World War II and was adopted as part of the 1967 agreement between the UAW and the major automobile manufacturers. Workers can earn more than the guaranteed minimum if enough hours are worked.

Universal Demogrant — this is a grant payable to all heads of families which may be based either on a need standard or flat rate. It can be administered to all family heads to be repaid by those who are in the higher income tax brackets, or, —

Partial Demogrant — the grant paid to those heads of families whose earned incomes can be shown to be less than a predetermined minimum which can be set at different levels for different sizes of families or can be issued to special categories of people. A partial demogrant requires the utilization of a form to determine the poverty level of the recipient.

Guaranteed Opportunity — a public commitment to provide everybody with an opportunity to earn an adequate income. Existing programs relating to employment however do not provide a universal opportunity for work. The "guaranteed opportunity" utilizes a broader definition of work than is current in conventional economic theory.

APPENDIX "C"

Statistics on the Indian Labour Force and Employment

TOTAL INDIAN LABOUR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT

(Both on and off Reserve)

Census June 1, 1961

Province	Total Population	Population 15 years of age and over	LABOUR FORCE (as defined by (D.B.S.) No. of persons 15 years of age and over who were employed or seeking employment during the week prior to enumeration	NUMBER EMPLOYED No. of persons employed during week prior to enumeration	RATE OF EMPLOYMENT Percentage of Labour Force employed	RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT Percentage of Labour Force unemployed
Newfoundland	596	323	72	69	95.83	4.17
Prince Edward Island	236	129	25	24	96.0	4.0
Nova Scotia	3,267	1,714	415	347	83.6	16.4
New Brunswick	2,921	1,436	362	325	89.7	10.3
Quebec	18,876	10,684	3,259	2,598	79.72	20.28
Ontario	47,862	26,961	9,264	8,367	90.32	9.68
Manitoba	29,219	14,997	3,868	3,270	84.5	15.5
Saskatchewan	30,628	15,321	4,462	4,042	90.59	9.41
Alberta	28,469	14,578	4,746	4,341	91.47	8.53
British Columbia	38,789	20,552	5,847	4,954	84.73	15.27
Yukon	2,167	1,229	418	312	74.6	25.4
Northwest Territories	5,256	2,946	911	866	95.0	5.0
CANADA	208,286	110,870	33,649	29,515	87.71	12.29

TOTAL CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT

Census June 1, 1961

Province	LABOUR FORCE (as defined by D.B.S.) Persons 15 years of age & over who were em- ployed or seeking employment the week prior to enumeration			NUMBER EMPLOYED Persons employed during week prior to enumeration	RATE OF EMPLOYMENT Persons employed prior to Labour Force who were employed	PARTICIPATION RATE (as defined by D.B.S. Percentage of persons 15 years of age & over who are in Labour Force	Those employed sometime during year prior to enumeration but outside the Labour Force
	Total Population	Population 15 years of age and over	Population 15 years of age & over who were em- ployed or seeking employment the week prior to enumeration				
Newfoundland	457,853	266,290	113,771	104,037	91.44	42.72	16,953
Prince Edward Island	104,629	66,928	34,339	33,436	97.37	51.31	2,719
Nova Scotia	737,007	480,679	238,750	228,551	95.72	49.66	22,189
New Brunswick	597,936	370,749	179,702	169,154	94.13	48.46	18,261
Quebec	5,259,211	3,395,816	1,781,716	1,703,100	95.5	52.4	91,355
Ontario	6,236,092	4,228,343	2,404,812	2,324,629	96.6	56.8	175,195
Manitoba	921,686	621,580	343,928	334,386	97.22	55.33	24,993
Saskatchewan	925,181	610,267	326,736	320,259	98.01	53.53	19,981
Alberta	1,331,944	862,620	491,487	477,851	97.22	56.97	35,273
British Columbia	1,629,082	1,119,939	581,395	550,811	94.73	51.91	55,483
Yukon	14,628	9,343	6,257	5,937	94.89	66.97	480
Northwest Territories	22,998	13,771	7,463	7,301	97.83	54.19	908
CANADA	18,238,247	12,046,325	6,510,356	6,259,452	96.1	54.1	463,790

Poverty

INDIAN LABOUR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT

OFF RESERVE — Census — June 1, 1961

Province	Total Population	Population 15 years of age and over	LABOUR FORCE (as defined by (D.B.S.)		RATE OF EMPLOYMENT Percentage of Labour Force employed	RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT Percentage of Labour Force unemployed
			No. of persons 15 years of age and over who were employed or seeking employment during the week prior to enumeration	NUMBER EMPLOYED No. of persons employed during week prior to enumeration		
Newfoundland	596	323	72	69	95.83	4.17
Prince Edward Island	14	1	3	3	100.00	—
Nova Scotia	466	296	119	107	89.92	10.08
New Brunswick	255	155	55	53	96.36	3.64
Quebec	1,043	622	107	68	63.55	36.45
Ontario	15,285	9,576	4,255	3,910	91.89	8.11
Manitoba	7,953	4,448	1,404	1,281	91.24	8.76
Saskatchewan	10,037	5,106	1,750	1,625	92.86	7.14
Alberta	11,015	5,959	2,073	1,933	93.25	6.75
British Columbia	8,047	4,522	1,383	1,075	77.73	22.27
Yukon	2,049	1,159	391	291	74.42	25.58
Northwest Territories	5,256	2,946	911	866	95.06	4.94
	62,016	35,113	12,523	11,281	90.08	9.92

N.B. (The population and Labour Force figures include some persons who are not Indian by ethnic grouping. This has resulted in an apparent discrepancy in the figures for Prince Edward Island)

Province	Total Population	Population 15 years of age and over	LABOUR FORCE (as defined by D.B.S.)		NUMBER EMPLOYED No. of persons employed or seeking employ- ment during the week prior to enumeration	No. of persons employed during week prior to enumeration	RATE OF EMPLOYMENT Percentage of Labour Force employed	RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT Percentage of Labour Force unemployed
			No. of persons 15 years of age and over who were employed or seeking employ- ment during the week prior to enumeration	No. of persons employed or seeking employ- ment during the week prior to enumeration				
Prince Edward	222	128	22	21			95.40	4.60
Nova Scotia	2,801	1,418	296	240			81.08	18.92
New Brunswick	2,666	1,281	307	272			88.50	11.50
Quebec	17,833	10,062	3,152	2,530			80.27	19.73
Ontario	32,577	17,385	5,009	4,457			88.98	11.02
Manitoba	21,266	10,549	2,464	1,989			80.72	19.28
Saskatchewan	20,591	10,215	2,712	2,417			89.12	10.88
Alberta	17,454	8,619	2,673	2,408			90.09	9.91
British Columbia	30,742	16,030	4,464	3,879			86.89	13.11
Yukon	118	70	27	21			77.70	22.30
CANADA	146,270	75,757	21,126	18,234			86.31	13.69

INDIAN LABOUR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT

(both on and off Reserve)

Census June 1, 1961

Province	Labour Force			Number Employed		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1. Newfoundland	47	25	72	45	24	69
2. Prince Edward Island	18	7	25	17	7	24
3. Nova Scotia	321	94	415	264	83	347
4. New Brunswick	297	65	362	266	59	325
5. Quebec	2670	589	3259	2056	542	2598
6. Ontario	7161	2103	9264	6383	1984	8367
7. Manitoba	3214	654	3868	2650	620	3270
8. Saskatchewan	3864	598	4462	3484	558	4042
9. Alberta	3979	767	4746	3609	732	4341
10. British Columbia	4660	1187	5847	3962	992	4954
11. Yukon	340	78	418	245	67	312
12. Northwest Territories	774	137	911	734	132	866
TOTAL FOR CANADA	27,345	6,304	33,649	23,715	5,800	29,515

TOTAL INDIAN LABOUR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT

(Both on and off Reserve)

Census June 1, 1961

Province	Labour Force			Number Employed		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Newfoundland	47	25	72	45	24	69
Prince Edward Island	18	7	25	17	7	24
Nova Scotia	321	94	415	264	83	347
New Brunswick	297	65	362	266	59	325
Quebec	2,670	589	3,259	2,056	542	2,598
Ontario	7,161	2,103	9,264	6,383	1,984	8,367
Manitoba	3,214	654	3,868	2,650	620	3,270
Saskatchewan	3,864	598	4,462	3,484	558	4,042
Alberta	3,979	767	4,746	3,609	732	4,341
British Columbia	4,660	1,187	5,847	3,962	992	4,954
Yukon	340	78	418	245	67	312
Northwest Territories	774	137	911	734	132	866
CANADA	27,345	6,304	33,649	23,715	5,800	29,515

ON RESERVE — Census June 1961

Province	Total Population	Population 15 years of age and over	LABOUR FORCE (as defined by D.B.S.) No. of persons 15 years of age and over who were employed or seeking employment during the week prior to enumeration	PARTICIPATION RATE (as defined by D.B.S.) Percentage of persons 15 years of age and over who are in the labour force	Percentage of persons 15 years of age and over economically active. (This includes labour force plus those outside the labour force but who were employed sometime during the year prior to enumeration)
Prince Edward Island	222	128	22	17.19	24.21
Nova Scotia	2,801	1,418	296	20.87	29.69
New Brunswick	2,666	1,281	307	24.00	37.31
Quebec	17,833	10,062	3,152	31.33	38.94
Ontario	32,577	17,385	5,009	28.81	36.07
Manitoba	21,266	10,549	2,464	23.36	37.98
Saskatchewan	20,591	10,215	2,712	26.55	35.86
Alberta	17,454	8,619	2,673	31.02	37.59
British Columbia	30,742	16,030	4,464	27.85	42.25
Yukon	118	70	27	38.57	41.43
CANADA	146,270	75,757	21,126	27.89	38.05

APPENDIX "D"

Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969

Foreword

The Government believes that its policies must lead to the full, free and non-discriminatory participation of the Indian people in Canadian society. Such a goal requires a break with the past. It requires that the Indian people's role of dependence be replaced by a role of equal status, opportunity and responsibility, a role they can share with all other Canadians.

This proposal is a recognition of the necessity made plain in a year's intensive discussions with Indian people throughout Canada. The Government believes that to continue its past course of action would not serve the interests of either the Indian people or their fellow Canadians.

The policies proposed recognize the simple reality that the separate legal status of Indians and the policies which have flowed from it have kept the Indian people apart from and behind other Canadians. The Indian people have not been full citizens of the communities and provinces in which they live and have not enjoyed the equality and benefits that such participation offers.

The treatment resulting from their different status has been often worse, sometimes equal and occasionally better than that accorded to their fellow citizens. What matters is that it has been different.

Many Indians, both in isolated communities and in cities, suffer from poverty. The discrimination which affects the poor, Indian and non-Indian alike, when compounded with a legal status that sets the Indian apart, provides dangerously fertile ground for social and cultural discrimination.

In recent years there has been a rapid increase in the Indian population. Their health and education levels have improved. There has been a corresponding rise in expectations that the structure of separate treatment cannot meet.

A forceful and articulate Indian leadership has developed to express the aspirations and needs of the Indian community. Given the opportunity, the Indian people can realize an immense human and cultural potential that will enhance their own well-

being, that of the regions in which they live and of Canada as a whole. Faced with a continuation of past policies, they will unite only in a common frustration.

The Government does not wish to perpetuate policies which carry with them the seeds of disharmony and disunity, policies which prevent Canadians from fulfilling themselves and contributing to their society. It seeks a partnership to achieve a better goal. The partners in this search are the Indian people, the governments of the provinces, the Canadian community as a whole and the Government of Canada. As all partnerships do, this will require consultation, negotiation, give and take, and co-operation if it is to succeed.

Many years will be needed. Some efforts may fail, but learning comes from failure and from what is learned success may follow. All the partners have to learn; all will have to change many attitudes.

Governments can set examples, but they cannot change the hearts of men. Canadians, Indians and non-Indians alike stand at the crossroads. For Canadian society the issue is whether a growing element of its population will become full participants contributing in a positive way to the general well-being or whether, conversely, the present social and economic gap will lead to their increasing frustration and isolation, a threat to the general well-being of society. For many Indian people, one road does exist, the only road that has existed since Confederation and before, the road of different status, a road which has led to a blind alley of deprivation and frustration. This road, because it is a separate road, cannot lead to full participation, to equality in practice as well as in theory. In the pages which follow, the Government has outlined a number of measures and a policy which it is convinced will offer another road for Indians, a road that would lead gradually away from different status to full social, economic and political participation in Canadian life. This is the choice.

Indian people must be persuaded, must persuade themselves, that this path will lead them to a fuller and richer life.

Canadian society as a whole will have to recognize the need for changed attitudes in a truly open society. Canadians should recognize the dangers of failing to strike down the barriers which frustrate Indian people. If Indian people are to become full members of Canadian society they must be warmly welcomed by that society.

The Government commends this policy for the consideration of all Canadians, Indians and non-Indians, and all governments in Canada.

Summary

1 Background

The Government has reviewed its programs for Indians and has considered the effects of them on the present situation of the Indian people. The review has drawn on extensive consultations with the Indian people, and on the knowledge and experience of many people both in and out of government.

This review was a response to things said by the Indian people at the consultation meetings which began a year ago and culminated in a meeting in Ottawa in April.

This review has shown that this is the right time to change long-standing policies. The Indian people have shown their determination that present conditions shall not persist.

Opportunities are present today in Canadian society and new directions are open. The Government believes that Indian people must not be shut out of Canadian life and must share equally in these opportunities.

The Government could press on with the policy of fostering further education; could go ahead with physical improvement programs now operating in reserve communities; could press forward in the directions of recent years, and eventually many of the problems would be solved. But progress would be too slow. The change in Canadian society in recent years has been too great and continues too rapidly for this to be the answer. Something more is needed. We can no longer perpetuate the separation of Canadians. Now is the time to change.

This Government believes in equality. It believes that all men and women have equal rights. It is determined that all shall be treated fairly and that no one shall be shut out of Canadian life, and especially that no one shall be shut out because of his race.

This belief is the basis for the Government's determination to open the doors of opportunity to all Canadians, to remove the barriers which impede the de-

velopment of people, of regions and of the country.

Only a policy based on this belief can enable the Indian people to realize their needs and aspirations.

The Indian people are entitled to such a policy. They are entitled to an equality which preserves and enriches Indian identity and distinction; an equality which stresses Indian participation in its creation and which manifests itself in all aspects of Indian life.

The goals of the Indian people cannot be set by others; they must spring from the Indian community itself—but government can create a framework within which all persons and groups can seek their own goals.

2 The New Policy

True equality presupposes that the Indian people have the right to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada.

The government believes that the framework within which individual Indians and bands could achieve full participation requires:

- 1 that the legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination be removed;
- 2 that there be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian life;
- 3 that services come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians;
- 4 that those who are furthest behind be helped most;
- 5 that lawful obligations be recognized;
- 6 that control of Indian lands be transferred to the Indian people.

The Government would be prepared to take the following steps to create this framework:

- 1 Propose to Parliament that the Indian Act be repealed and take such legislative steps as may be necessary to enable Indians to control Indian lands and to acquire title to them.
- 2 Propose to the governments of the provinces that they take over the same responsibility for Indians that they have for other

citizens in their provinces. The take-over would be accompanied by the transfer to the provinces of federal funds normally provided for Indian programs, augmented as may be necessary.

3 Make substantial funds available for Indian economic development as an interim measure.

4 Wind up that part of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development which deals with Indian Affairs. The residual responsibilities of the Federal Government for programs in the field of Indian affairs would be transferred to other appropriate federal departments.

In addition, the Government will appoint a Commissioner to consult with the Indians and to study and recommend acceptable procedures for the adjudication of claims.

The new policy looks to a better future for all Indian people wherever they may be. The measures for implementation are straightforward. They require discussion, consultation and negotiation with the Indian people—individuals, bands and associations—and with provincial governments.

Success will depend upon the co-operation and assistance of the Indians and the provinces. The Government seeks this co-operation and will respond when it is offered.

3 The Immediate Steps

Some changes could take place quickly. Others would take longer. It is expected that within five years the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development would cease to operate in the field of Indian affairs; the new laws would be in effect and existing programs would have been devolved. The Indian lands would require special attention for some time. The process of transferring control to the Indian people would be under continuous review.

Historical Background

The Government believes this is a policy which is just and necessary. It can only be successful if it has the support of the Indian people, the provinces, and all Canadians.

The policy promises all Indian people a new opportunity to expand and develop their identity within the framework of a Canadian society which offers them the rewards and responsibilities of participation, the benefits of involvement and the pride of belonging.

The weight of history affects us all, but it presses most heavily on the Indian people. Because of history, Indians today are the subject of legal discrimination; they have grievances because of past undertakings that have been broken or misunderstood; they do not have full control of their lands; and a higher proportion of Indians than other Canadians suffer poverty in all its debilitating forms. Because of history too, Indians look to a special department of the Federal Government for many of the services that other Canadians get from provincial or local governments.

This burden of separation has its origin deep in Canada's past and in early French and British colonial policy. The elements which grew to weigh so heavily were deeply entrenched at the time of Confederation.

Before that time there had evolved a policy of entering into agreements with the Indians, of encouraging them to settle on reserves held by the Crown for their use and benefit, and of dealing with Indian lands through a separate organization—a policy of treating Indian people as a race apart.

After Confederation, these well-established precedents were followed and expanded. Exclusive legislative authority was given the Parliament of Canada in relation to "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians" under Head 24 of Section 91 of the British North America Act. Special legislation—an Indian Act—was passed, new treaties were entered into, and a network of administrative offices spread across the country either in advance of or along with the tide of settlement.

This system—special legislation, a special land system and separate administration for the Indian people—continues to be the basis of present Indian policy. It has saved for the Indian people places they can call home, but has carried with it serious human and physical as well as administrative disabilities.

Because the system was in the hands of the Federal Government, the Indians did

not participate in the growth of provincial and local services. They were not required to participate in the development of their own communities which were tax exempt. The result was that the Indians, persuaded that property taxes were an unnecessary element in their lives, did not develop services for themselves. For many years such simple and limited services as were required to sustain life were provided through a network of Indian agencies reflecting the authoritarian tradition of a colonial administration, and until recently these agencies had staff and funds to do little more than meet the most severe cases of hardship and distress.

The tradition of federal responsibility for Indian matters inhibited the development of a proper relationship between the provinces and the Indian people as citizens. Most provinces, faced with their own problems of growth and change, left responsibility for their Indian residents to the Federal Government. Indeed, successive Federal Governments did little to change the pattern. The result was that Indians were the almost exclusive concern of one agency of the Federal Government for nearly a century.

For a long time the problems of physical, legal and administrative separation attracted little attention. The Indian people were scattered in small groups across the country, often in remote areas. When they were in contact with the new settlers, there was little difference between the living standards of the two groups.

Initially, settlers as well as Indians depended on game, fish and fur. The settlers, however, were more concerned with clearing land and establishing themselves and differences soon began to appear.

With the technological change of the twentieth century, society became increasingly industrial and complex, and the separateness of the Indian people became more evident. Most Canadians moved to the growing cities, but the Indians remained largely a rural people, lacking both education and opportunity. The land was being developed rapidly, but many reserves were

The Case for the New Policy

located in places where little development was possible. Reserves were usually excluded from development and many began to stand out as islands of poverty. The policy of separation had become a burden.

The legal and administrative discrimination in the treatment of Indian people has not given them an equal chance of success. It has exposed them to discrimination in the broadest and worst sense of the term—a discrimination that has profoundly affected their confidence that success can be theirs. Discrimination breeds discrimination by example, and the separateness of Indian people has affected the attitudes of other Canadians towards them.

The system of separate legislation and administration has also separated people of Indian ancestry into three groups—registered Indians, who are further divided into those who are under treaty and those who are not; enfranchised Indians who lost, or voluntarily relinquished, their legal status as Indians; and the Métis, who are of Indian ancestry but never had the status of registered Indians.

In the past ten years or so, there have been important improvements in education, health, housing, welfare and community development. Developments in leadership among the Indian communities have become increasingly evident. Indian people have begun to forge a new unity. The Government believes progress can come from these developments but only if they are met by new responses. The proposed policy is a new response.

The policy rests upon the fundamental right of Indian people to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada.

To argue against this right is to argue for discrimination, isolation and separation. No Canadian should be excluded from participation in community life, and none should expect to withdraw and still enjoy the benefits that flow to those who participate.

1 The Legal Structure

Legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination must be removed.

Canada cannot seek the just society and keep discriminatory legislation on its statute books. The Government believes this to be self-evident. The ultimate aim of removing the specific references to Indians from the constitution may take some time, but it is a goal to be kept constantly in view. In the meantime, barriers created by special legislation can generally be struck down.

Under the authority of Head 24, Section 91 of the British North America Act, the Parliament of Canada has enacted the Indian Act. Various federal-provincial agreements and some other statutes also affect Indian policies.

In the long term, removal of the reference in the constitution would be necessary to end the legal distinction between Indians and other Canadians. In the short term, repeal of the Indian Act and enactment of transitional legislation to ensure the orderly management of Indian land would do much to mitigate the problem.

The ultimate goal could not be achieved quickly, for it requires a change in the

economic circumstances of the Indian people and much preliminary adjustment with provincial authorities. Until the Indian people are satisfied that their land holdings are solely within their control, there may have to be some special legislation for Indian lands.

2 The Indian Cultural Heritage

There must be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian society.

It is important that Canadians recognize and give credit to the Indian contribution. It manifests itself in many ways; yet it goes largely unrecognized and unacknowledged. Without recognition by others it is not easy to be proud.

All of us seek a basis for pride in our own lives, in those of our families and of our ancestors. Man needs such pride to sustain him in the inevitable hour of discouragement, in the moment when he faces obstacles, whenever life seems turned against him. Everyone has such moments. We manifest our pride in many ways, but always it supports and sustains us. The legitimate pride of the Indian people has been crushed too many times by too many of their fellow Canadians.

The principle of equality and all that goes with it demands that all of us recognize each other's cultural heritage as a source of personal strength.

Canada has changed greatly since the first Indian Act was passed. Today it is made up of many people with many cultures. Each has its own manner of relating to the other; each makes its own adjustments to the larger society.

Successful adjustment requires that the larger groups accept every group with its distinctive traits without prejudice, and that all groups share equitably in the material and non-material wealth of the country.

For many years Canadians believed the Indian people had but two choices: they could live in a reserve community, or they could be assimilated and lose their Indian identity. Today Canada has more to offer. There is a third choice—a full role in Cana-

dian society and in the economy while retaining, strengthening and developing an Indian identity which preserves the good things of the past and helps Indian people to prosper and thrive.

This choice offers great hope for the Indian people. It offers great opportunity for Canadians to demonstrate that in our open society there is room for the development of people who preserve their different cultures and take pride in their diversity.

This new opportunity to enrich Canadian life is central to the Government's new policy. If the policy is to be successful, the Indian people must be in a position to play a full role in Canada's diversified society, a role which stresses the value of their experience and the possibilities of the future.

The Indian contribution to North American society is often overlooked, even by the Indian people themselves. Their history and tradition can be a rich source of pride, but are not sufficiently known and recognized. Too often, the art forms which express the past are preserved, but are inaccessible to most Indian people. This richness can be shared by all Canadians. Indian people must be helped to become aware of their history and heritage in all its forms, and this heritage must be brought before all Canadians in all its rich diversity.

Indian culture also lives through Indian speech and thought. The Indian languages are unique and valuable assets. Recognizing their value is not a matter of preserving ancient ways as fossils, but of ensuring the continuity of a people by encouraging and assisting them to work at the continuing development of their inheritance in the context of the present-day world. Culture lives and develops in the daily life of people, in their communities and in their other associations, and the Indian culture can be preserved, perpetuated and developed only by the Indian people themselves.

The Indian people have often been made to feel that their culture and history are not worthwhile. To lose a sense of worthiness is damaging. Success in life, in adapting to

change, and in developing appropriate relations within the community as well as in relation to a wider world, requires a strong sense of personal worth—a real sense of identity.

Rich in folklore, in art forms and in concepts of community life, the Indian cultural heritage can grow and expand further to enrich the general society. Such a development is essential if the Indian people are again to establish a meaningful sense of identity and purpose and if Canada is to realize its maximum potential.

The Government recognizes that people of Indian ancestry must be helped in new ways in this task. It proposes, through the Secretary of State, to support associations and groups in developing a greater appreciation of their cultural heritage. It wants to foster adequate communication among all people of Indian descent and between them and the Canadian community as a whole.

Steps will be taken to enlist the support of Canadians generally. The provincial governments will be approached to support this goal through their many agencies operating in the field. Provincial educational authorities will be urged to intensify their review of school curriculae and course content with a view to ensuring that they adequately reflect Indian culture and Indian contributions to Canadian development.

3 Programs and Services

Services must come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians.

This is an undeniable part of equality. It has been shown many times that separation of people follows from separate services. There can be no argument about the principle of common services. It is right.

It cannot be accepted now that Indians should be constitutionally excluded from the right to be treated within their province as full and equal citizens, with all the responsibilities and all the privileges that this might entail. It is in the provincial sphere where social remedies are structured and applied, and the Indian people, by and large,

have been non-participating members of provincial society.

Canadians receive a wide range of services through provincial and local governments, but the Indian people and their communities are mostly outside that framework. It is no longer acceptable that the Indian people should be outside and apart. The Government believes that services should be available on an equitable basis except for temporary differentiation based on need. Services ought not to flow from separate agencies established to serve particular groups, especially not to groups that are identified ethnically.

Separate but equal services do not provide truly equal treatment. Treatment has not been equal in the case of Indians and their communities. Many services require a wide range of facilities which cannot be duplicated by separate agencies. Others must be integral to the complex systems of community and regional life and cannot be matched on a small scale.

The Government is therefore convinced that the traditional method of providing separate services to Indians must be ended. All Indians should have access to all programs and services of all levels of government equally with other Canadians.

The Government proposes to negotiate with the provinces and conclude agreements under which Indian people would participate in and be served by the full programs of the provincial and local systems. Equitable financial arrangements would be sought to ensure that services could be provided in full measure commensurate with the needs. The negotiations must seek agreements to end discrimination while ensuring that no harm is inadvertently done to Indian interests. The Government further proposes that federal disbursements for Indian programs in each province be transferred to that province. Subject to negotiations with the provinces, such provision would as a matter of principle eventually decline, the provinces ultimately assuming the same responsibility for services to

Indian residents as they do for services to others.

At the same time, the Government proposes to transfer all remaining federal responsibilities for Indians from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to other departments, including the Departments of Regional Economic Expansion, Secretary of State, and Manpower and Immigration.

It is important that such transfers take place without disrupting services and that special arrangements not be compromised while they are subject to consultation and negotiation. The Government will pay particular attention to this.

Enriched Services

"those who are furthest behind must be helped most."

There can be little argument that conditions for many Indian people are not satisfactory to them and are not acceptable to others. There can be little question that special services, and especially enriched services, will be needed for some time.

Equality before the law and in programs and services does not necessarily result in equality in social and economic conditions. For that reason, existing programs will be reviewed. The Department of Regional Economic Expansion, the Department of Manpower and Immigration, and other federal departments involved would be prepared to evolve programs that would help break past patterns of deprivation.

Additional funds would be available from number of different sources. In an atmosphere of greater freedom, those who are able to do so would be expected to help themselves, so more funds would be available to help those who really need it. The transfer of Indian lands to Indian control could enable many individuals and groups to move ahead on their own initiative. This in turn would free funds for further enrichment of programs to help those who are furthest behind. By ending some programs and replacing them with others evolved within the community, a more effective

use of funds would be achieved. Administrative savings would result from the elimination of separate agencies as various levels of government bring general programs and resources to bear. By broadening the base of service agencies, this enrichment could be extended to all who need it. By involving more agencies working at different levels, and by providing those agencies with the means to make them more effective, the Government believes that root problems could be attacked, that solutions could be found that hitherto evaded the best efforts and best-directed of programs.

The economic base for many Indians is their reserve land, but the development of reserves has lagged.

Among the many factors that determine economic growth of reserves, their location and size are particularly important. There are a number of reserves located within or near growing industrial areas which could provide substantial employment and income to their owners if they were properly developed. There are other reserves in agricultural areas which could provide a livelihood for a larger number of family units than is presently the case. The majority of the reserves, however, are located in the boreal or wooded regions of Canada, most of them geographically isolated and many having little economic potential. In these areas, low income, unemployment and under-employment are characteristic of Indians and non-Indians alike.

Even where reserves have economic potential, the Indians have been handicapped. Private investors have been reluctant to supply capital for projects on land which cannot be pledged as security. Adequate social and risk capital has not been available from public sources. Most Indians have not had the opportunity to acquire managerial experience, nor have they been offered sufficient technical assistance.

The Government believes that the Indian people should have the opportunity to develop the resources of their reserves so

they may contribute to their own well-being and the economy of the nation. To develop Indian reserves to the level of the regions in which they are located will require considerable capital over a period of some years, as well as the provision of managerial and technical advice. Thus the Government believes that all programs and advisory services of the federal and provincial governments should be made readily available to Indians.

In addition, and as an interim measure, the Government proposes to make substantial additional funds available for investment in the economic progress of the Indian people. This would overcome the barriers to early development of Indian lands and resources, help bring Indians into a closer working relationship with the business community, help finance their adjustment to new employment opportunities, and facilitate access to normal financial sources.

Even if the resources of Indian reserves are fully utilized, however, they cannot all properly support their present Indian populations, much less the populations of the future. Many Indians will, as they are now doing, seek employment elsewhere as a means of solving their economic problems. Jobs are vital and the Government intends that the full counselling, occupational training and placement resources of the Department of Manpower and Immigration are used to further employment opportunities for Indians. The government will encourage private employers to provide opportunities for the Indian people.

In many situations, the problems of Indians are similar to those faced by their non-Indian neighbours. Solutions to their problems cannot be found in isolation but must be sought within the context of regional development plans involving all the people. The consequence of an integrated regional approach is that all levels of government—federal, provincial and local—and the people themselves are involved. Helping overcome regional disparities in the economic well-being of Canadians is the main task assigned to the Department of Regional Economic Expansion. The Government

believes that the needs of Indian communities should be met within this framework.

5 Claims and Treaties

Lawful obligations must be recognized

Many of the Indian people feel that successive governments have not dealt with them as fairly as they should. They believe that lands have been taken from them in an improper manner, or without adequate compensation, that their funds have been improperly administered, that their treaty rights have been breached. Their sense of grievance influences their relations with governments and the community and limits their participation in Canadian life.

Many Indians look upon their treaties as the source of their rights to land, to hunting and fishing privileges, and to other benefits. Some believe the treaties should be interpreted to encompass wider services and privileges, and many believe the treaties have not been honoured. Whether or not this is correct in some or many cases, the fact is the treaties affect only half the Indians of Canada. Most of the Indians of Quebec, British Columbia, and the Yukon are not parties to a treaty.

The terms and effects of the treaties between the Indian people and the Government are widely misunderstood. A plain reading of the words used in the treaties reveals the limited and minimal promises which were included in them. As a result of the treaties, some Indians were given an initial cash payment and were promised land reserved for their exclusive use, annuities, protection of hunting, fishing and trapping privileges subject (in most cases) to regulation, a school or teachers in most instances, and, in one treaty only, a medicine chest. There were some other minor considerations such as the annual provision of twine and ammunition.

The annuities have been paid regularly. The basic promise to set aside reserve land has been kept except in respect of the Indians of the Northwest Territories and a few bands in the northern parts of the Prairie Provinces. These Indians did not choose land when treaties were signed. The

government wishes to see these obligations dealt with as soon as possible.

The right to hunt and fish for food is extended unevenly across the country and not always in relation to need. Although game and fish will become less and less important for survival as the pattern of Indian life continues to change, there are those who, at this time, still live in the traditional manner that their forefathers lived in when they entered into treaty with the government. The Government is prepared to allow such persons transitional freer hunting of migratory birds under the Migratory Birds Convention Act and Regulations.

The significance of the treaties in meeting the economic, educational, health and welfare needs of the Indian people has always been limited and will continue to decline. The services that have been provided go far beyond what could have been foreseen by those who signed the treaties.

The Government and the Indian people must reach a common understanding of the future role of the treaties. Some provisions will be found to have been discharged; others will have continuing importance. Many of the provisions and practices of another century may be considered irrelevant in the light of a rapidly changing society, and still others may be ended by mutual agreement. Finally, once Indian lands are securely within Indian control, the anomaly of treaties between groups within society and the government of that society will require that these treaties be reviewed to see how they can be equitably ended.

Other grievances have been asserted in more general terms. It is possible that some of these can be verified by appropriate research and may be susceptible of specific remedies. Others relate to aboriginal claims to land. These are so general and undefined that it is not realistic to think of them as specific claims capable of remedy except through a policy and program that will end injustice to Indians as members of the Canadian community. This is the policy that the Government is proposing for discussion.

At the recent consultation meeting in

Ottawa representatives of the Indians, chosen at each of the earlier regional meetings, expressed concern about the extent of their knowledge of Indian rights and treaties. They indicated a desire to undertake further research to establish their rights with greater precision, elected a National Committee on Indian Rights and Treaties for this purpose and sought government financial support for research.

The Government had intended to introduce legislation to establish an Indian Claims Commission to hear and determine Indian claims. Consideration of the questions raised at the consultations and the review of Indian policy have raised serious doubts as to whether a Claims Commission as proposed to Parliament in 1965 is the right way to deal with the grievances of Indians put forward as claims.

The Government has concluded that further study and research are required by both the Indians and the Government. It will appoint a Commissioner who, in consultation with representatives of the Indians, will inquire into and report upon how claims arising in respect of the performance of the terms of treaties and agreements formally entered into by representatives of the Indians and the Crown, and the administration of moneys and lands pursuant to schemes established by legislation for the benefit of Indians may be adjudicated.

The Commissioner will also classify the claims that in his judgment ought to be referred to the courts or any special quasi-judicial body that may be recommended.

It is expected that the Commissioner's inquiry will go on concurrently with that of the National Indian Committee on Indian Rights and Treaties and the Commissioner will be authorized to recommend appropriate support to the Committee so that it may conduct research on the Indians' behalf and assist the Commissioner in his inquiry.

6 Indian Lands

Control of Indian lands should be transferred to the Indian people.

Frustration is as great a handicap as a sense of grievance. True co-operation and partici-

tion can come only when the Indian people are controlling the land which makes up the reserves.

The reserve system has provided the Indian people with lands that generally have been protected against alienation without their consent. Widely scattered across Canada, the reserves total nearly 6,000,000 acres and are divided into about 2,200 parcels of varying sizes. Under the existing system, title to reserve lands is held either by the Crown in right of Canada or the Crown in right of one of the provinces. Administrative control and legislative authority are, however, vested exclusively in the Government and the Parliament of Canada. It is a trust. As long as this trust exists, the Government, as a trustee, must pervise the business connected with the land.

The result of Crown ownership and the Indian Act has been to tie the Indian people to a land system that lacks flexibility and inhibits development. If an Indian band wishes to gain income by leasing its land, it has to do so through a cumbersome system involving the Government as trustee.

Indians cannot mortgage reserve land to finance development on its own initiative. Indian people do not have control of their lands except as the Government allows, and this is no longer acceptable to them. The Indians have made this clear at the consultation meetings. They now want real control, and this Government believes that they should have it. The Government recognizes that full and true equality calls for Indian control and ownership of reserve land.

Between the present system and the full holding of title in fee simple lie a number of intermediate states. The first step is to change the system under which ministerial decision is required for all that is done with Indian land. This is where the delays, the frustrations and the frustrations lie. The Indians must control their land.

This can be done in many ways. The Government believes that each band

must make its own decision as to the way it wants to take control of its land and the manner in which it intends to manage it.

It will take some years to complete the process of devolution.

The Government believes that full ownership implies many things. It carries with it the free choice of use, of retention or of disposition. In our society it also carries with it an obligation to pay for certain services. The Government recognizes that it may not be acceptable to put all lands into the provincial systems immediately and make them subject to taxes. When the Indian people see that the only way they can own and fully control land is to accept taxation the way other Canadians do, they will make that decision.

Alternative methods for the control of their lands will be made available to Indian individuals and bands. Whatever methods of land control are chosen by the Indian people, the present system under which the Government must execute all leases, supervise and control procedures and surrenders, and generally act as trustee, must be brought to an end. But the Indian land heritage should be protected. Land should be alienated from them only by the consent of the Indian people themselves. Under a proposed Indian Lands Act full management would be in the hands of the bands and, if the bands wish, they or individuals would be able to take title to their land without restrictions.

As long as the Crown controls the land for the benefit of bands who use and occupy it, it is responsible for determining who may, as a member of a band, share in the assets of band land. The qualifications for band membership which it has imposed are part of the legislation—the Indian Act—governing the administration of reserve lands. Under the present Act, the Government applies and interprets these qualifications. When bands take title to their lands, they will be able to define and apply these qualifications themselves.

The Government is prepared to transfer to the Indian people the reserve lands,

full control over them and, subject to the proposed Indian Lands Act, the right to determine who shares in ownership. The Government proposes to seek agreements with the bands and, where necessary, with the governments of the provinces. Discussions will be initiated with the Indian people and the provinces to this end.

Implementation of the New Policy

1 Indian Associations and Consultation

Successful implementation of the new policy would require the further development of a close working relationship with the Indian community. This was made abundantly clear in the proposals set forth by the National Indian Brotherhood at the national meeting to consult on revising the Indian Act. Their brief succinctly identified the needs at that time and offers a basis for discussing the means of adaptation to the new policy.

To this end the Government proposes to invite the executives of the National Indian Brotherhood and the various provincial associations to discuss the role they might play in the implementation of the new policy, and the financial resources they may require. The Government recognizes their need for independent advice, especially on legal matters. The Government also recognizes that the discussions will place a heavy burden on Indian leaders during the adjustment period. Special arrangements will have to be made so that they may take the time needed to meet and discuss all aspects of the new policy and its implementation.

Needs and conditions vary greatly from province to province. Since the adjustments would be different in each case, the bulk of the negotiations would likely be with the provincial bodies, regional groups and the bands themselves. There are those matters which are of concern to all, and the National Indian Brotherhood would be asked to act in liaison with the various provincial associations and with the federal departments which would have ongoing responsibilities.

The Government proposes to ask that the associations act as the principal agencies through which consultation and negotiations would be conducted, but each band would be consulted about gaining ownership of its land holdings. Bands would be asked to designate the association through which their broad interests would be represented.

2 Transitional Period

The Government hopes to have the bulk of the policy in effect within five years and believes that the necessary financial and other arrangements can be concluded so that Indians will have full access to provincial services within that time. It will seek an immediate start to the many discussions that will need to be held with the provinces and with representatives of the Indian people.

The role of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in serving the Indian people would be phased out as arrangements with the provinces were completed and remaining Federal Government responsibilities transferred to other departments.

The Commissioner will be appointed soon and instructed to get on with his work.

Steps would be taken in consultation with representatives of the Indian people to transfer control of land to them. Because of the need to consult over five hundred bands the process would take some time.

A policy can never provide the ultimate solutions to all problems. A policy can achieve no more than is desired by the people it is intended to serve. The essential feature of the Government's proposed new policy for Indians is that it acknowledges that truth by recognizing the central and essential role of the Indian people in solving their own problems. It will provide, for the first time, a non-discriminatory framework within which, in an atmosphere of freedom, the Indian people could, with other Canadians, work out their own destiny.

APPENDIX "E"

An Excerpt from Hansard

Hon. Jean Chrétien (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. May I thank every hon. member who has contributed to this debate which, in many instances, has been rewarding. It is refreshing to realize that the members of all parties in the house consider our goals to be the right ones. The problem seems to lie in how we are to implement our plans and how we are to discuss this matter with the Indian people of Canada.

One thing that stands out after a careful review of statements made by Indian leaders and by hon. members in this debate is that many have not read carefully the government's statement. In this connection the first point I wish to make is that the government's statement was a proposal. May I quote from the foreword, which is as follows:

In the pages which follow, the Government has outlined a number of measures and a policy which it is convinced will offer another road for Indians, a road that will lead gradually away from different status to full social, economic and political participation in Canadian life. This is the choice.

(5:10 p.m.)

I quote again from the foreword:

The government commends this policy for the consideration of all Canadians, Indians and non-Indians, and all governments in Canada.

What the government was doing in issuing this statement was putting forward its view after having been in consultation with Indians for over a year, having listened to what they considered to be the evils and the faults of the present system and having formed its own view in the same connection. The government's view which was incorporated in the policy statement, was deeply influenced by everything that the Indian people have been saying about the Indian Act, about the department about their separate status, about discrimination, not only in the period of consultation to which I have referred, but for many years.

The government's view, of course, also arose out of an analysis of the merits of the situation in each of these particulars. It so happened that the results of this analysis coincided almost exactly in every instance with the views the Indian representatives had been expressing for years. However, the point which appears to have been missed is that the government is offering it as a view, a proposal, something upon which the consultations will now take place. The government considered that it had the duty to put forward proposals for public debate by the Indian people and by all the people of Canada. The language of the policy statement was carefully drawn to make this point.

Again, I quote from the document on page 6:

The government believes that the framework within which individual Indians and bands could achieve full participation requires:

There follows the six points which indicate the government's view of the principles involved, followed immediately by this sentence:

The government would be prepared to take the following steps to create this framework.

Following this are the four steps which the government would be prepared to take if, following consultations and public debate in Canada, these seemed to be the appropriate things to do. Similar references can be found throughout the document, but the emphasis is on consultations and participation of the Indian people themselves in the development and implementation of the

proposed policy. Reference is also made to financial support to Indian organizations so that they may have the capacity to fulfil this role. In general, the whole thrust of the paper is the offering of a policy for consultation and debate.

Another misapprehension which seems to have arisen is that the negotiations and arrangements may be pressed too fast. The five year period that is mentioned in the statement is, I think, the key to this concern. Here again, however, a careful reading of the document will indicate that this is not a firm deadline. The actual language is as follows:

The government hopes to have the bulk of the policy in effect within five years.

Obviously this is not a hard and fast matter. It is a hope. If, in fact, it cannot be realized, it will not be realized. This apprehension has also been linked with the subject of land, which is probably the most sensitive area to Indian people — and appropriately so. Many have assumed that the five year period implies some distribution of land to individual Indian people within that period. Nothing could be further from what is proposed.

In the item under “immediate steps” in the document on page 6 where we talk about our hope that within five years we could phase out that part of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development we state, and I quote:

Indian lands would require special attention for some time. This process of transferring control to the Indian people would be under continuous review —

What we tried to indicate was that we saw the land question as one taking many years and that the Indian people ultimately would assume their rights in this respect. The present system of land control has satisfied no one. It has been under attack for years and the government agrees with these attacks. The system is paternalistic in the extreme. What we seek to do is to eventually transfer the lands of which the Indians now have de facto possession. What has been suggested is not the distribution of land to individuals but the transfer in law to the bands of Indian lands, now controlled by them, subject to the legal requirement of the minister's consent.

We seek to do it under the proposed Indian Lands Act which would have within it a number of protective devices which would ensure that the nature of Indian ownership of land would only change if a considerable majority of the Indian owners so desired and would additionally protect minority rights within these communities and, finally, probably have some novel provisions found in legislation in other countries to control transactions between Indians and non-Indians, should those arise in the future by provision for court review if either the Indian vendor or the band felt that the transaction was not a fair and proper one.

These are the matters upon which we want to consult with the Indian people: Do they want legal ownership of their own lands? Do they want to be free of ministerial supervision? What kind of protection do they want? What other provisions may there be of which we have not thought?

To sum up, I feel that there has not been a complete reading of the government's policy statement by many, and that many of the misapprehensions would have been found to have been answered within the document. It is a proposal for consultation. It happens that the government's view reflects much of what has been said in recent consultations by Indian people and many members in this house, including those who have been prominent in this debate and as recently as the day on which this policy was announced. As I recall it, the comment of members opposite on that occasion was that the government's policy was not very novel, but that it was what had been advocated by Indians for years. We do not intend to rush, the Indian lands question is one which we have contemplated from the outset and would take a number of years to work out in consultation with the Indian people.

I urge the house and all Canadians, Indians and non-Indians, to look again at the language in the foreword of the policy statement in which we concluded, and I will repeat it:

The government commends this policy for the consideration of all Canadians.

It is our sincere hope that everyone will take time to read the policy statement carefully. We will be involved in extensive consultations with the Indian people in the years ahead. We want to offer the Indian people in the years ahead. We want to offer the Indian people a very real opportunity to participate in shaping their future.

(5:20 p.m.)

Finally, it is quite clear that the more generalized concerns about Indian rights and treaties are clouding consideration of the specifics of the government's proposed policy. We believe that the specifics of our proposed policy have to be considered for their value to Indian life today and in the future. It is important that the future not be sacrificed by undue concentration on the past. However, we have not neglected the past. We understand and appreciate the feeling of the Indian people with regard to possible past injustices in regard to treaties and, as indicated in the statement, we propose to appoint a commissioner who, in the quality of his person, will satisfy everyone as to his objectivity to meet with Indian representatives and any others. He will consider these matters very carefully and make his recommendations to the government as to what action the government might take in this regard.

I would, therefore, urge the Indian people to make use of this means of putting forward their views and feelings with respect to their treaty rights so that a greater understanding may be had by the government and by all Canadians, but not to let this interfere with getting on with providing a better way of life for Indians today and in the future. This is a very serious and important problem that the country faces and I hope that no one in this house or in the country will take a narrow or partisan approach to it. Hon. members have spoken about consultation, and have said we should have more consultation about the implementation of this policy. I agree, and I point out that this is mentioned in the policy statement that I made. It is clear that we want to consult.

I have been visiting some of the provinces. I want to meet representatives of the provincial governments at this stage, not to negotiate but to give them information and to reply to the questions that they wish to raise. I may say they have many questions that they want to ask. I have met with some representatives of the Indians and have listened to them. They have put many specific questions to me and I have tried to reply. I am planning to visit all of the provinces within the next few weeks for information purposes.

We are not rushing anything or anyone. We want to reassure the Indians on the land question. It was alleged that we wanted to see the Indians sell their land for two bottles of wine, or something like that. This is not so, Mr. Speaker. We want to give them what every other Canadian has in this country, namely, the right to make decisions for themselves.

At present Indians have to seek permission from the Minister of Indian Affairs if they wish to lease their lands. I do not think they should be obliged to do so. I feel very strongly about this matter. The procedure they must follow is through the district agency and on to the department in Ottawa, to my desk, and then back again from there. Sometimes this procedure takes weeks and weeks, even months and months for minor decisions to be made. I do not think it is right, and I want to change it.

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear.

Mr. Chrétien: I know that the members of this house agree with me on that.

Some hon. Members: Hear hear.

Mr. Chrétien: These Indian people are human beings and I want to get rid of our paternalistic approach to them. It is said that they are afraid we want to dump them. This is not so, Mr. Speaker. We do not want to dump any of the programs that we have for Indians. But we do want Indian Children to receive the same education as their neighbours.

The hon. member for Winnipeg North (Mr. Orlikow) said there could be no equality of services when separate services were provided to white people and to Indian people. That is right. We want to give the Indians the same kind of services that the other citizens of Canada have. I repeat that we do not want to go ahead with this program too quickly. We will consult with the Indians. If they have some good suggestions to make we will listen to them. We will send a special team of people to meet Indians all across the nation, to try to find ways for Indians who live on reserves to make their own decisions.

End of excerpt from pages 11142 to 11144. Refer to pages 11145 to 11148 inclusive for House of Commons debate on the government's statement.

Queen's Printer for Canada, Ottawa, 1970



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament
1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 15

TUESDAY, JANUARY 27, 1970.

WITNESSES:

The Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton: Mr. S. R. Godfrey, Commissioner; Miss Jean Grant, M.S.W.; Mrs. K. Shimizu, B.S.W. *The Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District:* Mr. W. M. Zimmerman, Assistant Director; Miss Imelda Chénard, Assistant Director.

APPENDICES:

"A"—Brief submitted by The Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, Social Welfare Department.

"B"—Brief submitted by The Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Fergusson	Lefrançois
Carter	Fournier	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	(<i>Madawaska-</i>	McGrand
Cook	<i>Restigouche, Deputy</i>	Pearson
Croll	<i>Chairman</i>)	Quart
Eudes	Hastings	Roebuck
Everett	Inman	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

“With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, January 27, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll (*Chairman*), Carter, Cook, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, MacDonald (*Queens*), McGrand, Pearson and Sparrow—(10).

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard on behalf of the *Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, Social Welfare Department*:

Mr. S. R. Godfrey, Commissioner;

Miss Jean Grant, N.S.W.;

Mrs. K. Shimizu, B.S.W.

(*Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.*)

In attendance but not heard:

Miss L. Davidson, B.Sc. (home economics);

Mrs. J. Pollock, Welfare Worker;

Mrs. C. Keane, Welfare Worker;

Mr. J. T. Webb, B.A., Welfare Worker;

Mr. Andrew Law, Welfare Worker;

Mrs. Maurice Kelly, Welfare Worker.

The brief submitted by the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, Social Welfare Department was ordered to be printed as Appendix "A" to these Proceedings.

The following witnesses were heard on behalf of the *Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District*:

Mr. W. M. Zimmerman, Assistant Director;

Miss Imelda Chénard, Assistant Director.

(*Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.*)

The brief submitted by the Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District was ordered to be printed as Appendix "B" to these Proceedings.

At 12.10 p.m. the Committee adjourned until 9.00 a.m. Thursday, January 29, 1970.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Mr. Stewart R. Godfrey, Commissioner of Social Welfare, Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton: Mr. Godfrey was born in England and lived and was educated there and in India and in Newfoundland. He graduated from Memorial University College in 1932. He entered the Newfoundland Civil Service in 1936. In 1949 following the political union of Newfoundland with Canada and the establishment of a Department of Public Welfare he was appointed Assistant Deputy Minister with the new Department. He continued in that capacity until December 1963 when he resigned to take up the position on invitation as Director of Public Welfare with the City of Ottawa. With the establishment of the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton in January 1969 Mr. Godfrey was appointed Commissioner for the Social Welfare Department. Mr. Godfrey's official activities include membership on the Board of Director of the Canadian Welfare Council, the Ontario Welfare Council and the Social Planning Council of Ottawa & District. He has been a member of advisory committees on the development of social welfare courses at Ryerson Politechnical Institute and Algonquin College in Ottawa. He is a member of the Professional Association of Canadian Social Workers and at the present time is the President of the Eastern Ontario Branch of the Association.

Miss Jean Grant, M.S.W.: Miss Grant obtained her academic and professional degrees at the University of Toronto. She was employed by the Department of Welfare of the City of Toronto from 1946 to 1964 in the following capacities: welfare worker, field instructor, University of Toronto School of Social Work, welfare officer in charge of Central District Office, and supervisor of District Offices. In 1964 she took up residence in Ottawa and has been employed since then as Supervisor of Field Services with the Department of Social Welfare. She is a member of the Canadian Association of Social Workers.

Mrs. Kay Shimizu, B.A., B.S.W.: Mrs. Kay Shimizu joined the Department of Social Welfare in October 1968. She obtained her academic and professional degrees at the University of British Columbia. She is a social worker with considerable experience in public and private sectors of social welfare in British Columbia and in Ontario.

Miss Imelda Chénard: Assistant Director of the Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District. A graduate in social work from Laval, Miss Chénard has worked in the fields of health and psychiatry in Quebec City, Ottawa, Saskatoon, and Edmonton. She has been with the Social Planning Council for 5½ years; her major concerns have been day care for children, the Needs and Resources Study and community consultation.

Mr. W. M. Zimmerman: Assistant Director of the Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District. A graduate in social work from the University of Manitoba, Mr. Zimmerman spent 10 years with the Winnipeg Juvenile Court. He has been with the Social Planning Council for 5½ years where his major concerns have been the Ottawa Senior Citizens Council, the Mayor's Committee on Youth and dental services for people on low incomes.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Ontario, January 27, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I call the meeting to order. We have as our first witness today Mr. S. R. Godfrey, Commissioner, Social Welfare Department, Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton. It was Mr. Godfrey who in 1949 established the Department of Public Welfare in Newfoundland after that province entered Confederation. He remained in that capacity until he came here in 1963 and took the position as Director of Public Welfare in Ottawa. Since 1969 he has been in charge of the Social Welfare Department of the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton.

I think you all have a copy of his brief in front of you and at the outset I would suggest that we should take note of the first page where you will see the list of names of those persons who were helpful in preparing the brief. I draw this to your attention because I am sure you will come to the same conclusion that I have already come to, that is that is an unusually good brief.

Mr. Godfrey will now speak to us for about fifteen minutes and draw your attention to the highlights of the brief.

Mr. S. R. Godfrey, Commissioner, Social Welfare Department, Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton: At the risk of incurring some displeasure, I think I should at the outset point out that I cannot take credit that I established the Department of Welfare in Newfoundland as suggested by the Chairman. I may say, however, that I had much to do with it for several years, but, as I have said, I did not establish it.

It is my pleasure to present this brief to you today and I have brought with me some of my colleagues who have helped in preparing it as well as some other people who, while not immediately identified with it, have

expressed their concern in a variety of ways. May I be permitted to introduce Mr. Andrew Law, Mr. David McCagherty and Mrs. Maurice (Ruth) Kelly, who is in charge of group activities in housing developments. I have also taken the liberty of inviting three people who are representative of the people for whom our services are intended, and I would like to mention their names. They are Mrs. Patricia Bertrand, Mrs. Joyce Palmer, and Mr. Harry Vandermark. Without these people the preparation of the brief would have not been possible because it is these people whom we serve and it is the needs of these people that you will find reflected in what I have to say to you this morning.

Now, if I may, I should like to pick out some of the points we have tried to stress and in doing so I would refer you to the conclusions first. At the outset I should like to point out something that you already probably know and that is that the terms "poverty" and "the poor" are relative terms. While we can associate these terms with certain measurable phenomena such as income, cash values of assets and various other things, it is still very difficult to measure poverty. It is not simply a matter of income deficiency, and consequently no legislative definition will be universally acceptable.

We believe that there are several categories of poverty. There is "crisis poverty" of the kind where need results from temporary setbacks arising from sudden illness, injury, desertion or unemployment. There is also poverty arising out of long-term dependency because of prolonged physical or mental illness or disability from birth. I might say that at the present time we understand that there are something like 600 thousand mentally retarded people in Canada doomed to a life of total dependency in most cases. A third category may be described as "life-cycle poverty"—the state in which people find themselves at different stages or at predictable times in life because of changing circumstances in childhood—in old age or retirement for example.

Then there is the fourth category that we can describe as a "culture of poverty". This is the type of poverty that is evident in cities and towns where you have segregation of the population into the poor and the affluent. The poor tend to live together and to move together and set up conditions of resistance to change which in turn constitute a climate of poverty. All this perpetuates the conditions that create and aggravate poverty.

Our departmental experience is that it is the cultural deprivation rather than inherited characteristics that has a greater impact on the individual's ability to improve his circumstances and to compete successfully in life situation. So, if we believe poverty results more from institutional and environmental situations, then, we suggest, it is our social institutions and environmental conditions that must be changed; and, by implication, we suggest this calls for a change not only in legislation but in the philosophy of those who legislate and of those who empower them to legislate. After all, legislation is only the reflection of the concern of people—the people who elect and the people who do the governing.

To come down to some specifics, in Ontario we find that the nineteenth century concept of "employability" and "unemployability" has been perpetuated through the legislation, despite the fact that these terms are out of date and certainly do not adequately describe the many people in modern urban settings who are in need. There are indeed people you can say are unemployable by reason of medical definition, either physically or mentally, and their unemployability is easily determined by competent observation. However, there are many people—and this is a big group—whom we have to assist who are not mentally or physically incapacitated. Many are deserted, separated or divorced wives and mothers with dependent children. Another large category consists of men who appear to be employable; by all the old standards they are employable. Because they can live, breathe, walk, run and fight. They are regarded as employable because they cannot produce a medical certificate that satisfies the legislation. But many of these people show total personality defects which make it difficult for them to fit into a modern industrial society acceptably and which make them poor risks for employers; and we find that employers do not want them because they cannot fit into the current situation of employability.

It is our experience that the current legislative prescriptions and administrative processes we have to use to enforce legislative programs tend to be restrictive and degrading. For example, there are restrictions on the freedom of choice of people in some personal matters which we feel should be taken as a social right. The investigatory processes which are required by law and that must be carried out are themselves humiliating. The persistent inquiry into a person's circumstances, the inquiry over and over again into "How much do you earn? What have you done? When did you last work? Why have you not worked? Why have you not done this?"—all tend to humiliate people. This checking up process does nothing, in our opinion, to enhance the inherent dignity of the individual. There is constant checking up on marital status. This is at all times a very delicate situation and a matter of acute embarrassment and discomfort for people and yet these are areas in which we have to probe. We believe that in some situations which in fact contribute to or cause people to lie, if you like, to withhold information, because it is a question of survival for many of them and by withholding information about earnings or circumstances they are doing no more than fighting a battle of survival. I could elaborate a little more on this, but I want to pass on through this brief and deal with the main points.

One of the big difficulties a municipal operation in Ontario is confronted with is the definition of a person in need. I suppose that if I were to ask the honourable senators the individual definitions of "need" we might get 17 definitions. However, the definition in the provincial legislation excludes many people who are in urgent need of financial assistance and of support services because it says, among other things, that a person who is in regular employment is not a person in need. The harsh reality of life is that there are many people who though regularly employed are working at only marginal income. Indeed, my colleagues could cite cases where many people persist in working or try to work even though what they earn is below what they would get if they were on general welfare assistance. Despite the belief to the contrary, there is that perversity in human nature that most people want to work; and believe that most people on assistance want to work. Indeed, some may choose not to, but think the great majority would prefer to work, but their capacity for work, the

marketable value to a prospective employer is circumscribed by limitations of education, of skills and other factors. So, they cannot really earn enough to support themselves, particularly in situations where there are large families.

As you know, another feature about our legislation is that like health and education services in Canada, the welfare services are, by virtue of the BNA definition, a responsibility of the province, and the province has delegated certain responsibilities to the municipalities which we attempt to carry out. The province has its own program of direct assistance to people and these are designed and intended primarily for people on long-term dependence. But not all the needs of people are met directly by the province. For example, people on mothers' allowances, or family benefits as they are now called if they need other services designated as "Special Assistance" they have to come to the municipality in Ontario. This places an additional financial and administrative burden on a municipality. What is probably more important, it requires the needy person to go to two different levels of government. It is difficult enough for sophisticated people to under the intricacies of three levels of government or, as we have in Ottawa-Carleton, four levels of government; but it is very difficult for people not used to the complexities of government to understand why they have to go to one government for this and another government for that. It is confusing; it is discouraging; it is time consuming; it tends to shunt people back and forth. Needs may not be met promptly, and sometimes not at all, if the municipal budget is strained. If the capacity to grant certain kinds of assistance is very limited, then we cannot help the very people who should be helped—particularly those people who because they are "in regular employment" do not come within the legislation. After all, it comes down to the amount of money which is appropriated for the purpose. Administrative processes in this type of situation are made unnecessarily cumbersome and expensive.

We feel that this particular legislation is adult oriented. It is pointed out on page 3 in section 10 that the program is designed to assist adults who, because of unemployment for one reason or another, require assistance. Great administrative precautions are taken to ensure that only those adults who are technically eligible, who have registered for work and have made what the legislation describes

as "a reasonable effort to gain employment are assisted". This means a reasonable effort in my opinion and that of people similarly occupied. Emphasis remains largely upon ensuring that assistance is denied to people who do not meet the legislative requirements. They may indeed be in need by humane criteria and definitions, but because they do not fit into the categorical definition in the legislation they are *ipso facto* not in need and we cannot help them. If however, a municipality helps these people, as does the "regional" municipality of Ottawa-Carleton in some cases, the municipality has to bear the cost 100 per cent. The provincial-municipal cost-sharing formula is not applied because the assistance does not come within the provincial definition of eligibility. I stress that when I said that this legislation is adult oriented I wanted to emphasize that the special needs of children are almost entirely overlooked. It is true that by implication the children are provided for, but all families and children have special needs. Legislation is not designed to facilitate consideration of the special needs of children, which are sometimes seasonal, at the beginning of school, in winter and in summer. Children have many special needs which cannot be adequately provided for under the legislation at the moment.

In the case of the deserted and separated mother and her dependent children, the legislation provides that the wife may lodge a complaint in court which may result in an order being made against the husband. The obligations in law relating to the support of dependent mothers and children are in our opinion inadequate and most difficult to enforce. It is our view that law that cannot be enforced becomes in effect "bad law". What is the point of having laws that cannot be enforced because of circumstances? The process of the law, which all of us from childhood have been educated to respect, falls into disrepute and a disrespect for law, which is a very poor basis on which to raise children and future citizens. If children see that the law is not observed by their father in support of their mother and themselves and that he can get away with it, then what example is that for a young and impressionable child? I could expand on that, but you may wish to ask questions later.

With regard to the general welfare assistance legislation itself, there is an implication, it seems to us, that the head of a family, who is usually the father, is always capable of

providing adequately for himself and his family. Our experience indicates that this is an ill-founded assumption. If the father is regularly employed, he is not eligible under the legislation for certain items known as special assistance. No matter how low his salary we may not assist him with dental care or the provision of drugs, although his child may have a very high temperature due to illness. The allowance under the regulation does not break down into its component parts the amount which is provided for food, clothing and personal requirements. The legislation prescribes a rate but it is not possible to say how much of the allowance is for food, clothing or personal requirements. It has never been published and is not open to analysis. There is an overall maximum to the rate, which penalizes children in large families because after a certain point, no matter how many children there may be, that family will not get any more than that prescribed amount. We suggest that this is a severe restriction on meeting the needs, particularly of children.

In Ontario, general welfare assistance, for which we are responsible, is described as short-term assistance because the assistance administered directly by the province is known as long-term. The harsh reality is that for many thousands of people general welfare assistance has indeed become long-term assistance and almost a pattern of life. At the present time the legislation requires us to deduct 100 per cent of any part-time earnings of a family. Applicants have to declare earnings and if they do not and we find out, as we are bound to, the result is a reduction of their allowance. It destroys any incentive that is likely to be there or that might be developed, because they will say what is the point of getting a job if the moment I do so you are going to take away what little I might earn? Many of these people, the men particularly, are capable of short-term, sporadic employment, but have no great prospect of, or ability for continuing employment.

Adequate housing is as much a matter of right as education, health, public safety and protection. These matters are taken for granted. Why can we not take for granted that adequate housing for the poor should also be a matter of right? Public action to ensure sufficient adequate forms of shelter should be considered a normal social service. We provided your secretariat with some photographs that we took of housing conditions in which

certain of the public assistance families live. If the honourable senators would like to examine these during the morning, we can make some comments. These are conditions in which people in this city, the capital of Canada, are living. They reflect no credit on anyone.

Much of the social legislation of Ontario is good, and much progress has been made. Improvements have been made in coverage in financial assistance and supporting programs. Since the enactment of the federal Canada Assistance Act the provincial subsidies to municipalities have been increased, but one of the feelings we have is that the several acts appear to have been conceived or designed and enacted in isolation rather than as a concerted and co-ordinated attempt to eliminate the causes of poverty and to reduce the effects of poverty.

Senator Croll has reminded me that I am running out of time. I can stop at any moment you wish.

The Chairman: No, no. You stop when you wish, but the more time you give us for questions the better I think it will be for all of us. We only have until 11 o'clock.

Mr. Godfrey: I will make one other comment, and that is to suggest some of the implications of these problems for the poor. It is our feeling that notwithstanding the provision of financial assistance and services designed to aid the poor, the recipients and intended recipients remain unconvinced that they are entitled to them by law. We say, "It is your right in law", but their experience leads them to feel the contrary. On all sides they see and hear evidence of the begrudging and punitive attitudes that society displays towards them. Repeatedly they experience at first hand the consequences of inadequacies of intellect and personality, of physical, emotional and mental ill health. They are all too aware of the social disparities that result from low standards of education and lack of ameliorating influences in their lives. Many have come to feel that they are foredoomed to exploitation and deprivation.

Many, because they know no other way, or because they have seen ample example around them of personal profit by exploitation, resort out of the sheer necessity for survival to subterfuge, and to forms of behaviour that have been used against them in their need. From first hand knowledge we can say

that many of the poor feel they are viewed with mistrust, that they are despised and rejected. From first hand knowledge we can say that many distrust those people whose job it is to help them, and the social institutions that they represent. Their principal fault is that they fight to survive in the only way they know how.

Increasingly, we feel that these people are coming to feel that no longer need they accept their misfortunes with passivity. Increasingly, many of them feel they should have a larger voice in determining what they need and how their needs should be met. Many of the poor are aware of the lingering belief of society that they lack motivation, that the poor are synonymous with those who do not want to work, and we suggest that this is not the case.

It is easy to make generalities, but they feel that politicians generally are all too far removed from the searing degradation of poverty sometimes to have any strong empathy with the poor. Mr. Chairman, may I stop there.

Senator Carter: Mr. Godfrey, you have given different categories of poor and you say it is difficult to define them. You have referred to the inadequacies of the law and the philosophy governing our laws, and you cite the two extremes in paragraph 5 on page 2. The first question I want to ask is this. Would you say that these laws, or the philosophy reflected in these laws, or embodied in them, is really a reflection of an idea in the public mind that if a person is poor it is his own fault; it does not rest with the economy, that the economy and the things that governments do to manipulate the economy put people out of work; these things are pushed aside and the governing idea behind our laws for the poor is that the person is himself to blame? Would you say that?

Mr. Godfrey: Senator, I believe the notion that the situation in which the poor find themselves is of their own fault, of their own making, is a long time dying. It is an eighteenth or nineteenth century concept that has been carried over into this century.

Despite what we write in our legislation, in the application of it—and certainly I would say this from my personal contact with people, ordinary citizens—there are still many who feel that the predicament in which people find themselves is their own fault, through their moral failings.

The Chairman: Mr. Godfrey, that was not the question the senator asked. He asked you if that was true or not. It is no use dealing with philosophical matters this morning. We are down to the short strokes now on this study of poverty. We want to get answers and solutions. The question was: in your opinion, is that so or is it not so? That was his question.

Mr. Godfrey: Did you say: do I believe that the laws we make reflect this?

Senator Carter: Do they reflect the general idea in the public mind? Because the people who make laws are put there to make laws by people, and if there is to be a different philosophy in our laws we have to get a different philosophy somewhere in the public at large.

Mr. Godfrey: I think some of them do, yes.

Senator Carter: As an administrator of welfare at, say, the municipal level, or regional level, you must of necessity conform to the provincial and federal laws?

Mr. Godfrey: That is right.

Senator Carter: How much freedom do you have, or how much freedom does the municipality have, to embody its own philosophy in whatever bylaws it makes?

Mr. Godfrey: It is related to the formula of subsidy sharing. Under the Canada Assistance Act the Government of Canada told the provinces, "If you do this, this and this we will share 50 per cent of the cost". The Province of Ontario has said that meeting the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter and certain other things is a mandatory right of a person in need. I cannot turn down a person merely because I do not like the look of him. His needs must be met, and there is an 80 per cent subsidy of that by the province. On the other hand, people have needs other than clothing and shelter, and here I am referring to things like drugs, medications, eye glasses, and dentures. In the legislation in this province these are referred to as special assistance which may be provided at the option of the municipality.

Senator Carter: Does the provincial law define "need"? You see, the Canada Assistance Act is somewhere in between these two philosophies. There is a limit to what the country can afford, but there is still a prob-

lem to be met. As I understand the Canada Assistance Plan, there is no restriction written into it saying just what a need is, but somebody defines that somewhere and interprets it in a certain way.

Mr. Godfrey: That is right. The definition of "need" is a provincial responsibility, and there may be ten definitions of "need", and probably are, across this country. In Ontario it has been defined in a particular way to exclude those people who are "in regular employment".

To get back to your question I would say that there is nothing in the legislation that we administer that says that a municipality may not assist an employed person with a family in respect of drugs, dressings, and prosthetic appliances, or may not give more than the prescribed rate. What the legislation says is that if a municipality does that it has to bear 100 per cent of the extra cost. There is no encouragement or incentive for the municipality to meet these extra costs because they will not be shared, although under the Canada Assistance Act they could be if the province elected to extend the definition.

Senator Carier: In other words, it creates a discrimination within the provincial borders between the rich municipality and the poor municipality.

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, it does.

The Chairman: Let us take Ottawa as an example. Can you give us some idea of how much is spent there?

Mr. Godfrey: I can give you some figures on that. Last year we spent a total of \$9,292,000.

The Chairman: That is, the municipality spent that amount?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, the municipality, as an agent of the provincial Government.

The Chairman: How much of that was refundable?

Mr. Godfrey: Of that amount the province will reimburse about \$6,600,000.

The Chairman: And the \$3 million-odd was the amount you spent on your...

Mr. Godfrey: That is the municipal proportion, and that includes the amounts in which the province does not share at all.

The Chairman: How much is that?

Mr. Godfrey: I do not know exactly how much of that \$2,600,000 it was.

The Chairman: What we are trying to find out is the amount that a municipality spends and which is not refundable.

Mr. Godfrey: Well, it works out in the neighbourhood of 35 per cent of the total expenditure.

The Chairman: And your total expenditure was \$3 million-odd.

Mr. Godfrey: No, it was over \$9 million, and we should receive back about \$6,600,000.

The Chairman: You spent \$9 million and got back \$6 million?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes.

The Chairman: So you had an expenditure of \$3 million?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, almost \$3 million.

The Chairman: And you say that 30 per cent of that was not refundable?

Mr. Godfrey: No, what I said was that on a percentage basis it works out in different years from 30 per cent to 35 per cent.

The Chairman: 30 per cent to 35 per cent is not refundable?

Mr. Godfrey: That is right.

Senator Cook: In other words, none of the \$3 million was refundable?

Mr. Godfrey: That is right.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I do not criticize your brief because it contains a lot of good material, but I would like to have something more specific on the question of poverty. Does your committee actually visit the poor?

Mr. Godfrey: I have 54 workers whose job it is to visit the poor—that is, the poor who are defined by legislation. There are hundreds of people in this city who are not visited by us, and who do not come within the legislation because they are working. We do not necessarily visit them. They may come to us and say: "I have a need." The others who by definition come within our legislative responsibility and are visited.

Senator Pearson: Why cannot you visit these other people?

Mr. Godfrey: Because we have no statutory responsibility for them, and we do not have the staff. There is no obligation laid upon me in my terms of reference to visit all the people in the grey area.

The Chairman: I am sure that the people they do visit would wish they would visit someone else.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): When you make your visits do you try to find out why they are poor?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, I think we do.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): What do you find?

Mr. Godfrey: We find that in some cases they cannot get a job because of a low standard of education, or because they have no marketable skills. Sometimes the problems are very deep rooted and go back to an early childhood experience, and that kind of thing.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Is it your experience that today's cost of living has an effect upon the number of poor people?

Mr. Godfrey: I am sure it does, senator. The purchasing power of the dollar today is not what it was two or three years ago. The rates of assistance have not gone up in that time, but the cost of living has, particularly rents. I sent in a supplementary statistic to how the relationship between what people on assistance get as an allowance for rent and the money that they pay. These variations show that as much as 50 per cent of their total allowance goes out in rent. If they are paying their rent then where are they getting the money from? They are taking it from the money that they should be using for feeding and clothing themselves. If they want to keep a roof over their heads they have to take that money from somewhere else, or be evicted.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I have another question that I was not going to ask, but I think I will put it to you. Did you ascertain in your surveys how many family allowance cheques were cashed at the beauty parlours by recipients of welfare?

Mr. Godfrey: No, we do not do that.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): You are not interested in that?

Mr. Godfrey: I would not say that we are not interested, but I do not think it is our responsibility to make that kind of inquiry. The family allowance is given to the mother. It is federal assistance, and it is in the mother's discretion how she spends that money. It should be spent, presumably, on the children. It is not our responsibility to determine whether the money went to a beauty parlour.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I think there is something wrong with the system. This money is given for the children.

Mr. Godfrey: Are you suggesting that mothers should not go to beauty parlours?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): No, I am not saying that at all. I like to see the women looking sharp. The point is that that money is given to help buy milk for the children, and it is not being used for that purpose.

Mr. Godfrey: I think children have an entitlement to a basic standard of living regardless of whether the Government gives them \$6 or \$8 extra every month. That is a plus. It was designed to be an extra, but many children are not even getting enough to begin with.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I would like to compliment Mr. Godfrey upon the preparation of this brief. I have read it with great interest, sympathy and understanding. If I might make a personal reference, I should like to say that I was the chairman of a welfare committee in a small city in my own province, and I know the many problems that are faced. We did not have anything like 54 workers, but we had some workers. We found many of the things you are telling us about and I sincerely hope that perhaps through the efforts of this committee many of these things may be changed. At least we are bringing them out in public.

Mr. Godfrey: They are getting into the open.

Senator Fergusson: That perhaps is the best thing we can do. I would like to ask you about what you say regarding the law relating to support of dependent mothers, that it is inadequate and impossible of enforcement. Have you any figure for the number of cases where court orders have been made, that the people against whom the order has been made have lived up to these things?

Mr. Godfrey: No, senator, we do not have those statistics at all.

Senator Fergusson: I do not mean statistics, but would you think half of them, or quarter of them do?

Mr. Godfrey: Many of them do not come to our notice at all. There are many arrangements that are made prior to court hearings, or between the client and the court and which we never hear about; but I would be inclined to think it is probably a higher percentage—if you want me to make a guess, I will say 20 per cent.

The Chairman: Who live up to them?

Mr. Godfrey: Who do not live up—25 per cent. Perhaps more. I am speaking entirely in the dark.

The Chairman: You are not far out.

Mr. Godfrey: If there is a place one could get statistics—it is possibly the family courts.

Senator Fergusson: That would mean that you would have to go to all the courts in Canada.

Mr. Godfrey: I do not think there has been any national compilation of statistics of this kind, and it is a fact that we should have.

Senator Fergusson: Have you any idea how this could be handled better, so that perhaps the mother who has been deserted could get an allowance and then have the province collect the money to reimburse themselves?

Mr. Godfrey: I think I understand the point you are making, and the point is this, that the court may make an order regarding the disposition of the case. Then the court says in effect, "we have done our job". But the mother is waiting for the cheque that never comes. Sometimes she has to turn to us; but when the order is made we have to take into account the amount of the order and reduce the allowance which she would otherwise get, so she gets that much less from us—and she may never get the cheque from the husband or through the court.

Senator Fergusson: Could you not collect the amount from the husband and seek him out. Then she would have a regular allowance.

Mr. Godfrey: At the moment we have to make the deduction. We do not have legislative authority to chase after errant husbands, nor do we have staff to do it. The thing is a

vicious circle. The court says "our job is done when we pass the order, we do not have the staff to chase after husbands." The policy says "it is not our job, because he has gone to Quebec or somewhere else". This is why I say it is bad law, in the sense that it cannot be enforced.

It may be an improvement if mothers were entitled to get the full assistance that they need for that size family from an agency like ourselves, or the provinces, and then the court followed up its own orders. This would mean added machinery for the court, but I have assumed that it is the court's functions to enforce its own orders.

The Chairman: If she never gets the money how do you justify refusing this mother who needs money for herself and family and is entitled to get it?

Mr. Godfrey: You cannot refuse her.

The Chairman: But you must be helpful in those circumstances.

Mr. Godfrey: We do, in most cases.

The Chairman: I cannot see how you cannot do it in all cases. We have faced this problem for years and years, as Senator Fergusson and I know.

Senator Fergusson: You were speaking about an applicant having to go to four different places, it may be, or three, for different aid. With our present constitution, how could we see that this could be changed so that perhaps the applicant would have to go to one office and secure help. Is there any way it could be done?

Mr. Godfrey: I am inclined to think the day is coming when there will be a change. Then this responsibility may become provincial although there may be regional provincial offices to administer it. I am not sure that the current arrangement, of having municipal services and provincial services, is the most efficient one. I am not convinced of that. I think there is need for local offices of some kind. There is at least one province which administers its social welfare program on a provincial basis, through regional offices.

The Chairman: Which province is that?

Mr. Godfrey: It is Newfoundland. Here in Ottawa-Carleton we have a situation where there is a level of government that is not responsible directly for many things to the senior level of government, yet is trying to

carry out some programs of the senior government, and is bound by the legislation of the senior government.

Senator Fergusson: I was interested in your saying that you think people would rather work than be on welfare.

Mr. Godfrey: What I said, senator, was that most people would. I believe that.

Senator Fergusson: That is your actual experience, in fact?

Mr. Godfrey: That is my belief, from meeting people.

Senator Fergusson: It must be a great incentive to go on welfare if you have a case such as you mention where a person is employed but does not have enough money for doctor's attention to a child who has a high temperature; and yet if he were unemployed and were on welfare, he might have this service.

Mr. Godfrey: He could have that. This is an anomaly of the situation and an inequity of it.

Senator Fergusson: It is most unfair.

The Chairman: While on that point, Senator Fergusson, statistics indicate that there are 30,000 persons employed in Ontario who could do better on welfare than they can on the present wages they are receiving. How do you explain that? What explanation do you have for that?

Mr. Godfrey: These people believe that they should work, because work is a good thing, and they get satisfaction out of it; they also believe they have a responsibility to society.

Senator Fergusson: We all support Mr. Godfrey's belief.

Senator McGrand: Before asking Mr. Godfrey a question, I would like to ask the chairman a question, you say there are 30,000 in Ontario who could do better on relief than by working. In what part of Ontario?

The Chairman: They are working people, 30,000 people employed who could do better on welfare than on the wages they are drawing now.

Senator McGrand: They would be in a large city?

The Chairman: I do not know exactly where they are.

Senator McGrand: I would now ask a question which I have asked at different times. In your long experience in poverty here in Ottawa you must be very familiar with the nativity of these people who are poor. You have the transient who comes in for a year or two and then moves to another place. Then you have the native born. Where does most of the poverty come from? Does it come from the first—are they first generation people in Ottawa, or second generation, or are they people who move in from outside the city of Ottawa, from Ontario and Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces?

Mr. Godfrey: There has been a great deal of movement into Ottawa. Most cities attract people from the urban areas. The small farming developments in this general area are gradually proving uneconomic and therefore there has been nothing to hold the people to the farms. They have tended to move where the facilities, the bright lights and the attractions are.

Senator McGrand: What percentage of the poor of Ottawa, and I am speaking of the people who feel the pinch of poverty, would have been born in Ottawa, and what percentage would have moved into Ottawa from outside?

Mr. Godfrey: I cannot even give you the percentage of the poor, because I don't know how many poor there are outside the legislative definition. You understand—the people in this gray area of poverty.

Senator McGrand: You say they are viewed with mistrust and despised and rejected.

Mr. Godfrey: I say they feel they are.

Senator McGrand: You say they feel they are. They feel it, but is it actually so? This is philosophical, but I should like to discuss it, because at no time in our history has there been anything to equal the present build-up of an affluent middle-class society. The middle-class are more affluent than ever before in the history of Canada. Is this growing affluent society a reflection against the poor or not, because as a rule there is a sympathy for the poor?

The Chairman: Let us get the answer to that.

Senator McGrand: It is a very important question.

Mr. Godfrey: I suppose there is always sympathy for the poor. We see this manifested in the response to the united appeals, but I can say to you with assurance that from my own experience and from what people have said to me, and from what you can read in the newspapers and hear from the friends and business acquaintances you meet, you do hear disparaging remarks about the poor who choose to live on welfare and who are described in all sorts of disparaging terms. We have seen lots of evidence of that in the newspapers. I certainly have had people say it to me.

Senator McGrand: Do you think that this approach to the poor on the part of the affluent is becoming more pronounced than it was a few years ago?

Mr. Godfrey: I don't know whether it is more pronounced or not. I just run into a lot of it.

Senator Pearson: Mr. Godfrey, a great many, if not all, of the cities have what we call slum areas or run-down areas. In your opinion, would it be better to remodel these houses and bring them more or less up-to-date rather than to tear them down and build big housing schemes? People struggle all their lives to have a home and when they have finally got it paid for along comes a big housing scheme which forces them out of their homes: "We are going to put up a big complex in this area; we will get you a place somewhere else."

Mr. Godfrey: Senator, I am not an authority on planning or housing development, but I do believe that many houses have been needlessly destroyed that could have been renovated and up-dated and used, because they represent social capital that has not been completely used up, and I think we could have done more of that in our society than we have. I think we could have done more of that in Ottawa.

Senator Pearson: I believe so, myself. In your brief, Mr. Godfrey, you mentioned guaranteed income for those who are employed but who are living below what is considered they should obtain for their families. Apparently the amount of guaranteed income would vary according to the number of members in the particular family. For example, a man who has been employed most of his life but earns only \$3,000 might be subsidized by the Government to the extent of

\$2,000, giving him a total salary of \$5,000 per year. Do you think there would be a tendency for employers to keep wages down in order to benefit from such subsidization by the federal or provincial governments?

Mr. Godfrey: The fear of subsidized wages goes back almost 200 years, sir; it is not a new phenomenon. However, I suppose the wages can be controlled; minimum wage law can be passed and enforced so that people are paid for what they are competent to do.

I do not think it is an argument to say the fear of depressed wages should prevent us from assisting people who need to be assisted. It may be necessary to strengthen the minimum wage laws and to enforce them more than they are at present.

Senator Pearson: I think it is true that we need more enforcement of minimum wages.

Mr. Godfrey: Indeed, minimum wages may be too low. On the other hand, people may say that, if you raise the minimum wage, you will drive the investment capital out of the given province.

Senator Pearson: It does not have to be raised very high to start with. There can be a gradual rise in it.

Senator Inman: Mr. Godfrey, has your group found much apathy among welfare people? Is there much ambition among welfare recipients to better themselves socially and in respect of their housing? It is possible for a person to do a great deal to create a better atmosphere even in poor housing.

Of the various people I had occasion to meet on our travels to various cities, one woman left me with a strong impression. What she told me bears directly on social ambition. This woman, who, incidentally, had young children got together a group of women who were on welfare and started a system of education among them which gave them a great interest in self-improvement and helped them in their social outlook. Is that typical, or do you find much apathy and lack of ambition?

Mr. Godfrey: I have my ideas on that subject, too, but may I, for a change of pace and a change of voice, ask one of my colleagues Miss Jean Grant, if she would care to answer that question? Miss Grant has had considerable experience with the poor, and she probably has views that you would wish to hear.

Miss Jean Grant, M.S.W., Social Welfare Department, Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton: You are bound to run into some apathy in families who have experienced long periods of limited income. It is perhaps possible that even before they came on assistance they had reached a point of apathy and that attitude would be reinforced by the strictures under which they have to live.

Other people may have some ambition when they first come to welfare and they may view welfare as a temporary measure, but when they are on welfare over a period of time they gradually lose any incentives they may have had. Examples that come to mind are, for instance, the separated mother, who may have had some job skills, but—being out of the labour market and being at home, where the conditions are such that she cannot stimulate her children or see a way out of the situation—will gradually run down-hill in her mental attitudes. And this can certainly happen to a male family-head who is on assistance for a long time, because, of the kind of work that is available, he is unable to find any that is suitable for the kind of skills he has or the opportunities he needs.

Even a very short period of unemployment may begin to have a serious debilitating effect on the male head of the family. I do not say that is a general pattern. The evidence we are seeing in the community today of the activity among people who are in a state of poverty to involve themselves in bettering their condition and in talking about it is indicative that this is not a general characteristic, but it is certainly true that people can become apathetic as a result of this experience.

Senator Inman: Miss Grant, is there any system whereby you can give direction to the incentives and ambitions these people have? I was on a mothers' allowance commission for seven years, and it was our experience that money was very often unjudiciously used by the recipients of the allowance.

Miss Grant: I think this is a very important responsibility of the social welfare group to help in the planning of financial assistance expenditures. One of the first things we should be doing is helping them to make the best use of the resources available, and we have tried to do that in our own community through a special program of putting teaching homemakers into the homes of the more disorganized families, not, of course, to take the

place of the mother, but to teach the mother how to make the best use of the resources.

Senator Cook: Let me at the outset congratulate Mr. Godfrey and his colleagues on the excellent brief they have presented. However, there is one thing that disturbs me; I think, you said, Mr. Godfrey that there were 600 thousand mentally defective or retarded people in Canada.

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, I read that somewhere.

The Chairman: Well, there must be some mistake somewhere.

Senator Cook: I find it rather surprising. However, to come to a more general question; you say you have 52 workers.

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, 52 or 54 field workers. They are people who make home visits.

Senator Cook: Then you said that there is too much investigating and too many people all asking your clients the same questions over and over again. What do you consider to be the best method of handling this situation? What do you consider to be the best alternative?

Mr. Godfrey: Well, senator, if you assume the basic premise that everybody has a right under the law to a certain minimum standard of living, then I think it would be possible for us to devise a system under which a guaranteed annual income would be paid while at the same time people would be allowed to earn within their capacity whatever is needed to meet their other needs. This would eliminate this detective type work or this investigatory work that we have to do which is time-consuming and which is, I suggest, humiliating by the very fact of its repetition.

Senator Cook: That would mean changing the whole basis.

Mr. Godfrey: Quite so. This would imply constitutional change and a shift of responsibility.

Senator Cook: Do your workers in addition to investigating offer help, counsel and guidance?

Mr. Godfrey: Within the limits imposed upon them by the very large case-loads, they try to do so.

Senator Cook: So that you need now more trained and dedicated workers?

Mr. Godfrey: And more time. If the mechanical processes were simplified, it would free the workers to do the kind of things we suggest should be done and which they cannot do adequately at the present time and will not be able to do unless the case-loads are reduced very substantially.

Senator Cook: What place do the private agencies have in this field? What gaps do they fill?

Mr. Godfrey: Well, senator, there are different private agencies carrying out different functions. For example you have the Children's Aid Society.

Senator Cook: Yes, I understand, but in total what is the amount of their work in this field?

Mr. Godfrey: The private agencies extend their services to people other than those who by definition are in need under the terms of our legislation. There are many people who get such assistance. For example, the Visiting Homemakers services are provided for people who may not be in receipt of public assistance of any kind but who may be on a marginal income of 6 or 7 thousand dollars a year. In cases where financial assistance is required, they may come to us for assistance or they may pay it out of voluntary funds. But here again we are talking about this unknown population and we do not know how many hundreds of thousands of these people there are.

The Chairman: Developing that point further, Mr. Godfrey, and lest there should be any misunderstanding, the Canada Assistance Act recognizes the rights of persons to assistance in certain circumstances. That is the law of the land. Is there some suggestion that there is any question about that?

Mr. Godfrey: The Canada Assistance Act lays down a financial formula under which it will assist the provinces to help people, but it is within the right of the province to determine who is a person in need and who is not.

The Chairman: There again we are not talking about the same thing. I am saying that the Canada Assistance Act, as a matter of law, says that a man has the right to have his need met. Is that your understanding of the Canada Assistance Act?

Mr. Godfrey: I do not know that the Canada Assistance Act says that it is a right,

but what it does say is that it recognizes that the provision of adequate assistance and services is desirable in order to prevent or to eliminate poverty or to reduce its effects. However, the Government of Canada cannot tell the provinces what they must do.

The Chairman: What I am saying and what I want to make clear has nothing to do with financial provisions as between the provinces and the federal Government. What I am saying is simply this; that under the provisions of the Canada Assistance Act a person in Canada has a right to have his need met where a need exists.

Mr. Godfrey: A person in Canada has a right to some basic needs such as foods, clothing and shelter under the Canada Assistance Act.

The Chairman: But surely it goes far beyond that.

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, but the rest is at the discretion of the provinces.

The Chairman: The Canada Assistance Act also says the federal Government will pay 50 per cent of the cost to the province of looking after these needs.

Mr. Godfrey: But if the province does not elect to do that...

The Chairman: Let us discuss what they are doing. I know what the provinces are doing and what they are not doing. Every senator knows it and we know that the poorer provinces cannot meet the needs as Ontario does or as Alberta does. But the point I am making is that there is provision for meeting those needs and as far as the federal Government is concerned it is an open-end contract.

Mr. Godfrey: It is.

The Chairman: And some provinces meet the need and some do not.

Mr. Godfrey: That is right.

The Chairman: And you have today indicated to us where Ontario fails to meet the need, is that correct?

Mr. Godfrey: That is correct.

The Chairman: And for that we are very grateful. Much of this we know already, but you have said certain things here that we don't know. You have been for twenty years

n welfare departments at various levels and you said at one point that you had some doubt in your mind as to whether senators were close enough to the scene of poverty. As a matter of record I would like you to know that twenty years before 1949 I was running a welfare department in the City of Windsor. Those were rough days.

Mr. Godfrey: I said some politicians.

The Chairman: Well, we are politicians too. However, be that as it may, you have been in this field for twenty years and have a good reputation in the business. Now, forgetting welfare for a moment, tell us what we can do to help eliminate poverty.

Mr. Godfrey: In Canada?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Godfrey: That is a pretty tall question.

The Chairman: Well, that is the question we are faced with and we have to turn to people like you, and others, to give us your views.

Mr. Godfrey: I do not know all the problems of depressed areas, regional poverty, but I can only speak from a very limited experience. Poverty is certainly related to more than supplying money to meet the daily needs of people. If you want to use the phrase "the attack on poverty," I do not think you can dissociate the questions of education, housing and recreation. I think these are all components in the total attack you are going to mount on the conditions of people.

The Chairman: Let me give you an idea of what we are thinking, and see how far afield we are. Perhaps the chairman is expressing his own view, but we think the basic need is money, and after that, education, training, jobs and services. We think that is the best avenue for an attack on poverty. Now you tell us what you think.

Mr. Godfrey: If we are going to remain a prime-oriented society I think one of the prime objectives is to make available jobs for people. The problem is that many people cannot do the jobs that are available, and there are fewer and fewer jobs that many people can fill because of technological changes and so on. I think that is one of the priorities, the question of the development of the economy. But what is the purpose of the development of the economy? Is it to promote national growth as an end in itself, or is it

for the well-being of the people? So you have to take into consideration these other factors.

Another area we have to have great concern about is the environment in which children are growing up. Frankly, I am a little pessimistic about the future for many adults. Someone asked if we are in the second or third generation of poverty. If we are not very careful, we will be in the fourth generation of poverty before very long, and it is the children's conditioning we have to get at.

The Chairman: We talk about the fourth generation of poverty. Certainly, we have not come anywhere near a solution with our welfare system.

Mr. Godfrey: No.

The Chairman: So here you are, as one of the experts on welfare, and you agree with us the welfare system does not work. What will work?

Mr. Godfrey: The welfare system has been developed as a patchwork; we have approached problems categorically.

The Chairman: I was there when it started on. It will not and it has not worked. What can we put in its place? What would you do with the disadvantaged—the blind, the crippled, the maimed—who are out of the labour force?

Mr. Godfrey: You have to provide them with an annual income upon which to live, some source of money that is theirs by right, in law, and which will give them a decent standard of living. You must provide that; there is no argument about that.

The Chairman: There is no disagreement between the committee and you. I think we agree on that. What would you do for a woman who is the head of a family, a single, separated or divorced head of family with children? How would you handle that situation?

Mr. Godfrey: Whether we like it or not, I think the fact is that women are in the labour market and they are there to stay. More and more women are going to work because they want to or because they have to, whether we agree or disagree, whether we like it or dislike it. Many women have to work in order to support themselves, and if they have to work or want to work we should facilitate them so that they can work and so that their children can be adequately looked after while they are

working. This brings us into the whole area of day-care services. Here is a tremendous need that has only within recent years been properly recognized, and it has to be opened up as the right of every child.

The Chairman: The woman who has to or wants to work and can work and has a job, that is one thing, but what about the woman who cannot or is not able to work?

Mr. Godfrey: She has to be given a form of assistance.

The Chairman: What about the children? How do you keep the children in school? How do you keep them clothed? How do you keep them contented? How do you keep them living compared with other children? And do not forget that she is a poor woman.

Mr. Godfrey: You must ensure that the allowance the woman gets for herself and her children is adequate to meet their needs and is not going to compel her to live at a standard of living that does not allow these children these rights and privileges. The allowance must be made adequate, and I do not think it is adequate in many cases.

The Chairman: You certainly do not think the family allowance is, do you?

Mr. Godfrey: That was not designed as the main support, but as a supplementation. I do not think it has necessarily met its objective, but I think basically women with children have to get a higher allowance.

The Chairman: I think you had some questions, Senator Fournier?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I think my questions have pretty well been answered during the last 15 minutes' discussion. However, there is one point we have not touched on, and that is this question of landlords. We have been given a number of pictures, possibly for emotional purposes more than anything else, though I agree the pictures are real and represent conditions in some places. I do not criticize the pictures. In talking to landlords, why is it some landlords will leave a house or place where human beings live in that state which is shown in the pictures? Do they give any reasons for it? Who do they blame?

Mr. Godfrey: Many landlords blame tenants for the abuse of housing and the damage they do to property. I suppose some landlords do not want to spend the money to improve it.

They know they can get fairly high rents from people. No one else wants this kind of property. It is the poor who are compelled to take this kind of accommodation because they have no other choice; their choice is limited.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): To follow Senator Pearson's questions, in some areas they demolish homes that are quite good and build modern living quarters. How many people who have been displaced, do you believe, can afford to go back into these modern buildings? Very few, I imagine, or none at all.

Mr. Godfrey: I really do not know.

Senator Carter: Eventually these are turned into ghettos. You have a slum area and poor people living in it who are isolated from the ordinary people, which is bad in itself.

Mr. Godfrey: You are talking about housing developments?

Senator Carter: Yes.

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, that is right.

Senator Carter: How can you overcome that, as long as housing is included as part of their needs, included in the rates of income you are going to give them, not as part of their needs, unless that is separated out as a basic need, not only for shelter but to keep them from becoming ghettos?

Mr. Godfrey: I think one of the things we can do is to bring services to these people in the way that Mrs. Kelly, one of my colleagues, is trying to do, by having group meetings with mothers and by helping them with family life, education, and helping them to discuss their problems and to plan their lives, and by helping them to plan their housekeeping. I think we have to support them. It is not good putting some people in a brand new place unless we give them other support.

Senator Carter: How can they get better accommodation unless the payment is taken out of their hands completely and is provided for separately from their other needs? You can talk to them and appoint advisory committees, but they are in these houses because they cannot afford anything better.

The Chairman: I thought the point Mr. Godfrey made earlier was not being followed. He said in substance why not let the poor live their own lives instead of telling them how to

ive and what to do. You mentioned that but you did not follow it. Did you in effect say that?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, I said that I felt we all assume that we have the right of choice of the way we are going to live, but when it comes to the poor we seem to want to surround them with restrictions. Of course, there is a conflict in that. Society and landlords become weary of tenants who abuse property. I agree with Miss Grant that it is not enough to pay out money. We have therefore to provide some kind of support to help them to use that money and accommodation properly. This is an obligation.

The Chairman: Now that we have opened that subject, my experience from sitting where I am and for many years, and which has been reinforced since the hearings commenced, is that the women who make representations to this committee are the poorest shoppers and budgeteers with whom I have ever come into contact. They have so very little money that they make it go further than is necessary for anyone else. What is the experience; what do you teach these people?

Mr. Godfrey: Some of them are not like that.

The Chairman: Not everybody, of course not, but in the main we have had a cross-section of Canada come before us. We realize that 2 per cent or 5 per cent are not like that. What can you teach the rest of these people about how to shop and budget on the money that they have?

Mr. Godfrey: Perhaps there is nothing you can teach them on spending.

Miss Grant: They may spend the money well, but they are not spending it in the best interests of nutrition.

The Chairman: Miss Grant, we are now back again where we were. I like fried potatoes. Do you think it is your business to tell me that I should have oatmeal?

Miss Grant: I do if you have young children.

The Chairman: We are not talking about children, but the freedom of the individual who is poor and thinks as much of his children as you and I do and tries to do the best he can. What have you to say about the right of poor people to live their own lives?

Senator Fergusson: They have the right to know what is the best thing for them. This is the role that Miss Grant plays.

Miss Grant: We make the information available.

The Chairman: I agree with that, but not with telling them how to live.

Mr. Godfrey: It is a matter of advice. We cannot say you must eat potatoes.

Senator Cook: It is no good going to a lawyer for advice and not taking it. What is the good of going to a social welfare agency for advice and not taking it? I do not see your point.

The Chairman: My point is that if we provide for these people we ought to allow them to carry on in their own way.

Senator Fergusson: But you must give them education so that they know how to carry on.

Mr. Godfrey: Some start out on married life with very little training from their parents. They are handicapped from the beginning and what we are suggesting is that in these situations we should make information and skills available to them so that they may better manage their resources.

Mrs. K Shimizu, B.S.W., the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton: Many of these people have so little resource that there is no element of choice in their lives. More must be provided in order that they can maintain a decent standard of living and have some room for choice as to what they can do with their lives. This does not interest many of our families.

Senator Carter: Are the welfare recipients in Ottawa organized in any way in their own little groups? Do they have advisory groups of their own that you can consult or who can speak on their behalf?

Mr. Godfrey: There are some developing organizations.

Senator Carter: How long have they been doing that?

Mr. Godfrey: Probably a year. It is a relatively new phenomenon, but I think we shall see more of it.

Senator Carter: Has anything beneficial resulted from these organizations which is of assistance to you?

Mr. Godfrey: I think that in time they will make their needs felt more directly than they have in the past. They will make representations to administrators and say this is not good enough. They will also communicate with their members of Parliament and the news media, saying they want social change. The poor have historically been inarticulate. There are no unions of the poor in the sense of labour unions. They have no one to go to bat for them and make sure that there is a 5, 18 or 22 per cent increase in the assistance rates to compensate them for increased living costs.

Senator Carter: How can these people become a pressure group in their circumstances?

Mr. Godfrey: We and voluntary agencies can help them to be organized and this is being done.

The Chairman: There is provision for appeal. Is this operating in Ottawa?

Mr. Godfrey: Appeal is not what Senator Carter is referring to.

The Chairman: Appeal is pressure.

Mr. Godfrey: It is not organization.

The Chairman: There is provision for appeal by an individual in the Canada Assistance Act. Is there an Appeal Board in Ottawa?

Mr. Godfrey: The Appeal Board is not located in Ottawa but has its base in Toronto with responsibility for the Ottawa area. Individuals who wish to make an appeal are helped to do so and must be heard by the board.

The Chairman: In Toronto?

Mr. Godfrey: No, it does in fact sit here, but the chairman is based in Toronto.

The Chairman: What are the mechanics of the procedure?

Mr. Godfrey: For example, if an applicant comes to my department and we tell him we are sorry, he is not eligible, we inform him that he has the right of appeal. He then writes to Toronto and says, "This welfare department only did so and so for me. I do not think I was treated properly and I appeal." They will hear him here.

The Chairman: He appears at that time?

Mr. Godfrey: That is correct.

The Chairman: Will they always hear it, or do they pass judgment as to whether there is substance to his appeal?

Mr. Godfrey: We have not had too much experience with it ourselves. A very large majority of the appeals that have taken place in this area have, I understand, been against their own provincial decisions. Mind you, we have tried to facilitate the appeals within the department, because a worker can say to his supervisor, "Look, I don't think this is right" and it can go up the line. But if we feel throughout the department that the decision made is right in law—I am not talking about in equity or humanity, but in law—then we can say, "We cannot go beyond the law, but you have a right to appeal that." The appeal board will test our interpretation of the law.

Senator Carter: If somebody wants welfare, he comes to you, tells his story and, I presume, gets something. Assuming you are convinced he needs some help and you give him some, do you then send out a case worker to look into it more fully?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, by law we are required to make a home visit.

Senator Carter: Then back will come a report?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, sir.

Senator Carter: How do you ensure uniformity of reporting? One person may go out and bring back a report, while another person may go to the same place and bring back a different report.

Mr. Godfrey: This is one of the things that happens if you get different people investigating the same sort of situation. Miss Grant reminds me that the mechanics of the thing are laid down in a provincial application form so that there are certain questions that must be asked, certain criteria that must be established mechanically.

Senator Carter: As a preliminary?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes.

Senator Carter: You can give the person some financial assistance?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes.

Senator Carter: Before his case investigated?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, as an emergency.

Senator Carter: This is what you call an emergency?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, we do that.

Senator Carter: Then the case worker goes out?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes.

Senator Carter: He will bring in a full report and the person may get extra assistance as a result?

Mr. Godfrey: It may continue or terminate. It is an aid, a device, to ensure the uniformity that I think you are concerned about, within our own department we have an in-service training program and process so that those who go out have the same point of view, they look for the same thing, they do the same things in the same way.

Senator Carter: I can understand a case worker going to a recipient on a morning when everything has gone wrong and she is in a bad frame of mind, so that the case worker comes back with a biased or bad report because the person was caught off base at that particular time, whereas on another occasion everything may be sweetness and light and a better report comes back.

Mr. Godfrey: There is a difference between reporting back and making a subjective assessment of the circumstances.

Senator Carter: Who does the objective assessment? Is that done by an independent person?

Mr. Godfrey: The worker makes an objective kind of report; he gets the facts; but he also gives his opinion on what he believes are the family circumstances, the capacity of the person for employment or otherwise, and this fills out the picture.

Senator Carter: On page 10 of your brief I see the figure of 10,000 for November, 1969. Does that figure vary much from one month to another?

Mr. Godfrey: There is a seasonal trend. It tends to go up in the winter. It will probably be higher in January and February.

Senator Carter: I am referring to the figure at the bottom of page 10.

Mr. Godfrey: This is the total of persons who were on something called general welfare assistance, or related to it.

Senator Carter: Would that be very close to the average? The winter has not really started in November.

Mr. Godfrey: Could I remind you that this was the first year of our experience in the regional municipality. We do not have statistics for the region so we have no basis for comparison.

The Chairman: Is there much difference between the region and the municipality? Are the problems different or alike? Do they vary?

Mr. Godfrey: There are some differences, yes.

The Chairman: In what respect?

Mr. Godfrey: Housing probably. I think there are some rural differences.

The Chairman: In the province?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes. I did not think to mention it, but I am reminded that when we were reorganized regionally we had to have the level of assistance brought up to the level prescribed by legislation. This minimal level had not been in effect throughout the regional area.

The Chairman: That is the rural portion?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes.

The Chairman: When you were in Ottawa you were up to the level?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes.

The Chairman: To get back to a person who appeals against a provincial...

Mr. Godfrey: Or municipal.

The Chairman: Well, the municipal you can handle, you say, at that level.

Mr. Godfrey: He has a right to go to the province against my decision.

The Chairman: He appeals and the province can say whether he proceeds or does not proceed with the appeal, whether they will accept it?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes.

The Chairman: So what the province does at that stage is sit in judgment on the ruling without having heard him at all?

Mr. Godfrey: Well, I do not know whether they do that.

Miss Grant: He has a hearing.

The Chairman: That is what I mean. Does he get an automatic hearing?

Miss Grant: Yes.

The Chairman: That is the point I was making.

Miss Grant: They hear every case on appeal.

The Chairman: So he does get an automatic hearing?

Miss Grant: Yes.

The Chairman: When he makes an appeal?

Mr. Godfrey: That is right.

The Chairman: Whatever the decision is, that is another matter.

Mr. Godfrey: That is another matter.

Senator Carter: Is there much of a time lapse? How long does all this take? The board has to travel around Ontario you say.

Mr. Godfrey: I do not know. There are three regional boards. We have not had too much experience ourselves. It may take about a month I suppose.

Miss Grant: About a month, yes.

Mr. Godfrey: We have known cases take a month.

Senator Carter: That is not too bad.

Senator Pearson: I have in my hand an application form No. 2. It seems to be a very formidable application form.

Mr. Godfrey: Indeed it is.

Senator Pearson: It is, yes. Is this a preliminary report?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes. It is an essential report that must be completed in the home by the worker.

Senator Pearson: Does it not get the applicant's back up a bit because of all the questions you ask him?

Mr. Godfrey: I think it does irritate people. I think if you asked individual workers they would tell you that it gets many people's backs up. I think it would get my back up.

Senator Pearson: Would it not hurt the people you are supposed to be benefiting, coming in with this thing?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, it is regarded as a nuisance.

The Chairman: Is this laid down by the province?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, it is a provincial form. Most provinces have a form of some kind.

Miss Grant: There are repetitive questions in different forms as well as on that form; the same questions come up again and again.

Mr. Godfrey: It is the cumulative effect.

Senator Pearson: Outside the relief you give as an emergency, as you call it, if they come and just want to start getting help—not an emergency but help—do they have to go through all this procedure? If so, do you not think they would back off and forget about it?

Mr. Godfrey: Some have said, "If I have to go through all that, to hell with it".

Senator Fergusson: Then how would they live if they have nothing?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Would they say, "To hell with it" or "To hell with you"?

Mr. Godfrey: Perhaps both. Both I would say. It is almost a discouragement to go through it.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Yes, it is.

The Chairman: Well, it is intended to be, is it not?

Mr. Godfrey: Mr. Chairman, it is all right for you to say that, but not for me.

The Chairman: I know it. When we talk about meeting needs, how short are we of meeting needs at the present time in your view and the view of the department?

Mr. Godfrey: There is a page at the back of the brief which I think will give you some indication. One of our staff made an analysis

of the purchasing power of the food dollar in 1966. This is Appendix B. Our home economist took a so-called typical family of four children plus a husband and wife, and determined what, in her professional opinion, was needed to feed that family for a month. In 1966 it would have cost \$132 to buy the items that are listed here, and it can be seen that there are no frills. These are basic necessities. In 1969 it takes \$157 to buy that same amount of food, so there is approximately a 19 per cent loss in purchasing power.

If you turn over the page you will see a graph that shows that with a given amount of money you could buy 22 quarts of milk in 1966, but only 18 quarts today, and similarly down the line. This attempts to show pictorially the loss of purchasing power during a period when there has been no offsetting increase in the rates.

Senator Carter: When were these rates set? How far back do your current rates go?

Mr. Godfrey: Our rates were set on April 1, 1967. They have not been changed since April 1, 1967, and that is nearly four years ago.

The Chairman: Are not these rates reviewed annually?

Mr. Godfrey: No, sir.

The Chairman: That is, by the provincial department?

Mr. Godfrey: They may be reviewed internally, but they are not promulgated into legislative regulation. We do not pay higher rates today, on January 27, 1970, than were authorized on April 1, 1967. The salaries of civil servants—people like myself—firemen, policemen, and of labour generally have been reviewed annually or bi-annually and increased. The rates for the poor have not gone up.

Senator Cook: Is that a general statement?

The Chairman: It is general for Ontario. Are you asking whether that is true across the country?

Senator Cook: Yes.

The Chairman: Yes, I think that is true. I am not too clear about some of the others, but what Mr. Godfrey says is true of Ontario.

What strikes me is this: How does a city as rich and powerful as Ottawa get into such a

situation? Why does it not provide money from its own funds to assist these people?

Senator Cook: You said that the City of Ottawa spent something in excess of \$3 million. What proportion is that of the total budget of Ottawa?

Mr. Godfrey: I am talking of the regional government now. I do not know the Ottawa budget.

The Chairman: In Ottawa that is not significant. Of course, Ottawa is afraid to do anything because it would be setting an example. That is what is bothering them, but they are rich and powerful enough to do it.

Mr. Godfrey: You can see our dilemma. You say that the rates have not been increased since 1967, and yet we know that the cost of living has gone up since then, and here are these poor people trying to live on rates set in 1967, which were low at that time. How do we as human beings countenance that?

Mr. Godfrey: This is a fundamental question, and it is a question we shall have to consider. We must ask ourselves whether we are satisfied with this state of affairs.

The Chairman: We are not, but how do we correct it? I would like to hear you, as a person in charge of public welfare, say: "I have protested to the mayor and to the city welfare department. We have sent protests on to the provincial Government and to the federal Government saying that these rates are inadequate in the light of today's prices." That is missing somehow.

Mr. Godfrey: I think it is a fact that protests have been made.

The Chairman: The poor are powerless in many ways, and to a great extent you represent them, because there is no one else who is representing them at the moment. They rely upon you not only to give them what is legally set down, but to talk for them. Somebody has got to talk for them. If no one talks for them then they will do what was done in Alberta. Somebody has got to talk for these people.

Mr. Godfrey: I can say that the regional municipality has lodged formally with the province resolutions to permit the subsidization of a low income for people, and the cost sharing of that. I can say that. I can say that

it is in part a result of representations made by my department. We have made other representations, of course, from time to time.

The Chairman: Is there any municipality in the Province of Ontario that grants higher rates than your municipality?

Mr. Godfrey: I doubt it. We do, as you know, assist beyond the rates in any case, but the extent to which we can so assist is arbitrarily limited by our budget—the plus factor that I am given to administer. If it is that big, then I can do a certain amount. If it is twice as big then I can do twice as much. But, if it is a non-shared feature then there is a tendency on the part of the municipality to say: "We have got to put the money somewhere else."

Senator Cook: Of course, Ottawa does spend money on housing.

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, it makes a contribution to housing.

The Chairman: This is under the National Housing Act?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, housing schemes.

The Chairman: Yes, they pay whatever is their share. They make their contribution.

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, and Ottawa makes substantial contributions to day care programs. It has to bear a 20 per cent proportion. It also makes a contribution to the visiting homemaker services, and the V.O.N.

Senator Cook: In your brief you talk about direct relief.

Mr. Godfrey: I was emphasizing the fact that there are contributions to day care services and homemaker services. I can give you some figures if you are interested on the gross expenditure and the municipal expenditure. For example, Ottawa will contribute in 1969 almost \$57,000 out of \$285,000 for day care services, and \$58,000 out of \$102,000 for homemaker services. There are other features of the municipal contribution.

The Chairman: You cover that pretty well in the brief.

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, I thought I did.

Senator Carter: I should like to refer you to the bottom of page 13, where you say:

The financial aid that must be granted by a municipality as general assistance

under the Act may not be less than rates and amounts set out in Regulation. I presume that is the regulation of the province?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes, under the General Welfare Assistance Act.

Senator Carter: We now get back to the Canada Assistance Act, which was to do away with the means test.

Mr. Godfrey: That is right.

Senator Carter: The aid was to be based on need rather than on means?

Mr. Godfrey: Yes as I have understood it.

Senator Carter: By setting forth rates in regulation are they not introducing a means test in a different form?

Mr. Godfrey: Well, they certainly have not eliminated the means test.

Senator Carter: The means test has not been eliminated?

Mr. Godfrey: It has been described as a needs test approach, whatever that means. I am not sure.

Senator Carter: A means-needs test approach?

Mr. Godfrey: A needs test approach, that is the phrase that was used, but in reality the means test has not been eliminated.

Senator Carter: So the real intention because of the Canada Assistance Act, has never been really carried out?

Mr. Godfrey: That is correct.

Senator Carter: I have been finding this is quite a problem and I would like to ask you if it is being carried out in any province in Canada. Certainly in my own province it is not—and not in Ontario, even.

Mr. Godfrey: Because they fear the open-endedness of it, possibly.

Senator Carter: The benefit of the legislation has never been conferred on the people.

Mr. Godfrey: I do not think the Canada Assistance Act has been exploited in the way that it was intended to be exploited. When say exploited, I mean...

The Chairman: Used.

Mr. Godfrey: I used the term exploited—to be used, if you wish to use that word—in the sense that it was intended in spirit. If you look at the preamble to the Canada Assistance Act, it talks about the necessity to prevent things from happening, to remove the causes of poverty, to prevent such circumstances.

Senator Carter: I was in the House when this legislation was passed and I remember many study groups and other groups dealing with it, and the emphasis was that this plan was to treat people as human beings. That was the point, they could not get treated as human beings as long as there was a means test, because when the means test applied it did not take account of different circumstances. But the Canada Assistance plan was intended to provide different things for different families. Even a person with an old age pension, if he had needs over and above that, the Canada Assistance plan was to help him. But the whole purpose of the thing has been thwarted by the provincial interpretation of the Act. So we have the provincial governments interpreting the Act to set their own legislation, in their own contracts and in their definitions; and their definition of it is the one that governs you in your assistance to the people who want help.

The Chairman: There is a real problem there. What you said is absolutely so, but there is a real problem, so perhaps you can help us. We are faced with it. The problem is, where do we draw the line. That is what the middle class is faced with. Where do we draw the line between the man who works and who has four children and the man with four children working on minimum wages with almost the same amount of income coming into the household? What is the attitude of the province and government that has a responsibility, the immediate responsibility in that case?

Mr. Godfrey: The answers are hard to come by. I suppose it is a question of priorities, for one thing. Governments say they have only so much money to spend and they have other things to do. The taxpayers want other needs met and the social needs of people very often are not at the top of the totem pole. They are very often low down.

Furthermore, we will have to recognize this question—what is work? We have to ask ourselves the question, what do we mean by work? I say I work, though the heaviest thing

I may lift in the course of the day may be a pencil or pen, but I think I am working; and if time means anything, then I think I work. Some of my friends, have very profitable agencies for milk, beer, liquor, and they say they work hard, and some of them earn by the sweat of their brow.

But is it not a fact that more and more we are going to find that there are going to be less and less jobs for people without highly sophisticated skills. What are we going to do with them?

The Chairman: Do you think for a moment that the work ethic which is very deeply embedded in the minds of the Canadian people, and is likely to be forgotten before our generation is passed?

Mr. Godfrey: Not very soon.

The Chairman: Then we have to live with it.

Mr. Godfrey: We have to live with it.

The Chairman: We have had a very fruitful morning, Mr. Godfrey. On behalf of the committee, I want to thank you and your staff who are named in the brief for the very good brief they have put together. It is a "gutsy" sort of brief, you say a lot of things that need saying. This will help us in some way when we reach some of the other places in Ontario, to face up some of the welfare departments.

I had a report of a welfare department in a city of 200,000 a little while ago, that there was not one social worker on the staff. I said, "check that, that cannot be right." It was checked, it is right.

For that reason, we much appreciate this and we thank you for taking the trouble to present the brief, we thank you for preparing it and you for coming here to present it.

Mr. Godfrey: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, I want to express our appreciation—my own personal appreciation and that of my colleagues, on having been given the chance to come here. I can only regret we did not have a little more time to put these points in a little better fashion. The brief shows that it has been a rather hurried job. We do thank you for hearing us and giving us the opportunity to be here.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Honourable senators, the second delegation this morning is from the Social Planning

Council of Ottawa and District, headed by Mr. William M. Zimmerman, Assistant Director. He has been with the Social Planning Council for five and a half years, during which time his major concerns have been the Ottawa Senior Citizens Council, the Mayor's Committee on Youth, and dental services for people on low incomes.

Mr. Zimmerman is accompanied by Miss Imelda Chénard, Assistant Director of the Council, who is a graduate social worker from Laval. She also has been with the Social Planning Council for five and a half years. Her major concerns have been day care for children, the Needs and Resources Study, and community consultation.

The Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District provides field work training for Algonquin College's Department of Social Service; the McGill School of Social Work, and the University of Ottawa Centre of Criminology. Mr. Zimmerman will introduce the brief and then we will turn to questions.

Mr. W. M. Zimmerman, Assistant Director, Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District: Thank you, sir. Our brief is brief. We focused on just a couple of things—the experience we gained from being a co-sponsor of Action '70, which we think was a reasonably successful community forum, and a concrete suggestion we have for the administration of public welfare and the involvement of the community in the administration of public welfare.

That is what our brief is all about.

Senator Pearson: What do you mean by Action '70?

Mr. Zimmerman: It was a community forum which was put on on January 17. It took a lot of planning by a lot of people. We co-sponsored it with the Secretary of State department, Citizenship Branch, and the Provincial Secretary's Citizenship Branch. The province put in most of the money and the idea was to bring together a large number of people for the purpose of looking at community problems, one of which definitely was welfare and poverty, and it was the best attended workshop.

The format was a fairly interesting one and, for Ottawa, fairly novel. It was relatively unstructured, at least the morning part of it was. We had a chairman and an interpreter for each workshop and we had recorders. We did not have panels of experts sitting at the

front, discussing among themselves before the floor was open.

People "got in there", at least in most of the workshops, and banged out the questions they wanted to put to their elected representatives in the afternoon. The questions dealt with shortcomings in legislation on a variety of things, like day care, welfare and poverty.

The morning workshops were fruitful, at least from what we have heard. I was only at one of them. They produced a lot of participation. People were not squelched, irrespective of their economic background or status in the community.

The afternoon session was more frustrating, for all the right reasons. We had expected too much. We had expected that by banging out questions in the morning, for about the three hours that it took, that a lot of personal frustration would be gotten rid of and people could work collectively to put questions to their elected representatives. Incidentally, we had simultaneous translation there, which was unheard of before for local conferences. Not all the questions that were to be asked actually got put; nor did we get all of the questions we put answered. That in itself was frustrating.

I think we learned, among other things, that there are a lot of problems in any community, and the old people realized that the young have problems; and I hope the young realized that the old people have problems; the poor realized that the immigrants have problems and the immigrants realized that the poor have problems.

Yes, a lot of good has come out of Action '70, particularly in the field of welfare and poverty.

The over-all co-ordinator for the poverty workshop was Father Serre. He did a brilliant job, thanks to the co-operation he received from the welfare department. He got a lot of welfare recipients there. I don't know whether he got enough in relation to the total population or enough in relation to all the other people at action '70. It is pretty difficult to measure that sort of thing statistically. But he did bring in 65 registrations in one fell swoop. I know that. He sent out special invitations in the cheques that were sent to welfare recipients. That was a unique way of doing it and it worked and brought in a lot of response.

Recently, Father Serre called a meeting of the Neighbourhood Improvement Committee

at which I was present, and it is evident that Action '70 did accomplish a lot of good.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Were all the provinces represented?

Mr. Zimmerman: No. It was purely a local conference, and the only representatives we invited were those sitting locally at the four levels of government, including the school boards. Now, as I say, last week Father Serre, as an aftermath to Action '70, called another meeting of the welfare recipients, and they are going to organize their own welfare conference. They have learned, as we all have, how to get a place and get it cheaply and so on. I think they are going to have their conference on March 7, as a direct aftermath of the enthusiasm that was felt in Action '70 and because of the questions that were left unanswered.

We are sorry to say that because we got pretty heavily involved in Action '70 we were less involved than we should have been in preparing this brief which we are submitting to you. Action '70 caught us right in the middle. As a matter of fact, although we got 50 people there by the previous Friday,—and we cut off advertising nine days before—we were over-registered to the extent of 250 or 300 people. We do not know whether they were rich or poor. But we had to tell them that they could not come because we did not have any space for them. That is the kind of pressure we were under.

I would like to make a couple of brief remarks about the stance the Social Planning Council is taking on certain issues that you are interested in. The first is the question of subsidizing income by welfare. I do not know if we have an official stance on this matter, but I have certainly sent a letter to a welfare applicant with copies to the department and this had found acceptance in the community. We have suggested that unless one family has been subsidized—and this was our test case—we were going to support the man to quit his job. Now a year or two years ago this would have been considered heresy—that we should actually have the audacity to encourage people to quit work. We did not consider this course of action because welfare was overgenerous, but because this man's employer was, perhaps undergenerous, and the man had too many children to support. He has ten children.

The Chairman: And you advised him to quit his job?

Mr. Zimmerman: I said we said we would support him if he did and they refused to subsidize him.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): What kind of support? Financial support?

Mr. Zimmerman: We would give him moral support. We considered that as taxpayers it was the least we could do since we would expect that if positions were reversed we would have this support. However, this came to nothing because he lost his job anyway and our test case went down the drain. But our principle remains the same.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Did you help him get a job?

Mr. Zimmerman: No, because he is physically ill and he cannot work. However, the welfare department did help him. In fact they would have saved quite a bit of money for many years if they had subsidized his income and he would have left better about it too.

The Chairman: Did the welfare department here refuse to supplement his income?

Mr. Zimmerman: Yes, but I think they are now considering this question of subsidy.

Senator McGrand: Did that come under the province or under the city?

The Chairman: It must have been the city because in Pembroke they subsidized employees of the Canadian Government who for some reason drew a very short pay. The welfare department there gave them additional money. We have had that evidence before the committee. It is not, of course, a general thing. This was a local decision. We are not here resolving the question of whether it was right or wrong.

Mr. Zimmerman: It happens to be the law in Ontario that a person in need is a person who is not working regularly. That is the law and I do not agree with it. We also do not agree with a number of the other laws in Ontario and we have made this quite clear. This is particularly the case where we feel there is a breach of the principles of the Canada Assistance Plan in relation to Services such as dental services and drugs. In our opinion the situation in Ontario is an ugly one. Services reach people much too slowly and involve quite fantastic battles at times.

The provincial legislation has not done a good enough job in implementing the principles of the Canada Assistance Plan and we think dental services represent a classic example of this.

We get a number of ladies phoning us, toothless women, some of them young women, many of them with a number of children and they have had their teeth removed at public expense by the Ontario Government and then they have to apply to the municipality to have dentures put in. This is not only a silly situation from the medical point of view, but these people have to prove themselves and their need to yet another level of government. This takes time. Then have to go out and get estimates. Then at last if there is enough money made available by regional government, they will have their dental services provided, but this then becomes the responsibility of the regional government.

These women are on mothers' allowances and there is a presumption of comprehensiveness in mothers' allowances. It is assumed that this is a program designed to keep families together and to enhance family life. In some cases it does, but in cases such as I have mentioned, it does not. These women have to wait too long for the service and then they have to beg for it. In our view the province should provide it and not leave it to the municipality. Not only do they leave the aspect of it to the municipality, but they leave it to the municipality pay. Then because the municipality gets back 50 per cent from the federal Government if follows that the federal Government is paying 50 per cent of the cost, the municipality is paying 50 per cent and the province does not pay a nickel. Following our last annual meeting, we sent a brief to regional government complaining about the situation because we felt that in keeping with the spirit of the Canada Assistance Plan the province should be its job, but until it adhered to the spirit of the plan, the municipality should continue to do what it could for purely humanitarian reasons.

Senator Pearson: Are you suggesting that all these services should be under one head or one area control, either the province or municipality or what?

Mr. Zimmerman: I have not given that point much thought, but now that you put it to me, if it were controlled by the province there would have to be a lot more local

involvement. The provincial welfare department has so many provincial services, and we must keep in mind that they are 270 miles away. There is a remoteness involved. Admittedly there is a regional office here but it takes its direction not from the local citizenry but from the bureaucracy at Queens Park. It is not, I should say, a malevolent bureaucracy, but it is nevertheless a remote one.

Senator Pearson: You say the agency should be under the jurisdiction of the municipality?

Mr. Zimmerman: It would be better if at least some of them were. The money should come from the most senior levels of government. To this extent the Canada Assistance Plan makes sense but the direction and administration should be local even if paid for by the province and all the service should have a local flavour, including the voice of the recipient. From your discussion with Mr. Godfrey this morning I could see you were concerned about subsidies and concerned about the implementation of the Canada Assistance Plan and these are the concerns of the Social Planning Council.

The Chairman: Any questions?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): This morning we have heard a lot of argument about what I might label at this moment poorly drafted legislation.

Mr. Zimmerman: I know of at least one piece of it, sir.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): We have run into that question this morning. There was a true example of ill drafted legislation. How is it that we have this? Who drafts these bills? Is it the politicians? I suppose that every department has its wisest men and knowledgeable people, and we find we are bogged down with numbers of pieces of legislation. One does not meet the other and make the wheels go round; one runs in one direction and the other in the opposite direction. This is a great mess.

Mr. Zimmerman: The Canada Assistance Plan is a good piece of legislation. It has just been thwarted at the provincial level, we think. I do not know who wrote the different pieces of legislation. I think that would make some very good research.

The Chairman: We passed the Canada Assistance Act—all of us did—I think

one of the most enlightened acts on the statute books of Canada. The talk is that it has been misinterpreted by the provinces. We will have the provinces before us in the month of May and we will see what they have to say about misinterpreting it. It is awfully hard to have some of those poor provinces try to meet the standard of the rich ones and to convince them they are wrong in not trying to do it.

Senator Fergusson: But Ontario is not one of the poor provinces.

The Chairman: No, it is the poor I am thinking of. Ontario is not doing the best in Canada; I think Alberta is doing better at this time.

Go ahead. You were talking about the legislation.

Mr. Zimmerman: The special assistance regulations in Ontario are simply not good enough and put too much of a burden on the municipality and they are kind of clumsy and hard to get at. We have cited the example of others' allowance recipients.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Do you think it is being used as a check-passing affair?

Mr. Zimmerman: I do not know the motives. I just know what has happened.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): It would appear to be, as far as I am concerned.

Mr. Zimmerman: It means our work is constantly cut out for us because we act as a buffer. We act sometimes as representatives of the poor in helping them fight this battle. Now we are changing our tactics: whereas before we did too much for, now we are doing a lot with. For example, now when we make such an application on the part of somebody we send a copy to that person's member of the provincial parliament. We do this for two reasons: the first is to show that their constituent has been denied a service; and the second is to highlight the shortcomings in the legislation. We are getting positive feedback from the M.P.P.'s who say, "Thank you for doing it." The constituents have been denied a service and we send them a copy of the whole shooting match, and we are asking them to join with us in petitioning the provincial house to put a stop to this kind of thing, in other words, to build into the legis-

lation. We want to be part of it, but we want them to help us draft the letter and to sign it, and they have all said: Yes. Ten years ago they might not have.

The Chairman: You talked about Action 170 and indicated many lessons came out of it with respect to welfare and poverty. What were some of them?

Mr. Zimmerman: The appeal procedure is really much too weak. It is not well enough known to the community, and the appeal procedure is something that confronts deflated and unhappy people at a very bad time and creates a great deal of bitterness. So, it seems to me the community has been oblivious, maybe wilfully, to the appeal procedure. They now want the appeal procedures known to every welfare recipient at the time they apply, clearly spelled out in both languages in eastern Ontario.

The Chairman: I understood them to say there was a little notice in each booklet indicating, "You have the right to appeal."

Mr. Zimmerman: They say this to you, but have a look at a copy of that. It is not as clear as it should be.

Senator Cook: Do you have any idea how many appeals have been successful?

Mr. Zimmerman: I cannot answer that; I do not know.

The Chairman: I know the figure because it was told to me privately, and I will tell you later.

Senator Carter: I understand this is an interim brief and you are hoping to come back again some time.

Mr. Zimmerman: Yes, we would like to submit a paper, if we may.

The Chairman: Certainly.

Senator Carter: In your brief you say that you have suggested that a citizens' advisory board be established with strong representation from the poor. Did that suggestion come out of Action '70?

Mr. Zimmerman: No, it predated it.

Senator Carter: What effect did Action '70 have on it?

Mr. Zimmerman: None at all.

Senator Carter: This is your line of thinking?

Mr. Zimmerman: Yes.

Senator Carter: You call Action '70 a beneficial experience. I would have attended myself but it was just impossible. However, I read all the press reports, and the general tenor of the press reports was that it was more or less an exercise in futility. Did the press not make a fair comment?

Mr. Zimmerman: Yes and no. You did not read *Le Droit* where Action '70 was covered on pages 1, 4 and 5 very positively. I think this showed a total absence of unrealistic expectation and hence a total absence of cynicism. *The Citizen* put Action '70 on the women's page. A lot of good things should be there, but not a total community forum. *The Journal* was sort of in the middle. CBOFT and the private French language station CJRC gave it everything. We wondered why there was such a difference in the reaction from the English- and French-speaking media. Maybe it was because of the unusual involvement of the French-speaking community in a community conference; I do not know.

Senator Carter: The criticism that came through to me, on reading the press reports, was that the welfare people were there, as were the parents and everyone whose interest was involved. They wanted answers and they did not have a panel of experts but politicians—mayors, municipal councillors and provincial members. You even had Mr. Godfrey. According to the press reports, they did not get satisfactory answers. Is that true?

Mr. Zimmerman: It is true. It is a community problem and it is a fault because there were a lot of people at that conference and we hoped to do a number of things. We hoped to get two legislative points to come out of each workshop. We did not think ahead of time that the politicians would be ill prepared to answer the questions. When we heard how difficult some of the questions were, some of us could not fault the politicians. But as a question that came from the group was answered, then a personal question came up and that took time. You could feel the personal anguish. A lady broke down and cried because she had been denied provincial assistance on an appeal. Another man talked at considerable length on his difficulties after

having come out of mental hospital. We could not suppress that sort of thing. A politician cannot answer that kind of question. There was a great deal of frustration because we tried to involve a great number of people probably too many. We made mistakes, but you ask the people on the planning committee and the co-ordinators, who are not a solid middle-class group—we tried to have a real balance—they thought it was a good effort. Watch what action comes out of it. See if we are not going to have a citizens' advisory body and see if welfare recipients do not have their own conference. If they do not then it was a flop.

Senator Carter: Did this regional advisory board come up for discussion?

Mr. Zimmerman: No.

Senator Carter: There was no reaction to this at all?

Mr. Zimmerman: No, we did not raise it.

Senator Carter: Is the Regional Advisory Board just for the city?

Mr. Zimmerman: No, it is for the region of Ottawa-Carleton.

Senator Carter: You are advocating that?

Mr. Zimmerman: It could work.

Senator Carter: Is this advisory board to be elected?

Mr. Zimmerman: No.

Senator Carter: How are you going to arrange it?

Mr. Zimmerman: The welfare recipient would be elected. The other members would be representatives from council organization so that there would be a massive accountability and feedback. All of the organization would have to be constitutionally set up so that their members are elected at open annual meetings.

Senator Carter: Do you mean the representatives?

Mr. Zimmerman: Yes, we hope so.

Senator Carter: Who will this advisory board advise?

Mr. Zimmerman: The department, the Government and the community.

Senator Carter: The welfare department?

Mr. Zimmerman: Yes.

Senator Carter: The provincial Government?

Mr. Zimmerman: And the local, regional government.

Senator Cook: I assume it will act as a forum?

Mr. Zimmerman: It will be more active than a forum. Ultimately it will also be a decision-making body.

Senator Cook: But it will also act as a forum?

Mr. Zimmerman: That is right. Many public spirited and idealistic people who are not poor need information about this.

Senator Carter: We heard this morning of laws that cannot be enforced. We saw application forms which were insults and buried into the private lives of applicants. I consider this to be a reflection of the attitude of the public at large. If that were not their attitude it would not be in those application forms nor in the laws.

Senator Pearson: The public does not have anything to do with the questions and answers contained in the forms.

Senator Carter: The politicians who frame them are influenced by what they interpret, rightly or wrongly, to be the public attitude.

Mr. Zimmerman: We have seen the attitude of a bureaucrat in this city and found it to be very positive most of the time. Mr. Godfrey is in the middle; he is accused of not breaking or bending the law, or of being too generous. That is the official complaint. We have had to go to battle with people on city council to prove he has not been too generous, but has simply interpreted the law fairly. When we ask him for assistance such as the use of his mailing list to invite people to Action '70, he agrees to this.

Senator Carter: In order to have an enlightened approach we must have an enlightened public.

Mr. Zimmerman: That is it, sir.

Senator Carter: What will the Regional Advisory Board do to this end?

Mr. Zimmerman: It will represent the deprived and concerned people and together they will do something about it.

Senator Carter: We have to bring about a change of attitude.

Mr. Zimmerman: The alternative is a kind of class warfare, which is silly and harmful. It should not be the poor against the field.

Senator Carter: You referred to appeal procedures, silly laws, and so on. Have you had any experience as to how the Disabled Persons Act is administered?

Mr. Zimmerman: I know in a limited way of some of their difficulties. Those people are denied access to some of the benefits of the Canada Assistance Plan.

Senator Carter: It boils down to the opinion of a medical board, who may or may not ever see the person.

Mr. Zimmerman: I do not know anything about that.

Senator Carter: What is your opinion as to where private welfare agencies fit into the picture at the present time and where they should fit in?

Mr. Zimmerman: It is better not to refer to them as private welfare agencies, because they do not intend and are not intended to be that. They are private social agencies of a specific kind. The representation in a family agency may be poor, middle or upper class; they deal with people with emotional problems. They were never set up to provide for rent, shelter, and so on. If they once were, it has been changed so that the public welfare agencies take over. The Association for the Retarded is a voluntary agency with a good deal of public money. They bring together the parents of retarded children as well as people concerned with the problem in a way no other organization could equal. The Elizabeth Fry and John Howard Societies are better challengers...

Senator Carter: I was not referring to these as welfare agencies.

Mr. Zimmerman: Really, there are very few private welfare agencies.

Senator Carter: Does the United Appeal not distribute money to people?

Mr. Zimmerman: They distribute money to agencies to give human, not financial services.

The Union Mission receives about \$5,000 from the United Appeal and the Salvation Army assists financially on a voluntary basis. The United Appeal applies about .1 or 1 per cent of its resources in the financial assistance field. Their job is particularly to provide assistance for people with personal problems. The welfare department is expected to do a good job in providing welfare.

Senator Carter: That is financial assistance?

Mr. Zimmerman: Yes.

Senator Carter: Apart from that other financial assistance?

Mr. Zimmerman: Only as an incidental matter. Essentially a person goes to one of those organizations because there is blindness, retardation, deafness or emotional problems in the family.

Senator McGrand: At the beginning of your brief you say that council engages in social research and you mention certain fields. Of course, research depends on the area with which we are involved. Would you explain the problem you have with people on welfare and their capacity to spend the money that is given to them to the best advantage? A lot of them do not have the facilities to carry out a lot of this work but do they, for example, cook and bake their own food, or do they buy it from bakeries? What facilities or desire do they have to make, remodel or patch their own clothing? This is all a question of thrift and a great many people in the affluent society still do this sort of thing.

As time goes on this pressure of poverty will not lessen, I think it will get worse, because it is growing worse. It seems to me that somehow we could provide a community or neighbourhood service that would help these people to make the most of what they have given to them by welfare agencies. Now, you can take as long as you wish on that.

Miss Chénard: Perhaps I could start with the end of your question, is there any neighbourhood service? This is a new development in our area. In Ottawa at the present time there are two neighbourhoods that are fairly well developed, who have developed in the past two or three years, in which the residents have come together, probably with some leadership, and developed the kind of courses about which you are talking. I am thinking about two immediately, but there

are others in the process of development as well. Some of them have leadership from the Department of Social Welfare, from whom you heard, and some have help through the Adult Education Division of the Collegiate Institute Board, so it depends on a number of people, their interest and the resources available.

Senator McGrand: I am thinking, for example, of a woman living on welfare who has three or four children, living in cramped facilities. She sees something advertised in a sale that she needs, but she has to get on a streetcar or take a taxi to go there; she does not have the facilities to go and take advantage of whatever is available while she can get a good buy; perhaps she wants a sewing machine which she can use to make children's clothing. Surely there must be a community service provided to meet that sort of emergency?

Miss Chénard: I think it should be developed more than it is right now.

Senator McGrand: That is what I mean.

Mr. Zimmerman: In my experience, people on low incomes have all the normal human desires. Their ability to be thrifty or creative has to do with how they feel about themselves and how secure they are. It is impossible to expect the poor to be thrifty when being thrifty or creative is really a sign of happiness. Many people on welfare are kept so unhappy that it is impossible to expect them to be creative. One might say that of all people, they are the ones who should be creative within their limited resources, but it is their limited resources that deflate them and get in the way of their being creative.

Senator McGrand: But there are people with the same resources who are getting by and are not too unhappy.

Mr. Zimmerman: I cannot deny that, and many people on welfare are very thrifty.

Senator McGrand: Certainly, a lot of them.

Mr. Zimmerman: They have to be; it is forced on them. It is not so much an internal thing; they would not make it otherwise.

The Chairman: What choice do they have?

Mr. Zimmerman: It is a bad choice; it is not the kind of free choice that most of us have.

Senator McGrand: What I am getting at is this. I do not know on whose shoulders the responsibility should rest, but through an organized society in some form there has to be a direct attack on this very aspect of welfare.

Miss Chénard: Facilities should be made available. However, you can take a horse to the water but you cannot force it to drink, and if they do not have the incentive to go along and use the facilities and learn, they will not do it.

Senator McGrand: Many of these people, now married, were never as children taught to do it in the first place, but they can be taught.

Senator Fergusson: I was very glad to see in your brief that you support the organizations that get help through the United Appeal. We have had some evidence before this committee indicating that too much of the money so collected is used for administration. I am glad that you do not have that idea.

Mr. Zimmerman: Unless you consider a person's salary administration. The United Appeal agencies make no bones about it. They provide the people and they are paid. If some people call that administration, they are being inaccurate and misleading. I would say that the administration is within the very best business concepts, and there is no monkey business.

Senator Fergusson: I quite agree, and I am glad to see that apparently you approve so much of the organizations that are supported by the United Appeal.

Mr. Zimmerman: We are pretty partisan about this. We do not pretend to be objective. They are our colleagues and we respect them, but the facts are there in some cases. Ten or fifteen years ago the right of retarded children to have a public education was relatively unheard of. It was not the taxpayer who changed things and made this happen; it was the Association for the Retarded; improvements in hospitals for the mentally ill have resulted directly from the work of the Canadian Mental Health Association, and so on down the line. The charge that the United Appeal gets in the way of public enterprise might be true in some cases, but in many others it actually stimulates public enterprise.

Senator Fergusson: You feel that they have given leadership in this field that might oth-

erwise have taken a very long time to achieve?

Mr. Zimmerman: A number of the agencies we cite have given leadership; that is indisputable.

Senator Fergusson: In your brief you mentioned having simultaneous translation at a conference, and you mentioned it in speaking to us. I wondered how you could afford it, because I know how expensive it is. I also wondered whether the fact that you had simultaneous translation may have had something to do with the response you got from the French news media.

Mr. Zimmerman: Maybe. That is a good point, I quite agree. How we got it was that the provincial government had a reasonable budget for this conference and when we sat down to talk about publicity, we were going to have something like \$500 for publicity. It may have been Miss Chénard who asked about simultaneous translation and whether this was really an Ottawa community conference. There was a clear-cut issue, either we had simultaneous translation or we got paid publicity. We said we would go out and get our own publicity if they gave us the money for simultaneous translation. Mind you, we then used in our publicity the fact that we had simultaneous translation.

Senator Fergusson: It all worked in together.

Senator Pearson: I talked to a man who worked with prisoners in the maximum security pen at Prince Albert, who told me that old-timers on parole after many years in prison felt completely lost when they got out into the world today. They feel that they have got to get back into the pen because they have become so accustomed to that life. They would rather stay there than move out.

Do you feel that this might happen to poor people today who become used to living in certain circumstances? If they get just enough money to help them get along then they are quite happy where they are, and they would rather stay there than move out into new surroundings?

Mr. Zimmerman: I think that that is a basic question. Does progress stem from anxiety or precariousness, or does it stem from security? I have never seen any evidence in our society that people thrive when they are full of anx-

ity and fear. People do not thrive when they are bullied. The experience has been that if people become "comfortable" on welfare it is because the spunk has been kicked out of them.

Senator McGrand: That would depend upon the age group, would it not? A person in his sixties would be content to be on relief, while a person in his thirties would rather have a chance of making good in the world. Do you not think that is true?

Mr. Zimmerman: I think we find in our society that a great majority of the people want to work and be independent. If they do not it is usually because of some problem over which they have very little control. There was a study done out in Calgary—and I am sorry for not having the figures in my head—that showed that people were on welfare because there was no work for them.

The Chairman: I know that study. It was made by a professor at the university.

Mr. Zimmerman: Perhaps it played into my bias. I know, from a few months' experience in the welfare department in Winnipeg, that people, and even older people, struggle like mad to stay off welfare.

Senator Inman: In the work with retarded people has it been found that many of them are able to at least partly look after themselves, and earn their own living?

Mr. Zimmerman: We find that the workshop in Ottawa for the retarded has produced what a number of years ago would have seemed to be miraculous results. When they become adults many retardates simply cannot make it, but some of them can. I do not know whether those people are presenting a brief, but they have experience in the retraining of adult retardates, and they have helped a number of them to total independence.

Senator Inman: Do they stay on the job?

Mr. Zimmerman: I am sorry for not having the figures as to that, but the people there know those figures. If I wanted to know that figure then I would ask them, and they would tell me very quickly.

The Chairman: With the restlessness that is abroad in this country today, and the direct action that has been taken by some members of society, how can you urge the concept of a

toothless advisory board? Where is its function in today's society?

Mr. Zimmerman: You are calling us toothless?

The Chairman: I have read through this.

Mr. Zimmerman: I do not think it is toothless. I think it has guts.

The Chairman: Read page 4. What can they do? That is what I am looking for.

Mr. Zimmerman: They can put on the heat. After all, this was from our suggestions to the provincial Government. I think we were discreet enough, in trying to get the thing started, not to say: "Watch it, because if you do implement what we are asking for then we are going to sock it to you." If you are asking if we intend this to be toothless, then I will say that we do not.

The Chairman: But every time you go to the Government it is for the purpose of socking it to them.

Mr. Zimmerman: This is not going to cost the Government a nickel. This is going to bring about citizen participation in a manner that has not been seen before. If you ask whether it is going to solve the whole problem of poverty, then I will say it certainly is not, but if you ask whether it is going to provide a humane welfare department then I will answer that it certainly will.

Senator Fergusson: You say it will not cost the Government anything, but somebody has to organize it. Will this all be volunteer work?

Mr. Zimmerman: Yes.

Senator Cook: That is what gives it force.

Senator Fergusson: It needs a secretary.

Mr. Zimmerman: The Welfare Department can provide the secretary. If you want to get some community support for an idea, then get volunteers.

Senator Cook: I agree wholeheartedly with your fourth paragraph. The Company of Young Canadians made no impression on me whatsoever.

Mr. Zimmerman: Our argument there is with their brief of last May.

The Chairman: We listened to them and we listened to you, yet is it not remarkable and

worth nothing that the Métis and the Indians who had a grievance took action in their own hands and succeeded in getting what they wanted and needed. Is not that the truth?

Mr. Zimmerman: It all depends upon the way in which you look at it. There is still a great deal of frustration in the Indian and Métis communities.

The Chairman: I am talking about what happened recently in Labiche when they took over a Government undertaking that had been closed down. The provincial and federal governments sent in their people for the purpose of discussing the matter, and then decided that they could have another \$400,000 to complete the building and to carry on their activities. There is the type of direct action that these boys were talking about.

Mr. Zimmerman: Yes, direct action made necessary by bureaucracy. What we are saying is: Why have a fight if you do not need one? In other words, I do not think there is anything to be proud of when you have to fight to get what you should have without a fight.

Senator Cook: That is like saying: "If you do not like the White Paper on taxation then sit down and do nothing about it."

The Chairman: But those members of the Company of Young Canadians were out there living with the problem, and they knew what they were talking about. They were quite frank, and they gave us the story. This is the first time this has happened in Canada, or all so far as I can remember. But, there was direct action there, and it brought results. No one was hurt, and the community supported that direct action. So, in this day of direct action is it not a little late to be talking about advisory boards, and is it not a little late to be talking about welfare when people no longer believe in welfare?

Mr. Zimmerman: All I can say is that you should go down to the welfare department this afternoon and see if people still believe in welfare. They are still applying for it.

The Chairman: But they have no alternative.

Senator Cook: All of these advisory boards have helped. I am in favour of sitting down and advising. In my opinion, that is the way to achieve progress. This business of direct action does not impress me at all.

Mr. Zimmerman: Surely the sit-down, if it is necessary, too. All we are saying is that if you enjoy sit-downs, there can be sit-downs all over the place, it is going to be a kind of strange society. Why not try to prevent some of them sensibly? Welfare and poverty are everyone's business and we want a piece of your action and may be you are denying it to us.

The Chairman: We are denying you nothing but giving you every opportunity to speak here and make your points. We are trying to encourage people to participate. If you say you lack attention—so do we. If there is anyone who has a complaint it is ourselves and not you, because you have a forum but we have to have results.

Senator Carter: On page 3 of your brief, a little more than halfway down, you say that the Social Planning Council provides a local ombudsmanship for individuals and organizations, to different people. Could you tell us more about that?

Mr. Zimmerman: It is the situation where people call us, either being referred by agencies or coming in some other way, because they are denied a service. Drugs.

Senator Carter: By the government or by some private people?

Mr. Zimmerman: No, no, by the government—particularly in dental service, they cannot get it, so they come to us and we fight with them for them.

Senator Carter: Is it mostly that type of service—dental service and eyeglasses?

Mr. Zimmerman: Yes, it is time consuming and we are trying to get rid of it, by asking for legislation to overcome it, but in the meantime we are doing whatever we can to help them.

Senator Fergusson: You do support them?

Mr. Zimmerman: Absolutely.

The Chairman: Why not have the newspapers support them as they do in the larger places, such as Toronto? Do they not have an answering service? The newspapers have done a tremendous job of ombudsman. There are two very good local papers and room. Tell them about these things, sell them that idea.

Mr. Zimmerman: They come to us when they are in a jam.

The Chairman: Let them get it out of the public. Are there any other questions?

Mr. Zimmerman, and Miss Chénard, thank

you for coming. We realize that to some extent you are handicapped by the short time. We appreciate your coming here. If you have some further submissions we will be delighted to have them. Thank you very much.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY OF
OTTAWA-CARLETON
SOCIAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT
BRIEF TO THE SPECIAL SENATE
COMMITTEE ON POVERTY
1970

PART I—SUMMARY

Conclusions

1. The terms "poverty" and "the poor" are relative terms. Although we can associate with them certain measurable phenomenon such as income, cash values of assets, low temperature in a house, they cannot be definitively defined or measured. Poverty is not imply a matter of income deficiency, consequently no legislative definition will be universally acceptable. Any attempt to express poverty by an income level will not suffice unless there is at least a periodic adjustment of that line in relation to the rising cost of living.

Poverty may be further identified as *crisis poverty*—of the kind where need results from temporary setbacks arising from sudden illness, injury, desertion or unemployment. There is also poverty arising out of *long term dependency* because of prolonged physical or mental illness or disability from birth. A third category may be described as *life-cycle poverty*—the state in which people may find themselves at different stages or at predictable times in life because of changing circumstances: during childhood, as young parents with growing families and limited incomes, and in advanced age and retirement. A fourth category—more abstract—can be identified as *a culture of poverty*. This comes about in the segregation in cities and towns of poor people and affluent people. Concentrations of the poor in particular areas tend to set up situations that re-enforce handicaps and deprivations. It constitutes a "climate of poverty" in which poverty thrives upon itself, perpetuating the chains that enslave successive generations unless they are fortunate enough to break out.

2. Our departmental experience suggests that "cultural deprivation" has a greater impact upon the individual's ability to improve his circumstances and to compete successfully than do inherent differences.

3. Traditionally, society has followed the principle of keeping welfare rates below wage levels lest they lead to depressed wages. With the growth of the labour movement and minimum wage laws, there is denunciation to the system and of the people who accept the more attractive public welfare standard where this exists. What is lost sight of is that low wages and uncertain wages are not likely to induce people to keep working.

4. If poverty, as we believe, results more from institutional and environmental situations than personal shortcomings, then it is our social institutions and environmental conditions that must be changed. By implication, this calls for a change in the philosophy of those who legislate and of those who empower them to legislate.

5. Society's current philosophy appears to span two extremes which stated briefly are:

(A) The well-being of people is the main objective of society and the economy is the means to this end. As a corollary, the economy will flourish if each of us is enabled to develop to the maximum of his capacity.

(B) The limits of social well-being that a society can afford are determined by its structure and productivity. Therefore, the primary objective of society should be the development of a maximum economy which in turn would ensure the maximum well-being of the individual.

We cannot believe that improved social welfare programmes and economic growth are mutually exclusive alternatives. There must be an inter-relatedness of improved material prosperity and improved social development. In establishing a guiding philosophy to enable us to achieve our social goals, we believe that the choice should be that the social good is the objective and economics the means to that end.

6. In Ontario, the nineteenth century concept of "employability" and "unemployability" has been perpetuated through the legislation despite the fact that these terms are out of date and do not adequately describe the many people in modern urban settings who are in need.

7. The current legislative prescriptions and the administrative processes that are required to enforce these tend to be restrictive and degrading. They inhibit rather than encourage independence. They contribute to circumstances which induce people to withhold information because of the pressures of mere survival.

8. The Ontario legislative definition of a person in need cannot, by any social standard, be regarded as acceptable. It excludes many people who are in urgent need of financial and a variety of supporting services. As long as this definition remains on the statute, the wants of needy people are not being met.

9. The current legislative policies of this Province require people on "governmental benefits" to appeal to municipalities for items of special assistance. This has unsatisfactory implications.

- the financial and administrative burden on the municipality is increased
- the dependent person is required to appeal to two different levels of government—a confusing and discouraging procedure for the applicant
- needs are not met promptly, sometimes not at all if the municipal budget is strained
- the administrative processes are made unnecessarily cumbersome and expensive

10. The existing financial assistance and related programmes are "adult oriented". It is the head of the family (father usually) or the mother who is listed for eligibility. Great administrative precautions are taken to ensure that only those adults who are technically eligible receive the designated assistance. Emphasis remains largely upon ensuring that assistance is denied to those not deemed to be eligible. This restrictive approach is reinforced by the application of the provincial-municipal cost sharing formula. The municipality is penalized by a loss of subsidy if it is found that on technical grounds there was less than full eligibility even though by all humane criteria there was acute need. Almost overlooked entirely are the needs of the children and the fact that the true purpose of the legislation should be to prevent a breakdown or deterioration in family circumstances to the extent that the total development of the child is endangered.

11. The obligations in law relating to the support of dependent mothers and children is inadequate and incapable of proper enforcement. Law that cannot or should not be enforced is "bad law". The law and the process fall into disrepute leading in turn to disrespect for law at large—a poor basis on which to develop citizenship in children.

12. The General Welfare Assistance legislation in Ontario is open to criticism because

(a) there is an assumption that a head of a family who is regularly employed is always capable of providing adequately for himself and his family. This is ill founded.

(b) the budgetary allowance under Regulation does not specify the separate amounts for food, clothing, and personal requirements. The basis of this part of the allowance has not been published and thus is not open to analysis.

(c) the establishment of an overall maximum penalizes children in large families.

(d) the allowances do not take into account the special needs of children seasonally or in relation to their social development.

13. General Welfare Assistance in Ontario has been officially described as "short term" and "emergency assistance". The fact is, for many families it has been a long-term form of income maintenance. If it has been designed as "short-term" aid, it is unlikely in practice to be adequate to meet long-term needs of families.

14. The present policy of a 100 per cent deduction of part-time earnings discourages any incentive to work that might exist, and prevents the family from raising its standard of living by its own efforts. Put more simply, poor people need money for self improvement; they need it for the same reasons that other people need money—to provide social capital and to give them leeway to manoeuvre.

15. The extension of social welfare that is accepted as a public responsibility in Canada has to date, been concerned primarily with material needs—income, security, health housing and to a lesser extent, recreation. Increasingly, the need for supportive and preventive services is being recognized. The prime example of this is the provision for cost-sharing under the Canada Assistance

Plan—including family counselling in different aspects. The General Welfare Assistance Act gives financial encouragement to municipalities to develop their own counselling services but does not (or at least the Act has not been administratively interpreted) encourage municipalities to purchase counselling services from established and proven agencies. This is unfortunate. There is much that can be learned from the private agencies, and they possess competence and resources not readily available or likely to be developed rapidly in the public sector. The refusal of the Province (to date) to recognize and make use of this resource is a loss to people. The C.A.P. envisages such an inter-relationship of public and voluntary services and, as has been said, offers financial support that may be claimed at the initiative of the Province and a municipality.

16. The introduction of income-maintenance programs, including public assistance, was designed to provide against loss of income through a variety of circumstances and to provide a floor below which no one would be compelled to live. In practice, public assistance (relief) has become a long-term form of maintenance for many. As administered, it does not provide incentive work for those who are able. If anything, it reinforces dependency because it provides no incentive. Public assistance does not adequately take into account the needs of families. Public assistance does not ensure an adequate standard of health and decency.

17. Access to adequate housing should be as much a matter of right as education or health or public safety and protection. Public action to ensure sufficient and adequate forms of shelter should be considered a normal social service.

18. Much of the social legislation of Ontario is good. Improvements have been made in coverage. Since the enactment of the Canada Assistance Plan, the Provincial subsidies to municipalities have been increased. The several Acts appear to have been conceived and enacted, however, in isolation rather than as a basic network of social services for all who need them in whole or in part. Indeed, in the administration of these different legislative programmes we get the impression that there has been a lack of co-ordination, that people who make decisions affecting policy and delivery of services are not necessary the people who are knowledgeable as to their

social purpose. There is a need to acknowledge that social assistance and support programmes cannot remain static. They must be constantly reviewed and changed and integrated in harmony with the overall philosophy and purpose of the Canada Assistance Plan which is to succor people *likely* to be in need as much as to help people in actual need.

19. *The Cost of Poverty*

The cost of poverty must be measured not solely by expenditures to alleviate poverty or in treatment services. Poverty imposes serious costs and consequences upon the rest of society because of

- the cost of crime
- the spread of disease
- the consequences of poor education and low skills
- low productivity and economic output
- social unrest and increased tensions associated with growing inequalities
- poorly developed sense of social and civic responsibility

20. *Implications of Deficiencies in Programmes*

(a) *For the Poor*

Notwithstanding the provision of financial assistance and services designed to aid the poor the recipients and intended recipients remain unconvinced that they are entitled to them either under law or because they have rights as human beings. On all sides they see and hear evidence of the begrudging and punitive attitudes that society displays towards them. Repeatedly, they experience at first hand the handicaps and consequences of inadequacies of intellect and personality, of physical, emotional and mental ill health. They are all too aware of the social disparities that result from low standards of education and lack of ameliorating influences in their lives. Many have come to feel they are foredoomed to exploitation and deprivation. Many, because they know no other way, or because they have seen ample example around them of personal profit by exploitation, resort, out of the sheer necessity for survival, to subterfuge, and to forms of behaviour that have been used against them in their need. From first hand knowledge we can say that the poor feel they are viewed with mistrust, that they are despised and rejected. From first hand knowledge, we can say many distrust those people and the social institutions whose avowed purpose is to help

them. The principal fault is that they fight to survive in the only way they have learned by experience.

Increasingly, many of the poor are coming to feel that no longer need they accept their misfortunes with passivity. Increasingly, many feel they should have a larger voice in determining what they need and how their needs should be met.

(b) For the Social Worker in a Public Assistance Programme

We preach the doctrine of the dignity of man. We say that not all men are always able, out of their own resources, to support themselves adequately. We say that inherited factors and environmental circumstances beyond the immediate control of the individual rather than moral flaws are the direct cause or contribute to economic and social dependency. Despite these and other "article of faith" young men and women, imbued with a spirit of liberalism who desire to make a personal contribution out of a sense of conviction, are daily confronted with the inadequacies in legislation and of the reality of being compelled to ignore real need, or of meeting it in a manner that enhances neither the beneficiary nor the dispenser.

Because of the pressures of large case loads, of administrative processes that must be followed to satisfy legislative requirements, because of inadequacies of preparation and because of financial and policy limitations, many workers inevitably reach the point where they feel personal concern and effort is without meaning.

Recommendations

1. Canada should have a system of social security and support services that would ensure adequate standards of decency and wellbeing for all citizens wherever they live in this country. This should be a matter of right in law.

2. To this end, the Government of Canada and the Provincial governments should undertake, together, a nation-wide study of the existing network of services. Such study would identify the gaps and inadequacies in existing services, the priorities of needs, and the most appropriate manner for developing and financing programmes to meet economic and other needs on a national basis.

3. It is recognized that while the federal government might logically have to take the major responsibility in setting standards and

financing the development of a universal social security system, the administration of such a system and provision of support services should probably be on the basis of regional organization. There are therefore important constitutional implications to be considered.

4. Concurrently, there should be a review of the scope and effectiveness of services provided through non-government agencies and of the interrelationships of government and non-government bodies.

5. Until the design and administration of a national universal scheme becomes feasible, it is necessary that Provincial governments undertake a systematic review of their existing services to see how these might be improved. More specifically, in Ontario there should be

(a) a revision of the definition of a "person in need" in the General Welfare Assistance Act, to extend aid to those employed but not earning sufficient to meet their needs;

(b) more frequent review and adjustment of assistance rates that would take into account the rise in the cost of living

(c) the provision of drugs and medicines, as described by a physician, as a matter of right and not as municipal options;

(d) similarly, for the provision of dental health care and treatment and prosthetic appliances;

(e) the provision of allowances to meet needs of adults and families other than those enumerated in the Regulations;

(f) the break-down of the allowance for food, clothing and personal requirements (pre-added budget) into component parts to facilitate examination and to relate them to actual need;

(g) the removal of the maximum on the allowance for a family that currently penalizes children in large families;

(h) discontinuation of the current policy of 100 per cent deduction of part time earnings that discourages incentive to work and self-help, and also foster withholding information;

(i) there is an imperative need for employment programmes for the "socially disadvantaged" which are not now provided under Federal manpower pro

grammes and which cannot be properly developed by a municipal welfare department.

PART II—MAIN BRIEF

Introduction

The purpose of this Brief is to provide specific facts, conclusions and recommendations about the poor who come to a particular social welfare department in a municipality that comprises both urban and rural populations.

The brief will describe

- the people whom this municipal welfare department identifies with poverty;
- the nature and extent of the financial assistance and services that may be provided within the framework of specific provincial legislation and municipal policies to meet their needs;
- the limitations of such policies and their implications for people in need;
- the philosophy that animates this Department in trying to carry out its legislative and socially conceived responsibilities;
- the growing sense of frustration of people who feel they have little or no real voice in deciding what will be done to meet their financial and related needs;
- the growing sense of frustration that is experienced by staff in a front line operation who sense their inability to help people adequately despite increasing annual expenditures on social welfare and related programmes designed to deal with problems of poverty and to improve the general wellbeing of people.

Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton

The Ottawa area became the choice of the Province for the introduction of the first regional government in Ontario in 1969. The municipality of Ottawa-Carleton is the fifth largest municipality in Canada. It is a federation of sixteen area municipalities, including Ottawa and covers an area of about 1,100 square miles. The total population is estimated to be in excess of 425,000 persons of whom some 290,000 live in the City of Ottawa. As of 1 January 1969, local government has functioned as a two tier arrangement.

The growth of the regional population during the past decade has, it is understood, surpassed national and provincial rates. One third of the labour force is employed in the government sector although private industry is gradually being attracted to the area. The City of Ottawa provides the main economic support for the region.

Under the legislation establishing the Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, the municipality has sole responsibility, *inter alia*, for the administration of

(a) financial assistance programmes and services provided under the General Welfare Assistance Act (Ontario) for "persons in need"

(b) the Visiting Homemakers and Nurses Services Act (Ontario)

(c) The Day Nurseries Act (Ontario)

(d) Homes for the Aged

(e) Health services under a Regional Board of Health

Welfare services designated under (a), (b) and (c) above are provided through the Municipal Social Welfare Department. Although the Municipality is responsible for the provision of homemaker and nurses services and day nursery services through its Social Welfare Department either directly or by purchase of service from provincially approved organizations, these services may not be provided save at the formal request of the area municipalities. In practice some area municipalities have applied for these services, others have not yet requested them.

Poverty and the Poor in Ottawa-Carleton

The poor who are encountered by a municipal welfare administration may be divided broadly into two categories:

(a) those people who by legislative definition are eligible as persons in economic need and who must therefore be granted financial assistance by a municipality. This category, as will be shown later, may be further broken down into other groups.

As at 30 November 1969, the numbers of adults and children receiving direct financial assistance from the Municipality or maintained wholly or in part by it in special homes and institutions were

—persons in families (adults & children)	7,890
—single persons (men and women)	1,100

—persons in licensed nursing homes	412	
—persons in charitable institutions	148	
—persons receiving supplementary aid	215	
—transients and homeless persons	290	10,055

It should be noted that in addition to the foregoing, the Provincial government and the Federal government pay basic benefits and allowances directly in respect of hundreds of adults and children who qualify under the relevant legislation. We have no information, for example, of the numbers of adults whose main support is old age security or a blind person's allowance, or of the numbers receiving allowances directly from the Province. Similarly we do not know specifically how many dependent children may be in the care of the Childrens' Aid Society.

Nor does the above total include families and individuals requiring assistance with payment in whole or in part for special support services e.g. day nursery care for children, visiting homemakers and nurses services in the home. All these services are provided under other legislation and other criteria.

(b) a much larger, less visible and ineligible group. These are people who are employed at marginal incomes—some, it has been found, earning even less than they would be entitled to receive under financial assistance programmes.

Depending upon one's definition of poverty—whether the use of the term is restricted to those who meet a particular legislative requirement or whether it goes beyond—the numbers of the poor can be enlarged or diminished.

Eligible Poor

The most obvious place to look for the poor is among those for whom specific legislative assistance programmes have been designed or from whom come the majority of those relying on public assistance. In an area such as Ottawa-Carleton, these include

- the unemployed
- the unemployable people with one or more chronic disabilities (physical, mental or emotional difficulties)
- the deserted, separated, divorced or

widowed mothers with dependent children

- people living in urban slum areas
- alcoholics

Typically, most of these people are unskilled people with low formal education, men and women with poor work histories, and generally those whose life has been a succession of early physical and emotional deprivation, limited opportunity, indifferent health and repeated failure and rejection of some kind or another leaving them inadequate in personality and skill to cope with life independently of social assistance.

Ineligible Poor

We cannot, of course, limit our definition of the poor to those who are recipients of direct public financial aid. There are others, more than is realized, who may not be technically eligible because they are employed, who strive against great odds to maintain their independence rather than accept "welfare" because of the stigma that our society has attached to those on public aid.

There are also people—and they must number hundreds or possibly thousands in this area and hundreds of thousands across Canada—who are not eligible for public assistance by the measurement of the legislative yardsticks, whose earnings because of limited access to opportunities and capacity fall far short of their responsibilities and needs—e.g. large families. In some ways one is inclined to believe this is where the harsh reality of the national poverty lies.

"A Person In Need"

At this point it will be useful to examine the Ontario definition of "a person in need" as set out in the Provincial General Welfare Assistance Act, 1967. It is against this arbitrary legislative definition that we shall develop our concerns.

The Provincial definition of a "person in need" as set out in the General Welfare Assistance Act (Ontario) means "a person who by reason of inability to obtain regular employment, loss of the principal family provider, illness, disability or age, is found, in accordance with this Regulation, to be unable to provide adequately for himself, or for himself and his dependants, or any of them because his budgetary requirements as determined hereunder exceed his income as determined under Section 11 (of the Regulations)."

The first fact of note is that this definition is administratively oriented. It does not assess the individual's basic and related needs or his capacity to meet his needs.

This legislation is also "adult" and "employment" oriented. It is concerned primarily with *limiting* the extent of financial aid that may be granted to an adult for himself and family. There is an assumption that the head of the family who is "regularly employed" is able to provide adequately for himself and family. This is patently not the fact in every case. The concern or the provision for the total needs of children is not emphasized although it is there by implication.

There is also the assumption in the legislation that dependent families can set aside enough money each month from their allowance to provide adequate clothing and footwear for children as they require these. Families usually have to make large expenditures seasonally: at the beginning of school; at the onset of winter and for the summer. Most welfare families do not have reserve funds available.

Children of public assistance families are frequently handicapped or debarred from taking part in activities enjoyed by more fortunate peers because of the difficulty or inability to pay dues or provide special clothing, e.g. uniforms for scouts and guides; high school graduation and confirmation sometimes present difficulties because of special clothing needs.

The primary requirement for eligibility for financial assistance in Ontario is unemployment or unemployability. Persons who are in "regular employment", not matter how low their earnings or how great their need and commitments by reasons of size of family etc., are not "persons in need" and are not eligible for assistance under the Act. It should be emphasized that the legislation does not prohibit a municipality from aiding such persons but any such aid granted by a municipality is not shareable by the Province on the 80%-20% formula applicable in Ontario.

The financial aid that must be granted by a municipality as general assistance under the Act may not be less than rates and amounts set out in Regulation. The total financial assistance granted varies according to the number and composition of the family, and the elements of the amount granted are prescribed as

(iii) utilities

(iv) household supplies

The term "*pre-added budget*" is a term defined in the Regulation to cover "food, clothing and personal needs". The Regulation does not break the pre-added budget figure into the respective component allowances and there is no way of knowing what portion is applicable to food or to clothing and personal requirements. The basis of the pre-added budget is not published and thus open to analysis.

The allowance for *shelter* will vary according to whether the accommodation is heated or unheated. A further variable that must be taken into account is an additional rental allowance of \$5.00 monthly in respect of each dependent in the family in excess of one. For example, the basic allowance for a heated house or apartment is \$85.00. If the family consists of father, mother and five children, the shelter allowance would be \$110.00.

Utilities

At the discretion of the municipal Welfare Administrator, an allowance not exceeding \$12.00 monthly may be granted for utilities (telephone, water, tax)

Household Supplies

Similarly an allowance not exceeding \$7.00 monthly may be granted for household supplies (soap, brooms, toilet necessities).

On the attached Schedule A are set out some examples of the amounts that "typical families" would receive. It should be noted, however, that notwithstanding the size of the family the Regulation lays down a maximum. In practice this becomes \$300.00 monthly plus \$10.00 monthly for each dependent in excess of three. A family of ten persons would, therefore, not be eligible for more than \$300.00 plus \$60.00 (100.00×6 dependents over three). The establishment of a maximum penalizes the children in large families.

Where the municipality grants financial assistance to a "person in need" (as defined) at rates laid down in the Regulation, the Province reimburses the municipality 80 per cent of such costs. In turn, the Province recovers from the Federal Government 50 per cent of the cost of financial assistance granted by the Province and the Municipality. The distribution between the three levels of government in the case of general welfare assistance therefore works out at 50 per cent (fed-

(i) pre-added budget

(ii) shelter

eral), 30 per cent (provincial) and 20 per cent (municipal).

A municipality may, and Ottawa-Carleton does, grant additional financial assistance in many cases because of

(a) the size of the family

(b) special needs as a consequence of eviction, moving from one house to another, emergency needs of fuel, clothing and food.

Since such supplementary assistance would be in excess of the Provincial rates, there would be no provincial subsidy. In any year the amount of such additional assistance granted or the number of persons assisted would be determined by the amounts appropriated for that purpose by the municipality.

Similarly, where assistance is granted (because of need) to a person in *regular employment*, there would be no Provincial subsidy of 80 per cent even though under the Canada Assistance Plan the federal government would share at 50 per cent the cost of such assistance granted to such needy person. To date the Province has consistently refused to share the cost of assistance granted in the foregoing situations. Whether this refusal to share the cost in these kinds of situations is dictated by fear of the consequences of embarking upon an open-ended type of programme or whether it reflects the traditional fear that subsidization where there is earned income would lead to depressed wages is uncertain. A further important qualification in determining the amount of assistance to be awarded is that any income (earned or in other form) must be declared and deducted from the full amount payable under Regulation. There are certain exemptions, eg. Family Allowances and prescribed percentages in respect of income from boarders and lodgers.

The Province has permitted exemptions on earnings (calculated on the basis of 120 hours of work in a month) in respect of allowances granted to persons receiving a Family Benefits Allowance directly from the Province. No such exemption, to date, has been permitted in respect of earnings by men on general welfare assistance. There is thus no incentive to work towards financial independence, no recognition that the rates of assistance *per se* may be inadequate for the needs of the man's family. This discrimination against the unemployed man is not easily explained.

As an appendix to this Brief (identified as Appendix A) there are set out a number of examples to show the amounts that have been awarded in actual cases in strict conformity with the Regulation where the applicant is otherwise eligible.

As Appendix B we have included a table that compares the amount of assistance granted for a given family of six persons with the amounts which the Department believes is the minimum required to ensure an adequate diet. Any reduction of this amount or any amount diverted to meet other needs of the family, e.g. excess rent, entertainment, or other social needs reduces the family's standard of diet.

As Appendix C we have included a graph that illustrates the loss of purchasing power of a given amount in 1969 as compared with 1966.

Provision of Adequate Shelter

Probably no single factor has such direct bearing upon the standards of living and expectations of a family as does shelter. Apart from the obvious matter of a roof over the family's head, there are other important implications. Does the shelter have sufficient rooms to provide adequate privacy for parents and children? For appropriate segregation of the children by age and sex? For study for school-age children? For recreational and leisure time use? To ensure standards of health and decency? Is the home suitably located in relation to the family's community needs—school, church, recreation and shopping needs? Does the family get good value for the rental dollar paid?

In Appendix D are set out details taken from some 50 cases in the current case load to show the following facts in relation to shelter...

- size of family
- number of rooms in house
- the rental allowance permitted in the case by Regulation
- actual rent paid by family (verified)
- total welfare assistance granted under Regulation
- whether heat is included in the rental paid
- ratio of rental allowance to rent paid
- ratio of rent paid to total assistance granted

This schedule shows clearly the large gap between the need, in terms of dollars to be

paid out, and the ability of the Department to meet that need under Regulation. But there are other more serious implications.

If the rent is in excess of the allowance, there are three possible consequences...

- (a) eviction if the rent falls into arrears
- (b) to divert some of the money provided under the pre-added budget for food and clothing, etc.
- (c) to seek part time employment and not declare the income

If the family does not pay the rent regularly, it faces eviction, and many are evicted.

The Department is compelled to find alternate accommodation sometimes at increased cost. The family has to undergo the pressures of threatened eviction and the process of disruption that frequently follows.

What value does the family get for the rent paid? It is obvious that many families cannot be providing adequate diet or sufficient clothing for their families. This Brief cannot go into the implications of inadequate food properly but studies exist to illustrate the effects upon the pre-natal and post-natal health of mothers and infants and upon the health and development of older children.

Appendix E illustrates, very superficially, the predicament and the financial and other implications for a deserted mother with five children who is obliged to direct part of her monthly allowance designated for food, clothing, etc. towards a rental deficit.

Included with the Brief also is a set of photographs of accommodation of some families on public assistance.

How does one measure the stress and anguish experienced by a deserted or separated or pregnant mother with dependent children when facing eviction?

Other Needs provided under the General Welfare Assistance Act (Ontario)

Under the General Welfare Assistance Act, a municipality may also provide "Special Assistance" to meet other needs the chief of which are

- drugs and medicines prescribed by a physician
- prosthetic appliances (including dentures and eye glasses)

—dental services

—funerals and burials

It is important to note two things about these features,

(a) the provision of these and other items of "special assistance" as they are designated are at the *option* of a municipality. Such costs are reimbursed at 50 per cent by the Province.

(b) The provision and cost sharing by the Province is restricted to persons "in need" as defined. Therefore, persons who are working are not eligible for these items of special assistance no matter how limited their earnings or great their needs for one or the other of these special items.

In Ontario families on general welfare assistance are entitled to free medical and hospital coverage through the payment of hospital and medical insurance premiums by the municipality. The Province reimburses 80 per cent of such municipal expenditures.

Desertions and Separations

Desertions and separations account for a large proportion of the provincial and municipal case loads.

A deserted mother with dependent children may turn to the municipality and receive financial aid. If after three months the whereabouts of the husband cannot be proved, the case can be transferred to become a direct Provincial responsibility.

There are obvious advantages to the municipality to arrange the transfer since it means a reduction in municipal expenditures and in the size of the case load and consequent administrative functions. The transfer is not accomplished easily.

A deserted mother may disqualify herself for some infraction of the Provincial requirements and may (there have been cases) be referred back to the municipality for assistance; or her cheque may be held up pending settlement of a technical matter. The mother may also have to turn to the municipality for supplementary aid. She must turn to the municipality for items of "special assistance", or for emergency aid in any crisis whatsoever.

We believe that desertions and separations tend to occur among public assistance and low income families at the time the wife becomes pregnant. This suggests that a major

point of pressure for low income males (with all their other inadequacies) may be the prospect of increase in size of family with no comparable increase in income or earning capacity.

Legislation and Family Court facilities designed to help these mothers and children exist. Court orders are made against errant husbands and fathers. But responsibility for enforcement of these is uncertain and the facilities inadequate. The problem is compounded by the movement of fathers and husbands across provincial boundaries.

Frequently, the amounts designated under Court Order are not adequate for support of the family and payment is usually in arrears or not at all. If made, the amount must be taken into consideration when the municipal allowance is granted. The award in theory, and receipt by the mother directly or through the Court are, however, two different things. Consequently, the mother cannot rely upon the amount or the regularity of payment. She is thus under the constant pressure of economic uncertainty as well as all the social and emotional pressures that accompany her plight.

Diet

The co-relation between low income, including public assistance, and insufficiencies of diet and general health have been too widely documented to necessitate any attempt to advance proof here. What is not always appreciated is that full stomachs do not necessarily mean a balanced diet. Unbalanced diet has grave implications for general and specific health conditions, for the prevention of disease and abnormality in pre-natal and post natal care—e.g., the importance of protein in cerebral development; sufficiency of Vitamin C for the prevention of common cold.

Dental Needs

No comprehensive survey of dental needs of adults and children in the Ottawa-Carleton area has been undertaken during the past decade. Personal observation leads us to believe that the standards of dental hygiene and care among the poor in this area are deplorably low.

Possibly thousands of adults and children do not receive adequate and systematic preventive and remedial attention.

Existing facilities and policies are inadequate and application is limited by lack of funds and lack of understanding of the importance of dental hygiene.

Day Care Services

In recent years there has been growing recognition of the importance of the pre-school years for the child's receptiveness to learning and knowledge, and that early training and education have a critical bearing on school achievement and development. Consequently, day care should be considered part of the total education continuum and not an usurpation of maternal rights.

On the assumption that most, if not all children, need this opportunity and have a right to it, one may say that possibly hundreds of children in this area are deprived. The "Great Debate" on whether women should or should not work continues and the consequences for children of maternal deprivation have not been conclusively proved one way or the other. The facts are, however, (a) some women have to work to support their families, (b) some parents cannot adequately provide the stimulation and help that their children require, (c) for many women there is no relief from the overwhelming pressures of raising the family alone.

If women have to work or if it is desirable to provide an alternate developmental experience for pre-school children, then adequate services should be provided. At present, many others have to resort to private arrangements that leave much to be desired.

At present municipalities in Ontario are handicapped in developing the full spectrum of day care services by the lack of subsidy for capital expenditures, by the failure of the relevant legislation to recognize and encourage "family day care" and in the practical application of the legislation in some instances, e.g., subsidy for services purchased from private agencies and individuals is related to actual days of attendance notwithstanding that these services must be continued during the absence of a registered child.

Visiting Homemakers Services

The Ontario legislation authorizes a municipality to provide visiting homemaker services and to purchase these from Provincially authorized organizations. There is a subsidy to the Municipality of 80 per cent of the operational costs of purchase. There is, however, a current limit to the rate that the Province will share at 80 per cent. This is \$1.50 an hour whereas the actual rate that was paid by this department during 1969 was \$2.15 an hour. Moreover, whereas service in a home may be required for up to 24 hours

ally, the Provincial subsidy does not apply to service beyond an eight hour day. Presumably it is assumed that friends or relatives can supply the need at other times. Frequently, this is not the case. The municipality is, therefore, compelled to bear this excess cost. In determining who shall be eligible, the municipal administrator is given some latitude by the legislation. The problem arises when the municipal contribution is not sufficient to meet the need. Increasingly, the Voluntary Funds are saying that these services should be supported entirely by tax funds.

Current Anti-Poverty Programmes

The list of Canada's anti-poverty programmes is impressive but this is not to say there are not inadequacies and gaps. Most important, despite Canada's endorsement of the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights, most of the social policies of Canada are not expressed as an assumption that a decent standard of life is a human right. Some programmes are still based primarily or are influenced by the obsolete concept of granting minimal relief. At best, these are merely palliatives. They fall short of being remedial or better still, preventive.

Some of these financial programmes are designed to meet *crisis-poverty*: others to militate against *life-cycle poverty*. Some are designed to assist individuals faced with *long-term* dependency. There are broad federal-provincial programmes designed to aid people in *depressed areas*. All have a commendable purpose, but in the main were designed to meet categorical poverty, poverty in demographic groups or in designated areas.

Poverty and human need cannot, however, be confined to easily definable and manageable categories. Poverty, uncontrolled, overruns artificial barriers. Poverty, met in one category, frequently rears its head in another need. The categories, causes and consequences of poverty are frequently inextricably interrelated and cannot satisfactorily be isolated and dealt with.

One conclusion that one may draw is that there is a need for some form or other of a guaranteed annual income as a socio-economic objective for everyone.

The distinguishing characteristics of social insurance and social assistance are their direct relationship to prior work earnings or contributions in the case of the former and to means or needs tests in the case of the

latter. Under a guaranteed income proposal, as it is understood, there is no prior requirement related to work record and earnings, nor is there the individual investigation to test means and need that is so repugnant to many people.

The social objective is to establish a right and the administrative objective is to reduce administrative requirements to a minimum.

Negative Income Tax as a Method of guaranteed Annual Income

The chief advantage of this form is the extensive coverage of the population that it achieves.

It is also an administratively efficient method of distributing public funds.

The amount of benefit is a function of income, i.e., it is flexible and based on an income related scale.

It provides a fairer distribution of public funds to poor children than do other arrangements.

It is said to have a positive effect in achieving family stability.

It cannot, however, be counted on to eliminate poverty since it does not get at the causes of poverty.

It has not been established conclusively, as far as we know, that it has a marked effect upon the incentive of men and women to work.

Demogrants (flat-rate benefits)

In demogrants, the amount of benefit is flat-rate or fixed although this does not automatically rule out the possibility of escalation entirely since this type of programme provides benefits to population groups defined by demographic characteristics, such as age.

The demogrant method, although administratively simple, makes payments available to relatively affluent people.

Other Areas of Concern in Anti Poverty Measures

It is recognized that financial assistance programmes and related support services do not provide the total solution to the problem of poverty. It is recognized that in any overall consideration of the problems of the poor, there have to be taken into account also education, health services, housing, recreation, family life education and family planning. For more than one reason therefore, it is not feasible to examine the implications of these

related areas of human need in this document.

Acknowledgements

Although the main responsibility for the preparation and submission of this Brief was undertaken by the undersigned, associated with him directly and contributing to the information and concerns expressed in it were the following representative staff:

Miss Jean Grant, M.S.W.
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 Mrs. J. Pollock, Welfare Worker
 Mr. T. Webb, B.A., Welfare Worker
 Mr. J. E. Sheridan, Deputy Commissioner

The Brief includes references to the fears and aspirations of people who have applied to the Department for aid. Some of these were granted aid within the limits of legislative and other policies. Others could not be assisted. We acknowledge the value of the frank comments made to us by these persons, and express the hope that the Senate Committee's

study and other enquiries will lead to the philosophic basis in Canada expressed by Article 22 and Article 25(1) of the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights:

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security, and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation, and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 25

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age, or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Stuart R. Godfrey,
 Commissioner,
 Social Welfare Department
 16 January, 1970

APPENDIX A

Examples of Amounts of Assistance Paid in Accordance with Regulation under the G.W.A. Act (Ontario)

(1) Father, mother and 4 children

Pre-Added Budget	\$171	
Allowance for Rent	95—fuel extra.	Actual Rent \$150
Fuel	32	
Utilities	12	
Household Supplies	7	
<hr/>		
Total Allowance	\$317	in Winter
<hr/>		
	\$285	in Summer
<hr/>		

(2) Father, mother and 6 children

Pre-Added Budget	\$238	
Allowance for Rent	102	Actual Rent \$135
Fuel		
Utilities	—	
Household Supplies	—	
<hr/>		
	\$340	Maximum that can be paid despite size of family and other factors.
<hr/>		

(3) *Mother and 4 children* (under 9 years)

Pre-Added Budget	\$141	
Allowance for Rent	100	(heated)
Fuel		
Utilities	12	
Household Supplies	7	
	<u>\$260</u>	

(4) *Mother and 1 child* (under 9 years)

Pre-Added Budget	\$ 72	
Allowance for Rent	75	(actual rental)
Fuel	-	
Utilities	-	
Household Supplies	7	
	<u>\$154</u>	

(5) *Mother and 8 children* (1-17 years)

Pre-Added Budget	\$265	
Allowance for Rent	120	(eligibility) paying \$150 for heated accommodation
Fuel	-	
Utilities	12	
Household Supplies	7	
	<u>\$394</u>	

But allowance must be reduced to maximum of \$300 + \$10 for each dependent in excess of 3. Their maximum eligibility is \$350 which must be further reduced by a child support contribution of \$65 monthly so that this mother receives \$285 net from the municipal department.

APPENDIX B

SUGGESTED WEEKLY QUANTITIES OF FOOD—FOR A FAMILY OF SIX

Members of Family	Milk Qtls.	Vita- min D Tsp.	Meat Poultry Fish Lb. Oz.	Legumes		Flour		Citrus Fruit Tomatoes		Green Yellow and Leafy Vegetable		Potatoes		Other Fruit and Vegetable		Fats Oils		Sugars Sweetens	
				Lb.	Oz.	Lb.	Oz.	Lb.	Oz.	Lb.	Oz.	Lb.	Oz.	Lb.	Oz.	Lb.	Oz.	Lb.	Oz.
1—3 years.....	4½	3½	1 8	5	0	1	4	1	8	1	4	0	12	1	12	0	4	0	4
7—9 years.....	4½	3½	2 4	5	0	4	2	2	0	1	12	2	0	3	0	0	8	0	10
10—12 years.....	5½	3½	2 8	6	0	4	3	0	2	0	2	2	8	3	12	0	8	0	12
13—15 years (girl)....	5½	3½	2 12	6	0	4	3	0	2	0	2	2	8	4	0	0	10	0	10
Men (A) Sedentary....	3	0	3 4	6	0	4	3	8	2	0	2	2	8	4	0	0	8	0	10
Women (A) Sedentary	3	0	2 12	5	0	4	2	8	2	0	2	0	2	0	3	12	0	6	0
Total Requirements For Each Food Group.....	22	14	15 8	33	1	5	15	8	11	8	11	0	12	4	20	4	2	12	3
Cost Of Each Food Group—1966.....	\$6.16	?	\$10.08	\$1.49	33¢		\$2.64	\$1.50	\$1.32	\$1.54		74¢	\$3.65	99¢					
Cost Of Each Food Group—1969.....	\$7.48	14½¢	\$12.09	\$1.98	45¢		\$3.57	\$1.73	\$1.54			74¢	\$3.85	\$1.02					

TOTAL FOOD COST 1966 for above family of 6—\$29.36 WEEKLY or $(\$29.36 \times 4.5 =)$ \$132.12 MonthlyTOTAL FOOD COST 1969 for above family of 6—\$35.00 WEEKLY or $(\$35.00 \times 4.5 =)$ \$157.50 Monthly

% Increase from 1966-1969 in monthly food cost 19.2%

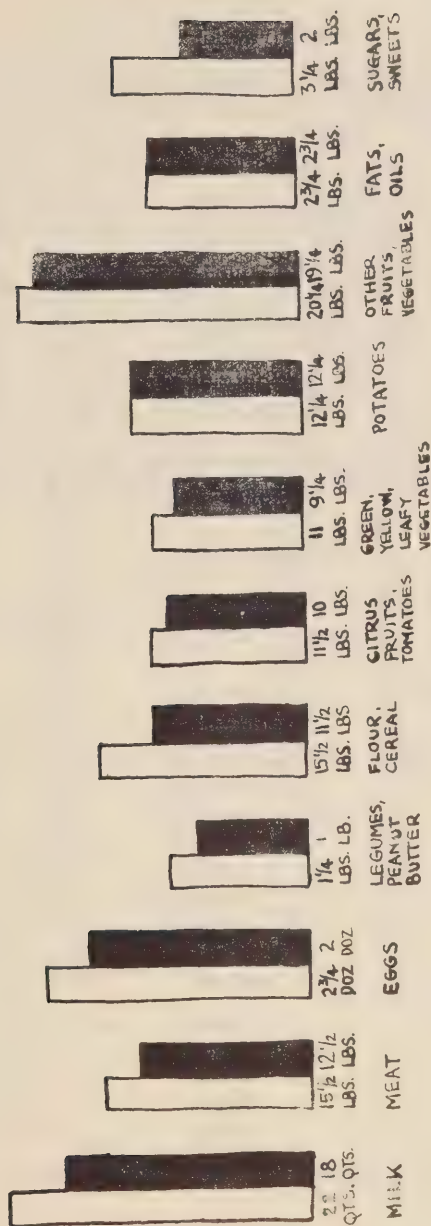
According to statistics taken in 1968 the average family size on welfare in Ottawa was 4.5 for employables and 5.2 unemployables. The model family size of six was chosen to illustrate the cost of feeding a family ranging in age from 1—15 with 2 adults. A P.A.B. for this family size is \$187.00.

	Pab	Food	Clothing *Sundries
1966.....	\$ 187.00	\$ 132.12	\$ 54.88
1969.....	\$ 187.00	\$ 157.50	\$ 29.50


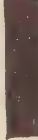
*Sundries—haircuts, toilet tissue, shampoo, razor blades, deodorant, school transportation.

Poverty

15:53



COMPARISON OF FOOD-BUYING POWER IN 1966 AND 1969

 1966. QUANTITY EQUAL TO WEEKLY FOOD REQUIREMENTS FOR FAMILY OF SIX
 1969. QUANTITY AVAILABLE AT SAME COST

APPENDIX CC

COMPARISON OF FOOD COST IN JANUARY 1966 TO OCTOBER 1969

Food	January 1966 ¹	October 1969 ²	Increase in Cents	% Increase	Overall % Increase
Milk.....	28¢ qt.	34¢ qt.	6¢ qt.	21.4	
Meat.....	65¢ lb.	78¢ lb.	13¢ lb.	20.0	
Green, Leafy, Yellow.....	12¢ lb.	14¢ lb.	2¢ lb.	16.6	
Potatoes.....	6¢ lb.	6¢ lb.	—	—	
Other vegetable.....	18¢ lb.	19¢ lb.	1¢ lb.	5.5	
Eggs.....	54¢ doz.	72¢ doz.	18¢ doz.	33.3	18.9
Legumes and Peanut butter.....	25¢ lb.	26¢ lb.	1¢ lb.	4.0	
Flour, cereal.....	17¢ lb.	23¢ lb.	6¢ lb.	35.3	
Citrus fruit.....	13¢ lb.	15¢ lb.	2¢ lb.	15.3	
Fat, oils.....	36¢ lb.	36¢ lb.	—	—	
Sugars, sweets.....	14¢ lb.	16¢ lb.	2¢ lb.	14.3	
Baby-fruit, vegetable.....	44¢ lb.	51¢ lb.	7¢ lb.	15.9	
Baby meat.....	\$1.08 lb.	\$1.37 lb.	29¢ lb.	26.8	

REFERENCES: ¹Ontario Department of Public Welfare *Food Plan*, January 1966 Toronto Area.

²Visiting Homemaker Association, Toronto, *Average Costs for food for meals at home in Toronto*.

APPENDIX DD

Examples furnished by a private family service agency in Ottawa-Carleton to compare the income to the family and the rent paid.

No. of Adults	No. of Children	Income	Rent
2	6	\$336.00	\$130.00 unheated
(Temporarily includes \$100.00 for 3 month period from Social Welfare Department)			
2	1	326.00	135.00 heated
2	1	195.00	100.00 heated
2	5	395.00	132.00 heated
2	3	448.00	177.00 heated
1	3	350.00	200.00 heated
2	1	358.00	130.00 heated
2	5	534.00	200.00 unheated
2	4	351.00	140.00 heat & hydro
2	5	426.00	208.00 heat & hydro
2	3	370.00	125.00 unheated
2	5	408.00	125.00 unheated
2	6	316.00	95.00 heated

Note: Income refers to take-home pay plus family allowance and any other source of income.

APPENDIX D

No. of Persons In Family	No. of Rooms in House/Apt.	Rental Allowance	Rent Paid	Total Monthly Eligibility	Heat Included	Light Included	Rental Allowance as Percentage of Rent Paid	Rent Paid Expressed as % of Total Income
7	6	100.00	150.00	330.00	No	No	67	45
4	6	85.00	117.00	285.50	No	No	73	41
3	5	80.00	155.00	231.20	No	No	52	67
2	(A) 6	74.00	148.00	162.00	Yes	No	50	90
9	7	65.00	185.00	350.00	No	No	35	53
2	6	85.00	150.00	181.00	Yes	No	57	83
4	6	90.00	140.00	271.20	No	No	64	52
7	2	85.00	175.00	181.00	Yes	No	49	97
4	7	85.00	150.00	269.20	No	No	57	56
3	(A) 3	85.00	150.00	169.00	Yes	No	57	89
7	6	100.00	175.00	330.00	No	No	57	53
2	(A) 3	75.00	125.00	175.80	No	No	60	71
6	7	95.00	200.00	320.00	No	No	47	63
2	5	85.00	148.00	161.00	Yes	Yes	57	92
2	7	75.00	175.00	199.00	No	No	41	88
5	5	90.00	180.00	280.20	No	No	50	64
5	6	100.00	191.00	267.00	Yes	No	53	72
3	(A) 5	90.00	120.00	195.00	Yes	No	75	61
2	(A) 4	85.00	125.00	161.00	Yes	Yes	68	78
6	7	95.00	170.00	320.00	No	No	56	53
2	(A) 4	85.00	145.00	164.00	Yes	Yes	59	88
3	5	80.00	155.00	215.40	No	No	52	72
6	7	105.00	180.00	296.00	Yes	No	58	61
2	(A) 5	85.00	115.00	173.00	Yes	Yes	74	66
3	3	90.00	135.00	196.00	Yes	Yes	67	69
2	5	85.00	165.00	181.00	Yes	No	52	91
2	5	85.00	150.00	181.00	Yes	No	57	83
7	5	110.00	183.00	330.00	Yes	No	60	55
5	7	90.00	145.00	305.00	No	No	62	47
8	6	115.00	150.00	340.00	Yes	No	77	44
4	6	85.00	213.00	259.00	No	No	40	82
6	5	95.00	145.00	320.00	No	No	66	45
5	6	90.00	150.00	307.00	No	No	60	49
3	(A) 4	90.00	130.00	194.00	Yes	Yes	69	67
6	(A) 5	105.00	145.00	307.00	Yes	Yes	72	47
3	(A) 2	90.00	130.00	204.00	Yes	No	69	64
3	(A) 5	80.00	160.00	219.40	No	No	50	73
3	(A) 4	90.00	125.00	202.00	Yes	No	72	61
6	7	95.00	150.00	317.00	No	No	63	47
6	5	105.00	154.50	281.00	Yes	Yes	67	55
5	5	90.00	170.00	294.40	No	No	53	58
3	4	90.00	120.00	194.00	Yes	Yes	75	62
3	5	90.00	125.00	196.00	Yes	Yes	74	64
4	6	85.00	190.00	254.00	No	No	45	75
3	(A) 4	90.00	110.00	196.00	Yes	Yes	82	56
3	(A) 4	90.00	115.00	196.00	Yes	Yes	78	59
5	5	100.00	135.00	276.00	Yes	Yes	74	48
4	5	95.00	165.00	237.00	Yes	No	57	70

NOTE: (A) indicates 'Apartment'.

APPENDIX E

Description of Living Accommodation

Woman deserted—Five Children

Living Conditions—rented property

Three room row house. Exterior well painted, interior in *very poor* condition.

Basement

—holes in walls dividing unit from others which allowed rats entrance from other units.

—Holes in floor and front and back walls which allowed rats entry to unit from outside.

—No door on basement and holes around pipes and in corners which allowed rats access to living quarters.

—Holes in upstairs walls (corners) allowed rats access to bedroom.

—Defective electrical switch in hall with semi-exposed and exposed wires.

—Glass in front door out for over a month without replacement.

—Windows and doors uninsulated.

—Repairs of some holes substandard.

—Wall broken around kitchen light switch.

Comment on tenant—This woman kept the house well in spite of its poor condition. Her floors were always as clean as could be expected with five children in the house. She complained often to the landlord's agent but had trouble contacting him and received only empty promises when contact was established.

On December 5th, 1969 woman reported to the social worker that rats had been driven in by snow. She reported food spoiled and rats acting very boldly in living quarters.

At 100% Municipal aid holes were patched and an exterminator was engaged.

Cost: Extermination	\$ 25.00
Renovation	\$102.00
TOTAL	\$127.00

Rent for dwelling:	\$175.00	No heat; No hydro.
Heating costs approx.	27.00	per month

TOTAL	\$202.00
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Rent allowance	\$ 95.00
Heat allowance	27.20

TOTAL	\$122.20
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Difference between Actual Rent and Rent Allowance	—	\$ 80.00
The Pre-Added Budget (food, clothing, etc.) is	—	\$164.00

The woman is therefore obliged to take \$164.00 (food, clothing, etc.) to meet the \$80.00 from the Pre-Added Budget figure of excess rent each month.

APPENDIX "B"

BRIEF TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON
POVERTY OF THE SENATE OF CANADA

January 1, 1970.

*Submitted by the Social Planning Council of
Ottawa and District*

1. The Social Planning Council is an association through which local, public and private recreation, health and welfare organizations, citizen groups and individual citizens plan, co-ordinate and seek to improve Ottawa's social services. The Council engages in social research; supports and conducts welfare institutes and conferences; promotes education and study of local social problems; encourages inter-agency co-ordination and planning of services; acts as an instrument for joint social action in respect to specific issues and offers a consultative service to citizens and organizations with respect to welfare matters in general. Also, it publishes a newsletter and a Directory of Social Services. The Council operates the Central Volunteer Bureau, the Welfare Information Service and the Christmas Exchange.

2. We have just come through an unusual and beneficial experience, one that prompted us last week to request a postponement in presenting our brief to you. We were informed that your schedule is too tight to allow for switches, so we ask that this brief be considered a preliminary submission prior to your receiving the proceedings of Action '70, the community forum we co-sponsored on January 17th with the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State and the Department of the Provincial Secretary and Citizenship.

3. Action '70 taught us a lot about bringing people together to do something about social problems, particularly poverty. The welfare and poverty workshops were by far the most easily attended. Thanks to a sensible arrangement between the workshop coordinator and the regional welfare director all regional welfare recipients received a special invitation along with their cheques) a large number of welfare recipients registered and participated vigorously. The Conference was arranged so as to remove as many obstacles to attendance and participation as possible:

it was held on a Saturday; in centre-town; registration was free; lunch was free; babysitting was free (including taxi from the day-care centre to the conference), simultaneous translation (unheard of at a purely local conference) was provided.

4. There were many frustrations, but under-representation of welfare recipients was not one of them. And Action '70 confirmed a basic principle of the Social Planning Council:—bringing people and organizations together produces positive results. This is somewhat contrary to the advice given to you by the Company of Young Canadians; it suggested you must "... make a choice. The Committee will have to decide whether it is going to go with the agencies and the experts, or whether it is going to go with the poor" (page 118). We suggest that is unwise and unnecessary. There is no choice. Divisiveness is mischievous.

5. What we propose is a bringing together of the poor and the idealistic, morally (and politically) persuasive forces in the community that are concerned about poverty. Action '70 brought them together for only one day but the activity stimulated by that forum promises to keep many of them together; the welfare workshop has already met, only six days after the event.

6. When we speak of idealistic forces in the community, we do so from experience. Many of them were at Action '70; it attracted 169 organizations, church and citizens' groups, social agencies and government departments; significantly, there were 307 out of the 750 registrants who listed no organization.

7. There are now five inter-faith social action groups in Ottawa and their positive impact on this community is undeniable.

8. You will hear later from the Neighbourhood Improvement Committee, which is a fine example of a neighbourhood citizens' organization and which played a significant role in the planning of Action '70.

9. As for the social agencies, particularly those supported by United Appeal, their battle against poverty should be better known to you and much better subsidized by public funds.

10. The Company of Young Canadians refers to "The Appeal" as a process which "prevents stronger action by governments by simply existing as an excuse for a lack of government intervention". Let us give you a few local examples to demonstrate how the opposite is more frequently the case and how one major resource, the welfare department, should be directed like a United Appeal agency rather than a bureaucracy.

11. Day care is without doubt one of the healthiest ways for families and particularly single parent ones to achieve independence. Day care agencies are now heavily subsidized through public funds, thanks to the battles they fought (and still fight) for more government support while united appeals kept them alive and well. The Ottawa Day Nursery and The Village Nursery School are our two local examples.

12. It's because of United Appeal supported agencies that some governments have been coaxed, persuaded and sometimes dragged kicking into accepting their responsibilities for certain social problems, all of which cause or are affected by poverty; the Canadian Mental Health Association—for more, and better public treatment for the mentally ill; the Association for Retarded Children and Adults, without which there would have been no case for public education for retarded children, a case that organization has almost completely won; visiting homemakers' associations, the major battlers for more generous homemaker legislation which brings to poor families an immensely helpful resource; the children's aid societies who are now almost entirely supported out of public funds because of their united appeal subsidized struggle for such support; the Elizabeth Fry and John Howard Societies, whose major objective is penal reform, to demand (not prevent) stronger action by government; the Social Planning Council which provides a local ombudsmanship for individuals and organizations denied the services (prosthetic appliances, dental services etc.) promised but not guaranteed by the Canada Assistance Plan and deeply involved in Urban Renewal in Lower Town.

13. Government provides the major share in fifteen of our local agencies; in five others it makes significant grants. And it gets more mileage out of its dollars than it would if those services were given by government

departments because there is far more citizen involvement, far more local accountability.

14. There has been too little participation by the poor. There is still time and most of the agencies are flexible enough to rectify that situation. There will be the suggestion, that to include "the poor" on the boards of social agencies is "tokenism". That's nonsense—if they are included in sufficient numbers on boards that are otherwise reasonably representative, where the addition of the poor only adds one more difference, one more conflict to those that already exist between professionals and laymen, French and English, Jews and Gentiles, men and women, business and labor, etc.

15. There would be strong representation from "the poor" on the Regional Advisory Board for public welfare which we recommended in a letter to the Honorable John Yaremko last October 31st. We suggested such a citizens' advisory board because we know it would provide "the kind of citizen involvement and concern for public welfare that children's aid society boards bring to child welfare".

16. It would not be a substitute for welfare rights' groups; it would give representatives from such groups an official voice and a link with sympathetic and progressive community organizations.

17. The following is from our letter:
"The objectives of such an appointed board would be to:

(1) provide both welfare departments with information about the community's concern for people living in poverty.

(2) communicate to a responsible community information about the realities of welfare; the legislative limitations placed on individual welfare workers and the opportunities open to them through community support; the difficulties faced by recipients; the need for voluntary support to welfare departments and their clients."

18. We suggested that the Board should include 12 members, six of whom would be welfare recipients living in the region, elected at public meetings in the area. We now believe that the Board should be larger, probably to include about twenty people, at least half of whom should be welfare recipients. The following should also be represented:

—the Ottawa Council of Women
—the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Ottawa

- the Local Council of Churches
- the Board of Trade
- the Ottawa District Labour Council
- the Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District.

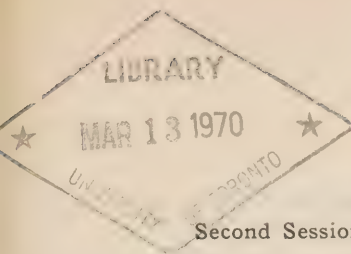
19. And from our letter:

"We do not make this suggestion to pacify those elements who promise violence if the poor are not given a larger voice in the decisions that effect them, although that would be sufficient reason to consider our request. Rather, we are involved in implementing a major recommendation of the Needs and Resources Survey we completed two years ago under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice D. C. Abbott.

"Poverty and welfare are everyone's business and an Advisory Board would provide information, involvement, concern and social change to a degree that is impossible without such a structure".

20. In his recent reply, the Honorable Mr. Yaremko asked us to consider whether open meetings like Action '70 or the advisory board would serve a greater purpose. There's no doubt in our mind. The advisory board is absolutely essential. It would draw the community into poverty and welfare in a way that is denied to it now. It would bring a healthy exchange and ultimately a partnership between welfare recipients and organizations that are offended by poverty and misery. Of course, it has limitations; it would provide representative rather than total involvement, but we suggest marked improvement is a reasonable goal. Social revolution is not.

21. A citizens' advisory board would complement the recently appointed National Council of Welfare in a practical, local, community sense.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament
1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 16

THURSDAY, JANUARY 29, 1970

WITNESSES:

The Family Service Centre of Ottawa: Mrs. H. Le Caine, Chairman, Public Issues Committee; Mrs. J. H. Craven, Vice-President; Mrs. S. C. Denyer, Community Development Consultant.

L'Assemblée Générale de l'Île de Hull: Mr. Roger Poirier, Co-ordinator; Mrs. Laurette Strasbourg, Secretary; Mr. Alphonse Nadeau, Moderator; Mr. Eugène Loyer, President of the Health Committee; Mrs. Ida Clermont.

APPENDICES:

"A"—Brief from The Family Centre of Ottawa.

"B"—Brief from L'Assemblée Générale de l'Île de Hull.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Fergusson	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Carter	Fournier (<i>Madawaska-</i>	McGrand
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	<i>Restigouche, Deputy</i>	Pearson
Cook	<i>Chairman</i>)	Quart
Croll	Hastings	Roebuck
Eudes	Inman	Sparrow
Everett	Lefrançois	

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

“With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, January 29, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*); Carter, Cook, Ferguson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, Lefrançois, MacDonald (*Queens*), McGrand and Pearson.—(10)

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

The Family Service Centre of Ottawa:

Mrs. H. Le Caine, Chairman; Public Issues Committee;

Mrs. J. H. Craven, Vice-President;

Mrs. S. C. Denyer, Community Development Consultant.

L'Assemblée Générale de l'Île de Hull:

Mr. Roger Poirier, Co-ordinator;

Mrs. Laurette Strasbourg, Secretary;

Mr. Alphonse Nadeau, Moderator;

Mr. Eugène Loyer, President of the Health Committee;

Mrs. Ida Clermont, a resident.

(Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.)

At 11.45 a.m. the Committee adjourned to Tuesday, February 3, 1970, at 9.30 a.m.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Mrs. Hugh (Trudi) Le Caine: Chairman of the Public Issues Committee of the Family Service Centre for two years. In addition, Mrs. Le Caine taught French in Ottawa Public Schools for fifteen years and worked for ten years with the community organization "Family Concerts" promoting music appreciation among the young.

Mrs. Charmian Craven, B.A. (Educ.): Vice-President of the Family Service Centre and Member of the Board since 1966. Also Chairman of the "After 4" Committee. Educated in New Zealand and London, England with a certificate in guidance of emotionally disturbed children (Institute of Child Psychology). Mrs. Craven came to Canada in 1945, worked part-time with the Vancouver Children's Aid Society until 1949 and came to Ottawa in 1951 where she is now engaged in various forms of voluntary work in connection with senior citizens, family life, education, leadership, etc.

(Mrs.) Susannah C. Denyer: Wife and Mother of six children. *Academic qualifications:* Graduate Birmingham University, B.A. (Education). Higher Certificate—National Froebel Union (Early Childhood Education). Diploma in Social Science—London School of Economics (plus additional courses in group work, etc.). *Pertinent Work Experience:* 1938-1944—Maurice Women's Settlement, Hoxton, London, England. Youth Club Leader, General Club Leader and finally Warden (Director). 1956-1965—Children's Aid Society, Ottawa, Ontario. (Various Capacities). 1965—Family Service Centre of Ottawa. Supervisor, After-Four Demonstration Project Community Development Consultant.

Eugène Loyer: Born in Hull in 1936. Married, father of six. Invalid for the past 13 years. Welfare recipient. Education: 5th grade. Chairman of the Citizens' Committee on Health.

Laurette Strasbourg: Born in Ottawa. Married, mother of two. Education: 14 years of schooling, High School of Commerce and University of Ottawa. Positions held: office clerk, typist, key-punch operator, receptionist, survey supervisor. Secretary of the Hull Island General Assembly.

Roger Poirier: Born in Hull in 1926. Education: 20 years (B.A., B.Th., M.Th.), University of Ottawa 10 years national chaplain of the Y.C.W.: Montreal and the North American continent. Specialist in young-adult education. Participant in international seminars: Europe, Asia, Africa, America. Co-ordinator of the Hull Island General Assembly.

Alphonse Nadeau: Born in St. Agapit, P.Q., in 1919. Education: 13 years. Graduate of the Quebec City Normal School. 20 years' experience in publishing, advertising and broadcasting. Consultant to the Citizens' Committee on Health.

Mrs. Ida Clermont: Widowed 5 years ago; mother of six, three of them ill. Has always lived in Hull. Education: 7th grade.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Thursday, January 29, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, we have two briefs this morning. The first one is from The Family Service Centre of Ottawa, represented by Mrs. H. LeCaine, Chairman, Public Issues Committee; Mrs. S. C. Denyer, Community Development Consultant, and Mrs. J. H. Craven, Vice President.

Mrs. H. Le Caine, Chairman, Public Issues Committee, The Family Service Centre of Ottawa: Mr. Chairman, I would like to present a short summary and introduction to our brief. As stated in our brief on page 4, item 5, at any time 50 per cent of our families have an income below \$7,000. The agency is fully aware of the resulting economic hardships, and is concerned with the effect of these conditions on the members of the family unit. As an agency, we wonder if we have not paid too high a price in human values for the material standard of living to which as a nation we have aspired. It would almost seem that we equate the good life with material symbols and, indeed, the mass media drive this point home relentlessly. In our recommendations we speak of education. I would suggest that this education is not only education of the present and next generation of school children, but re-education of society as a whole. It means as a matter of fact a hard look at our protestant ethics, which in the light of our fabulous technological progress should be re-examined thoroughly. Many of our young people today are already doing this and we would do well to listen to their voices.

I am reminded of a movie by the French director René Clair, the premiere of which I saw 30 years ago. The movie was *A nous la liberté*. One of the main protagonists is a factory where they manufacture gramophones. In its closing scene the camera focuses on the end of the assembly line,

where only one man is needed to supervise and handle the gramophones as they arrive, while the rest of the workers loll about and dance on a nearby lawn. This is a picture hardly reconcilable with our protestant ethic and our evaluation of human dignity and worth.

As is stated in the brief, poverty is a many headed monster, economic, social, cultural and emotional. The coming into existence of this Senate committee is a clear indication that we, as a nation, are awakening to the facts of life and are ready for a change.

In conclusion, I would like to stress the fact again that a fight against poverty, in whatever form we encounter it, must actively involve those whose circumstances we are endeavouring to alleviate. Our After Four Project is a good example of this, as will be seen by reference to page 8 of our brief. We feel that unless there is total involvement of the community any measure implemented can only be partially successful, if at all.

If I may, I will now read the recommendations based on our brief:

Based on a broad definition of poverty, which includes but does not put major emphasis on economic poverty, our agency makes the following recommendations:

1. (a) That a program of guaranteed income be implemented so that the basic economic needs of all are adequately met, thus removing from thousands the gnawing insecurity and pressure of economic crises and freeing their energy to deal with other life problems.

- (b) That such a program be supported by fully integrated educational, recreational, health, social and rehabilitation services so that the objective of the total program is truly preventive.

- (c) That, as a first step, one or several demonstration projects be developed in which the knowledge and practical expertise of all specialties and disciplines is integrated and in the planning and implementation of which citizens are fully involved.

2. That the concept of education be broadened so that the child from the beginning is educated for human life and not fragmented and partialized by a system of services unable to view him as a total human being.

3. That a re-assessment of priorities be undertaken by all levels of government so that decisions for delegation of funds are based primarily on humanistic rather than materialistic values.

4. That the mass media change their major focus and use their vast power and resources to educate and enrich human life, as well as to support human rather than economic values.

Senator Fergusson: I certainly want to thank the members of the Family Service Centre of Ottawa for coming and giving us the benefit of their knowledge. I think we have learned a lot from the brief, as it is. I would like you to expand and tell us about your After Four Program, which you referred to on several occasions.

Mrs. Le Caine: Mrs. Denyer would deal with that.

Mrs. S. C. Denyer, Community Development Consultant Family Service Centre of Ottawa: This is a program which was started in centre town area in November 1965. It was originally meant to be a children's tutorial program but we found the children who came had other needs, very difficult to define at the beginning.

Senator Fergusson: Why did you define it as a tutorial program?

Mrs. Denyer: Many people realize that a lot of children, especially in the deprived area, cut out of school in Grade 1, because education is such that it is like going into a strange land for them, to go into some of the middle class schools. I would not hesitate to say that we see changes being made but at the present time it is very difficult for children who have a confined background to begin education in our schools. So it was thought that perhaps there could be some help from our agency around their school work, that perhaps they would be able to do better. The homes were not able to do this, because of the lack of education of the parents and the lack of stimulation in the homes.

Senator Fergusson: Was this aimed at any special age group?

Mrs. Denyer: Not at the beginning. Starting with school grades 1 to 6 and later involving children age 14, still struggling through Grade 6 and 7. Although we started with the children, we became involved with the families. We went out to visit them and offered services we have in the agency to those families. We also grouped mothers for parent education. It was very difficult in the first year because they were reluctant to come, but now they have become a very solid group. As a matter of fact they are dividing up into all kinds of directions right now and are very interested in education for the family.

Senator Fergusson: I still do not know what the mothers do when they come? Do they get education?

Mrs. Denyer: They do a variety of things. If I may take a little time, I would explain that in the beginning, in the first year, it was a strange thing to be asked to come. They were very suspicious. They knew I was a social worker and that this is a social agency and wondered "what do you want me down there for, are you going to make me over, kind of thing?" But as they got to know, they were impressed by the interest of the agency in the children. All mothers have ambitions for their children. They began to come out to do all sorts of things with the children—trips, films, entertainment. Then they began to see there were things they knew and that they could do with each other and that would help in the family life.

Senator Fergusson: What do you mean by trips?

Mrs. Denyer: These are outings, excursions and social things, because the parents felt that they had experience before, and I think these things were very helpful for them.

Senator Fergusson: You say "parents". Is it just the mothers or do the fathers come, too?

Mrs. Denyer: Unfortunately, for this particular project, not by choice, but the people who choose to come, in the case of 80 per cent the families do not have fathers, and this was also some element in the children they helped.

Senator Fergusson: That is a great need in that area. I think it is very interesting to hear about this and I hope you will be successful. You have quite a number? You did not say how many.

Mrs. Denyer: We had to limit the project because of funds and staff and time, so over the last four years we have dealt with really about 47 to 50 families, but at one time 30 families were involved, meaning about 100 children. We would hope that this could be extended.

Senator Pearson: What are your results of that school After Four Program?

Mrs. Denyer: It is very difficult to say. I think of the positive results, because we know the children well and see some of the differences in them. I think the Ottawa Public School Board would support us in that, especially around the behaviour and social behaviour of the children, certainly. From the point of view of the families, the mothers have gained a great deal. They know more about themselves, about families, about children and about the community. What we have tried to do is tie on to the community and make them use the facilities there are in the community—which they did not know about or as a matter of fact did not feel they had a right to use.

Senator Pearson: You created a community spirit?

Mrs. Denyer: I hope so.

Senator Fergusson: In the first page of your recommendations (1)(a) you refer to guaranteed income and also to basic economic needs. What would you think would be an adequate income that would meet those needs?

Mrs. Denyer: I would find it very difficult to answer this. I could do it today. We have talked to mothers about this and were surprised how little they were asking for. They were asking enough to cover the rent instead of having to take it from the food allowance. They were asking for enough to buy new clothes once in a while. I was surprised that no one in the group was looking for enough to go to Vancouver for a holiday, as I might have done if I had been a mother in there. They asked for very little, but I would not like to put a figure on it.

Senator Fergusson: How do you think we would ever find a figure?

Mrs. Denyer: If it were to be done, one would need to have the help of home economists, you need the health services. I think this would be a combined figure. I think you

would need to work with all the services that deal with people. I might leave out something which would be very important for a nurse.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you very much. I will probably have some more questions.

Senator Inman: I was rather interested in what you say on page 2, paragraph 2, that the concept of education be broadened so that the child from the beginning is educated for human life and not fragmented and partialized by a system of services unable to view him as a total human being. What do you mean by education for human life?

Mrs. Le Caine: Mrs. Craven would say a few words on that.

Mrs. J. E. Craven (Vice President, Family Service Centre of Ottawa): What we are concerned about is a real view of the creative potential of human beings as apart from their economic use to society that is geared economically. We are looking at a human being. What is a human being? What does it mean to live creatively, quite separate and apart from your worldly success measured in terms of money? What are the talents of a human being that he is born with—the artistic ability, the ability for relationship? We feel there is not enough attention given to this, being a human being basically separated from economic factors, and we want to have some sort of philosophy more clearly defined in our education, so that children from the very earliest stages are considered in regard to their individual worth and their regard for other's individual worth, quite separate, as I say, from their economic success, even their intellectual success. The whole product of education should be a human being with a feeling of dignity, that one came into the world with a chance to develop what he came into the world with and to live in this way with other human beings.

Senator Inman: Then you feel this should really start from kindergarten?

Mrs. Craven: Yes, definitely, or pre-kindergarten.

Senator Inman: Indeed, yes, but we are speaking of schools?

Mrs. Craven: Yes, speaking of the school system, but we also see this spread through the whole of society, in such things as youth education groups, family life, dealing with young people.

Senator Inman: Would that necessitate special training for teachers?

Mrs. Craven: I think so. I think the training of teachers is certainly a dimension to be brought into it.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I should like to carry on with this type of question as this is the question I was going to ask. I think I can see the witness' point of view, but are we not doing some of this in education now?

Mrs. Craven: I think certainly something is being done, but it has only scratched the surface, because we are still very hampered by being tied to the thought of people as being brought up to achieve and earn a certain amount of money. I think in one part of our brief what we are trying to say is that we foresee a future, as is foreseen by many scientists today, where the idea of everybody having a well-paid job is not feasible. Therefore we are going to have to educate people to live creatively. Today they are being taught that if they do not achieve a certain salary then they have a lack of status in the community, but we want to educate people to feel that they are worthwhile as human beings in themselves with the talents they have been allowed to develop separated to a great degree from any questions of money.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Would you involve the Department of Education in this?

Mrs. Craven: Yes, this should be a project involving integration rather than fragmentation. It is a question of educating people for a whole life.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Up to what age would you carry out this program?

Mrs. Craven: There would be no limit. It would be an integrated program right through from kindergarten to university. Plans would of course need to be very carefully thought out and provision would have to be made for changes as circumstances demanded them.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): You mention in page 1b of your brief about the desirability of a program that is truly preventive. What is a preventive program? Can you tell us something about that?

Mrs. LeCaine: I think, Senator Fournier, that the answer has already been given in part by Mrs. Craven. As you can see we feel very strongly about this. The problem will no doubt arise about confronting a vast segment of the population which will have no jobs in our terms. In fact I think it will come to a situation where people will be paid not to work. That is happening now to a certain degree. But this will have to be done without having a stigma attached as it has now. To illustrate this I can only once again refer to the movie I saw thirty years ago where there was one man handling the entire output of one gramophone factory. If the education authorities from the very beginning, that is from kindergarten on, stress changes and stress a goal of enrichment, not necessarily for the pocket but for the individual, then we will be well on the way to preventing what could be, I imagine, a rather severe emotional breakdown. I remember talking to a colleague of mine when I taught school and on one occasion he said to me "Oh my God, I am so glad I am through university; I am never going to read another book in my life." He had to read books because they were on his curriculum and he did so because the result was that he would get so many extra letters after his name and perhaps \$500 extra per year as an increment. But he had a totally wrong approach to this. He never read really for his own edification but only for the edification for his pocket.

The Chairman: While we are on this subject let me toss in something here. We are talking now about preparing people for leisure but don't we have to prepare them first for life?

Mrs. Denyer: Does living of necessity mean work?

The Chairman: Let us begin with the five-year olds you are speaking about. Don't we have to prepare them for living first and then prepare them for leisure? You can talk about leisure to people like us because we understand what you mean by it, but these young people have not yet started out in life.

Mrs. Denyer: Well, surely leisure is part of life just as work is another part, and surely part of our education must be to develop people as individuals. It would follow that if work is something they like, then they would be educated for that too, but I fear that we are overemphasizing leisure and being misunderstood.

The Chairman: Well, if work is something they like, that of course is one thing, but if they don't like it, it could be something else.

Mrs. Denyer: Well, that is true but work does not of necessity mean working for profit. It could be creative rather than profitable.

The Chairman: But creative work could be profitable also.

Senator Fergusson: It could be creative work not involving a great deal of money.

Mrs. Denyer: Well, as you live, you have to get food and clothing and so it is necessary to learn how to get these things in the appropriate way. But part of the process of learning to live is learning how to develop your soul as well as your body. I think our emphasis up to now has always been on the earning of money with very little emphasis being put on the leisure aspect. I have spoken to friends who have said to me "we give these people welfare and we see them drinking a bottle of beer" or "we give them welfare and we see them at the races". I do not understand why this should be, but I think it arises out of the way we live. We feel that if you cannot produce a lot of money because of your own inadequacy or lack of education then you must be denied a whole big piece of life. This seems to be our thinking at the present time.

The Chairman: Let us take another situation; suppose this committee in its wisdom decides that these people we are referring to who are on welfare or who are poor people should be allowed to live their own lives without having anybody else telling them how to live it and we make provision for them and leave them to their own resources. What do you think would be the result of such a situation?

Mrs. Denyer: I think we are not advocating this. We are saying that along with a guaranteed income there should be education allowing people to develop themselves. This is what our brief says and I know there is a need for this. On the other hand, I think because of this need for education, it should not prevent us from giving money to these people so that they can live and take them out of misery. Coming here this morning I was thinking what an appropriate time it was to have a hearing on poverty. It was cold, wet, flu is quite prevalent and many people are sick. These are the months in which you really see poverty and this in turn brings

home to one the urgency of making a financial change and that urgency is right on our doorstep now.

But we would never, as an agency, advocate that this did not have, as a component, family life education. I think this is something that has been said by a lot of people and we are certainly a hundred per cent for it, but I would not want the fact that we have to set up a new system of family life education to prevent us from getting in very quickly with this financial change, because it is urgent.

We have prepared briefs for years for different organizations, and in preparing them I have said the same things as here, and still people are away down on the point of view of having enough to live on. That is obviously a very easy thing to face—get more money.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I do not want to open a long debate or express any controversial opinion, but I think this calls for a few words. A lot of people around the country, including myself, feel we are doing too much for our young people with regard to their leisure. I will give you a personal example. When I went to school 35 years ago I used to walk five miles with a little lunch pail. I would come back home and do the chores, because I was living on the farm. I did that because I wanted to find a place in the world for myself, and I had no choice. I could have left home to go into the woods or work on the railway, but I did not want that. I had to find myself a place, and solve my own problems. In my opinion it paid, because I know what it means to be poor; I was born and raised poor.

I have never suggested to my children that they must do what I did. I would oppose that very strongly. My children, who are only one generation back, travelled to school by buses. When there was a snowstorm in the morning they had to walk only 100 feet to take the bus. They would look at me and say, "Well, dad, you did not shovel the driveway this morning." They did not carry lunch pails; I gave them \$1 to go to the cafeteria.

In my days we had no gymnasiums. We played in the yards to keep ourselves physically fit. Today we build the children million dollar gymnasiums, and get them all tired after school and then bring them home in a bus.

My children have not got the same attitude to life as I have. Possibly they are all going to

school with the idea that they will get an education by keeping their noses in books, as some witness mentioned, but not knowing what they are reading. They have got to follow the system, and try to find their place in life. My children have no idea of the value of a dollar. They do not know what a dollar is, and do not know what it is to be without one. Dad is always there to put one in their pocket. I used to get a quarter a month.

The Chairman: When you were a good boy.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): It is not the same thing. Thirty years ago in my little town we had no gymnasium, and today we have three. We have a great big recreation building which cost over \$1 million. Of these buildings there are two that are not used. This is the situation all over. Millions of dollars have been wasted on facilities which are good but which are not being used because we do not have the population. Every part of the city has the ambition to have its own recreation centre, and they are eventually built but are not being used.

I am of the opinion that we do not put enough incentive into our young people. We have got to teach the young that they are in this world to earn an honest living, and be good citizens.

There is the same situation in regard to music. My family was very musical, and we even had an orchestra. You do not see that today; you get television. Why should they spend hours playing a violin or a guitar when they have only to turn on the TV or record player? Everything is so free and easy. There is no incentive to create anything, or do any work. We will leave it at that.

Mrs. Denyer: I think a lot of us have been through the same experience as you. We have had to walk and work and we have enjoyed doing it, and thank God we had not only the physical strength but other strengths.

I should like to talk about young people. The program that we have is staffed mainly by young volunteers from high schools and universities, and by some who are working in the Government service as clerks. The devotion and the amount of time they give, not only in coming and doing things with the children, but in learning about the children, and the struggles they are faced with in that community, continues to absolutely amaze me. At any one time we have about 50 of these young people working. They give only

one session a week because they have studies and other things to do, but believe me there is a tremendously large section of the young population, not only in Ottawa but in other cities, who are helping us with this re-education of children and families.

Senator Pearson: I would like to enlarge a little on what Senator Fournier said. In my opinion, the life he lived as a youngster, was largely the rural type of life. I went through the same thing myself. What these ladies are talking about here in regard to family services is the city life, which is entirely different from rural life. You have this idea of recreation and education all mixed into one. That is a total program for the children. You have to have this in a city because they cannot go out and play in the wide open spaces, such as in the rural areas. My question is: What type of people are you dealing with, the poor or a mixture of all types?

Mrs. Denyer: You mean the agency as a whole or in the After Four Project?

Senator Pearson: The After Four Project.

Mrs. Denyer: It had an open membership, but the children who came were mainly from poor homes.

Senator Pearson: Are the parents of these children employed or unemployed?

Mrs. Denyer: They are on welfare mainly. We do have three families that are employed on very marginal incomes.

Senator Pearson: What would you consider then to be a proper or better way of life for these people? Would a guaranteed income of a certain amount be better for these people in order to help them out?

Mrs. Denyer: Yes, sir, we have mentioned this in our brief.

Senator Pearson: Rather than the welfare program?

Mrs. Denyer: Yes.

Senator Pearson: Do you think the welfare program is degrading at all to the people who have to accept it?

Mrs. Denyer: Well, it has to be, because it is not sufficient. I do not mean that if they got more welfare it would be easier, but when you are on welfare you really must qualify every month for it. It is not a guaranteed thing for a year. Welfare is only from the first of the month to the end. Imagine having

a family of six or seven children and a house to maintain, and not knowing if next month you would receive anything. The other situation is that they say it is not sufficient, and that it does not free people to plan or free them from worry. There are a great many things about the welfare system that are not—I believe you heard about it the other day.

Senator Pearson: I have seen it, yes.

Mrs. Denyer: We did not answer your question about our recommendation 1 (b) regarding the program being supported by fully integrated educational, recreational, health, social and rehabilitation services. I think it is important first to know that there are many family life educational programs instituted in the health and educational fields all over the country. This is especially so in Ottawa. We feel that the programs are fragmented and that in some ways we waste money because they are carried out in different areas. They should be relocated and combined, so that joint decisions can be made.

The After Four Project is an example of program integration.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Do you get good support from and have good public relations with your school board, teachers and principals?

Mrs. Denyer: Yes. We have very good co-operation with the school from which we happen to have most children. The teachers very much wish to be able to do the kind of things that the children need, but they are also required to teach a certain curriculum in a set time. They have one year's training in teachers' college. I think it is asking the impossible of them, but the desire to do it is there among our young teachers and principals.

Senator Pearson: Do you not consider that a certain amount of discipline is necessary in the life of the young child? That is not a hard type of discipline, but a certain amount of discipline, so as to insist that they do certain things during the recreational period, for instance.

Mrs. Denyer: I believe that if you are going to live with people you do have to learn to discipline yourself. This can only be learned from an adult and is really part of what we mean by family education. We do not mean the use of the strap, and so on.

Senator Pearson: I think this sense of discipline is lacking in the young people today. for?

Mrs. Denyer: Yes, because it is imposed on them rather than taught to them.

Senator Pearson: That is why it should be included in this total program. Another point I would ask is what does the M.S.W. stand for?

Mrs. Denyer: Master of Social Work. It is a post-graduate degree.

Senator Pearson: How many years of work is involved before you obtain your degree?

Mrs. Denyer: Two years after you have your undergraduate degree.

Senator Pearson: Do you have to be a graduate B.A. before you can get this?

Mrs. Denyer: Yes.

Senator McGrand: Is this program that you are referring to designed to try to rescue children of poor families from being dragged down into what is referred to as the cultural poverty?

Mrs. Denyer: It is an attempt to raise the standard of living of whole families. I would like to emphasize this. Sure, we start with the children, but there is no point in doing that unless you can get into the home and raise the whole standard of living for the family.

Senator McGrand: You refer to the culture of poverty, one generation after another has been involved. This is something to rescue them from being into this cultural poverty. Is this your purpose?

Mrs. Denyer: Yes, to break the cycle.

The Chairman: What success can you see that you have had in breaking the cycle?

Mrs. Denyer: I think this is always one of the big problems involved with these programs. Everyone wants to know whether you are successful or not.

The Chairman: No, but what do you see?

Mrs. Denyer: We do see a different interest on the part of the parents in what is happening to their children, in the community, in using the facilities in the community such as health services, the schools, the stores and the whole community. They have also begun to look at this and try to change their ways of handling their children and their ways of viewing things. They are very interested in

this committee, as a matter of fact. They are now knowledgeably interested. They really feel that they can follow the things that are going on and they want to be educated themselves.

The Chairman: Who can follow?

Mrs. Denyer: The parents.

The Chairman: The parents that come to your group can follow this committee?

Mrs. Denyer: Oh, yes. We talk about it.

The Chairman: We are very encouraged.

Senator McGrand: We had a group of women from Montreal who call themselves "Up to the Neck in Poverty". These people have very limited money and do not have facilities in their home to do their own cooking, for example. They do not realize, perhaps, the value of home cooking, because they go to the store and buy prepared food. They do not know how to mend their children's clothing, and this sort of thing. Do you have any opinion as to whether this program could prepare poor families to live a fuller life with what they have?

Mrs. Denyer: I do not want to sound rude, sir, but I would defy anybody to learn to live a full life on what these people have.

Senator McGrand: A better life?

Mrs. Denyer: Part of our program is learning cooking, budgeting and sewing, but surprisingly enough it turned out that they taught us. When I brought a home economist to talk to these mothers about this they came up with all kinds of recipes. One demonstrated to us the use of half a pound of hamburger to prepare meals for seven or eight. One mother went to demonstrate to another in the group how to use economical meat and produce large dishes for six or seven children for a couple of dollars. To a great extent I think I have learned that part from them, because they are not all such as are described in the newspapers. Such people are few and far between. Most of them know a lot and have had a lot of experience in home economy.

The Chairman: That is the sort of thing we welcome. In the light of that we are going to have a good discussion this morning. You are a school teacher; how long have you been in this agency?

Mrs. Craven: Five years.

Mrs. Denyer: I have been in the agency five years and in welfare 20 years.

Mrs. Le Caine: I have been in this type of work for a few years.

The Chairman: So you know something about life. We have had the welfare system, here in the sense that we discuss it now since immediately after the great depression in 1929, so it has been with us for 40 years. During that time we have been saying to these people you will do so and so and we will give you the money to do it in such and such a way. We have heard evidence before and we are hearing it again today, coming from people who know, that these people know how to shop, budget and live on the dollars they have. They make their money go as far as any housewife possibly could. Why are we trying to live and direct their lives? Why can they not live their own lives in their own way?

Mrs. Denyer: I think it is because people do not believe us when we say that they can do this.

The Chairman: Who does not believe you?

Mrs. Denyer: The people responsible for providing the money and many of the community themselves. It is much more dramatic to hear about the person who drinks the welfare allowance or beats children. That is much better news. It is not good news to talk about the 50 who do not do such things and are really struggling to make ends meet. This would be part of our answer to that.

The Chairman: You go ahead. What is your view?

Mrs. Le Caine: My view is that we have only started very recently to listen to these people. The advent of this committee shows that it is relatively recent. The advent of this committee is the outcome of the fact that society has a more willing ear now to listen. This is due mainly to these forums, the positive angle that was stressed by Mrs. Denyer will be known more. What we get in the papers, what we get on the news media, what we find, and I am sure all the social agencies find, is to a very large extent possibly the negative side. But we see the positive side far more than society sees it. I feel it has not had its forum. Does that make sense?

The Chairman: It makes a lot of sense to me. Mrs. Craven?

Mrs. Craven: I agree with Mrs. Le Caine. I was not quite sure as to what you meant about our telling them what to do. We cannot conclude that they are living an adequate life, no matter how economic they are, that we can leave them to look after themselves. In this kind of case it is not physically possible, as Mrs. Denyer said.

The Chairman: No, no. Do not miss my point. I am saying that if we decide to give them a maintenance income, what right have we then to interfere in their lives?

Mrs. Craven: Ah, you mean that you think, on what we have said, when they have all these skills, what are we doing with them then?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Craven: I think she was presenting the positive side of the picture, but I do not think she would say that they are ever in possession of sufficient knowledge to use a large income to the fullest.

The Chairman: Do you know anybody who does?

Mrs. Denyer: One of the points lost sight of was the fact that over the years this question of being on subsistence income has damaged the personalities, the view of life, even though they may do their best. One mother the other day phoned me and said "I think I will walk out". She had these kids sick since the middle of September, two and two and two. They cannot provide juice and the nice things little kids need when they are sick and beginning to get better. She said "I do not know what else to do, I have done everything I can." We need to help them with this part, with their spirit, and this feeling about themselves. I think we have made them feel pretty poor about this, and we have to do a lot of work to make them feel they are human beings, even when we give them the money.

The Chairman: Nobody on this committee thinks that money is the beginning or end of this. Many of us think that money is the first necessity but it is not the end. There is no misunderstanding about that.

Senator Pearson: Regarding the statement on page 2, recommendation No. 4, that the mass media change their major focus and use their vast power and resources to educate and enrich human life—I was thinking about that.

Mrs. Denyer talked about that and what they had learned from the families there, the people they are working with, how they manage in their cooking, etc. Would it not be possible for you to issue a program to the news media on these various things. We get a lot of this stuff about the society girls and the fancy dishes they cook and their French cooking and so on. Can you not get this across the news media, how to make a succulent dish for a large family out of their limited income.

Mrs. Denyer: I wish we did have this. Some of them were talking about Galloping Doris.

Senator Pearson: You could make it up for the papers and they would put it in.

Mrs. Le Caine: I do not think I share the senator's optimism.

Senator Pearson: I have no doubt it is a question of education, whether you can get them, whether people will listen.

The Chairman: If someone is poisoned as a result, the papers would give it the treatment.

Senator Pearson: I doubt if they would pick it up, either.

Mrs. Le Caine: I could not agree more, that programs of this kind should exist. Many years ago, I believe it was the Department of Health and Welfare put out a cookery book, about six years ago, where they had compiled menus and food, and at that time the limit was a dollar. This was put together with a view to helping old age pensioners and how far one could stretch the dollar. I remember hearing about it and seeing it on a television program called "Take Thirty" six or eight years ago. I am certain that it would be excellent if this kind of program could go on the airways. I doubt very much that it will, because I think the mass media first of all try to produce a sort of dream world, that takes you and me and everybody else out of misery, whatever the misery is, whether it be financial or emotional, and they produce a never never land for you, because they think that makes you happy.

My feeling, and I am speaking very personally here, is that the mass media and particularly television, are extremely pernicious, not only in their programs, which are filled with violence and this kind of thing but particularly the commercials, which absolutely bludgeon you, buy this, buy that. It is not enough that they do it to you, but they do it

to the five-year old and tell him to go and tell his mummy she should buy this and that for him. You have all this for, what is it, 18 hours a day. How can you escape the consequences. I believe that at least in part this is what the committee which worked on the brief had in mind. It has a demoralizing effect, because it drives home once again the fact that if you cannot have that 1970 Chevrolet you are an absolutely worthless human being and that the old jalopy outside your home is a national disgrace.

Any positive attitude would have to start at Madison Avenue or the Canadian counterpart thereof.

Senator Pearson: A person of your stature should approach the C.B.C., through some person or other, and get on a 15-minute or half-hour program once a day in the morning and you could put this thing over.

Mrs. Denyer: I think we could produce the program.

Senator Pearson: You know people who could do this?

Mrs. Denyer: We could produce a program from the mothers' group. They were talked about being Galloping Doris' the other evening when talking about these dishes. They could do a program which would be of interest in the afternoon to people who are struggling to stretch the dollar.

Senator Inman: With regard to cookbooks, during the war years there were many cookbooks with meals for meatless days, without butter, when people were short of sugar. These would be very useful to these people.

The Chairman: I am of course sympathetic to what you people say, but we have found that the people coming before us know what to do with a dollar.

Senator Pearson: I am trying to get this across to quite a number of people.

The Chairman: Of course the only way to get across to the CBC is to have rooms to rent in Quebec. They rent rooms without using them.

Senator Inman: I was watching a half-hour program a short time ago and I counted the number of minutes given to commercials and in that half-hour program fifteen minutes were given to commercials.

The Chairman: Let us for a moment talk about budgeting. This is an important matter from the evidence we have heard here. You ladies know what the Economic Council said about the poverty line. What is your view on that?

Mrs. Denyer: You mean on the amounts?

The Chairman: On the amounts.

Mrs. Denyer: Well, people are living now on \$5 thousand, \$3 thousand or \$2 thousand and less. I think they are living badly on these amounts, but I think the ceiling suggested sounds high. At least, I think the community regards them as being high. But I do not think it is impossible for us to produce those amounts.

The Chairman: You are experts in this field.

Mrs. Denyer: Of course if the community does not go along with our view, we will not get the dollar.

The Chairman: We will look after the communities. But we want the experts to say what they think and then we can make up our minds. So now, what do you think?

Mrs. Denyer: I have always shied away from given a sum or even mentioning a sum of money because I am not an economist and I would hate to give a figure today that will change in another month. I know that I am being defensive, but I would like to feel that people could be housed, fed and clothed and that they could also have some cushion to look after health and educational needs. But what that sum would be today or tomorrow is very difficult to say.

The Chairman: The Economic Council came up with a figure in 1966. Then it was updated to 1968. We realize that anything we might do here could not remain constant for any length of time. It is interesting to note that in the Province of Alberta they review the welfare allowances every year, and so far as I know this is the only province that does this. They have reviewed it for 1967 and brought it up to date for 1968. Presumably the same thing will occur for 1969. This indicates that here they are alive to the situation and to the change in the cost of living.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a further question relating to paragraph 7 on page 7 of the brief where

ference is made to the necessity of the family unit in preparing people for mature adulthood. In what way is the role of the family in society changing today?

Mrs. Craven: I think we are all aware that the family as we see it today is not the extended family but rather a nuclear family. Nevertheless we still see it as tremendously important.

Senator Fergusson: I am not quite sure that I understand what you mean by extended family and nuclear family.

Mrs. Craven: In the old days a family was a very large group including grandparents, aunts, uncles and so forth and there were many strengths in the family unit which could be used for the total education and support of the members of the family. Now, many aspects such as education and baby-sitting services have to be picked up by the community because of the nuclear nature of the family. Nowadays a family normally consists of father, mother and children, although in some cases it consists only of mother and children because the father is not there. This is the nuclear family as we see it and it is a very important element in society because it is the only place where people meet face to face in a close relationship. We feel that if people do not have this experience of living within a healthily close relationship, they do not grow properly as human beings. I am sure Mrs. Denyer who is a professional worker would agree with this. Therefore we feel that society must help to support this unit so that people can learn to relate to each other.

Senator Fergusson: But nowadays we have to look outside the family unit for a great deal more than was the case previously.

Mrs. Craven: Yes, for a great deal more, but in speaking of the family centre we are talking about family life education, that is where people are educated for living with each other. Sometimes a family may consist of only two friends living together. It can be any kind of human relationship. But normally we think of a family as being a father, mother and children.

Senator Fergusson: You spoke of Mrs. Denyer as being a professional worker and I am curious to know how many of you ladies making this presentation are professional workers. On page 3 you describe your organization as being governed by a 21-member citizen board with a social work staff of 13

and 125 volunteers. Are there any members of the board or volunteers here today or is it all staff?

Mrs. LeCaine: We are two board members and one staff worker. There are no volunteers present.

Senator Fergusson: You seem to have a great deal of knowledge in this field. You have been working in this field for fifteen years?

Mrs. LeCaine: I have been a school teacher for fifteen years and I must plead innocence as far as this work is concerned. However, I had a great deal of contact with the community because I had 750 children whom I taught every week. That gave me a lot of family contacts but not in the context necessarily of the family service centre.

Senator Pearson: My experience has been that the family in a rural area which has a small amount of money is more cohesive than a family with a large amount of money. Do you think if we gave a guaranteed income, it would tend to separate the family?

Mrs. Denyer: I don't think so. I think it would probably help to strengthen the family.

Senator Pearson: My experience has been different.

Mrs. Denyer: I think when people have values that are material and their goals are material, they forget their relationships with other human beings. They separate in order to go and work for more money. But if you help people to see the proper values in life, then the money is only there to make sure they are physically taken care of.

Senator Pearson: I suppose city life would be a little different.

Mrs. Denyer: It is a lot different.

The Chairman: Are there any other questions? These are very knowledgeable ladies.

On behalf of the committee I wish to say to all you ladies how appreciative we are that you came here to talk to us today, and took the time to draft a brief and present it. We are very much impressed with your knowledge and your desire to be of assistance. You have said some things in the brief that will be very helpful to us, not only in a general way but in a more specific way. For that reason we are grateful and thankful that good comes from it all.

Mrs. LeCaine: So are we. Thank you very much, senator.

Senator Croll left the Chair.

Senator Edgar E. Fournier, in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable Senators, ladies and gentlemen, it is our pleasure this morning to welcome a very important group from the City of Hull, the sister-city of Ottawa, and one which is very interesting, especially for us French speaking Canadians, and we are going to try this morning to proceed in French; I cannot see why we won't manage. I believe perhaps that I could say here that if we have difficulties, it will also be possible to use English because the majority of the members of the Committee are English speaking and I believe that the majority of the delegation here are French speaking who understand English fairly well. Well, as head of the delegation we have Mr. Roger Poirier who is the co-ordinator of the General Assembly of the *île de Hull* (centre-city). I would like to ask Mr. Poirier to introduce the members of his delegation. Mr. Poirier.

Reverend Father Roger Poirier, Co-ordinator of the General Assembly of the *île de Hull*: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, we are very pleased to meet with the Senate Committee on Poverty. Before introducing the members of the delegation, I would like to make a small correction. We do not represent the whole City of Hull but merely a small section, an area of the City of Hull that is called the *île de Hull* or centre-city. I believe that it is important that this be pointed out.

I would now like to introduce the members of our delegation: to my right, Mrs. Laurette Strasbourg who is the secretary of our organization and who works in the *île de Hull*. To her right is Mr. Alphonse Nadeau, social action promoter on a citizens' committee on health, and Mr. Eugene Loyer who is the president and head of a citizens' committee on health. Mr. Claude Letourneau, sociologist, who was to join us this morning, had to go to court since he was called for jury duty and therefore had to answer his first duty.

We have submitted two briefs to you. We would have like to make a more complete report on the poverty situation as we see it throughout our activities. Unfortunately, a lack of time prevented us from making a fuller report. First, we submit to you a report by Mr. Claude Letourneau, sociologist, who takes a general, overall look at the problems

but places the stress mainly on the principal causes of poverty and on one of the conditions which might lead to a solution; the condition is citizen participation in everything that involves social, economic, political, cultural life.

The second report is by Mr. Nadeau who looks at health. He will summarize this report himself in a few moments.

In Mr. Letourneau's report, as I have just said, we place the emphasis mainly on the absence of participation. We are not giving a series of statistics but what appears important to us, a real picture of the poor and of a large part of the population which perhaps is not in the last stages of poverty and all those people who do not participate. We believe that this is one of the most important phenomena of poverty, and if we work together so that these people, whether they have a high level of education or not, rise above their state of inferiority, if they participate more, we would be taking a big step forward in solving the problem of poverty. So as not to talk at too great length and to permit a dialogue with the members of your Committee, I shall turn the meeting over to my friend, Mr. Nadeau who will give a brief resume of his report on health.

The Chairman: Mr. Nadeau, please?

Mr. Alphonse Nadeau, Social Action Promoter, Citizens' Committee on Health: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. I do not know whether the Honourable Senators have had time to go over the second document of health in the City of Hull. Please note the title of this document could have been poverty in the *île de Hull*. Because there are many deficiencies, or if you like, shortcomings, in the *île de Hull*. Poverty affects not only health but also housing, leisure, culture in other words, all social fields. When Ottawa residents cross the river and go through Hull they often have the impression that they have come to another country, so marked is the difference between Ottawa and Hull, especially the *île de Hull*.

A few figures now to more or less sum up this study. Ninety per cent of the *île de Hull* is French. They say that 30 per cent of the families do not have enough money to buy indispensable medicines. Among the lower income brackets, very few have health insurance. Doctors' fees are too high for the lower income brackets. Now, this is one aspect of the problem of poverty; there is, if you like

at the very outset of all this, a vicious circle. First, the lack of education or a very low level of education of parents, therefore, also a very low level of up-bringing.

Secondly, lack of occupational skills; this is a result of a lack of education. For many people, this means that they work four, five, six months a year and then they go on unemployment insurance and then on social welfare. As a result they have to live in cheap housing, often in slums and another consequence, they are ill and are unable to take adequate care of themselves because of a lack of income. To this you can add the lack of leisure, the lack of recreational facilities, and so forth.

The report speaks about water pollution, air pollution, the difference in housing, for example, houses which had to be completely renovated because they were unhealthy, difficult to heat.

There is over-population; people live piled one on top of another in cramped quarters. And there is this other phenomenon in Hull—urban renewal—which plunges part of the city, part of the population, into a state of anxiety which is very serious and which has caused two early deaths recently, and another person has become mentally ill, an upsetting situation. We will come back to this later.

They say that a family with four children must have an income of at least \$6,000 a year. In the île de Hull, a very large number of families do not have an adequate income to make ends meet. Thirty per cent of the families have to manage with an annual income of less than \$4,000. Families on social welfare sometimes have an annual income of around 2,000 on which to get by, for a whole family. A while ago, I pointed out that cultural activities are completely beyond the reach of the low-income brackets. The National Arts Centre in Ottawa is not frequented by low-income people; there are even many who are not aware that it exists. Therefore, it is not for them.

The welfare situation is very tragic. At Social Welfare, they raise all possible difficulties, they make it as hard as possible so that they can refuse the help that all those families need. This results in the progressive lowering of a person's moral. The have-not citizen ends up having an inferiority complex, a feeling of impotence, which takes away from him any possibility of getting away from it.

Lastly, a while ago I spoke about the vicious circle of poverty, and in some cases in

Hull, I should call it misery. The have-nots are looked upon as beggars asking for alms in order to live the decent life of a human being. In conclusion I would like to say that the have-nots, the unlucky ones, nevertheless have a right to a place in the sun and this unjust situation creates a climate which will possibly unleash a revolution. How can it be that in a world, a world of abundance, a rich country, a so-called just society, there is such a gap between the rich and the poor. The rich get richer; the technological, economical world is developing; the poor are in an increasingly have-not situation, increasingly degraded. I will end on that note.

Mr. Poirier: Mr. Chairman, I would like to apologize, but I committed a rather serious oversight. I forgot to point out that we had with us several people from the île de Hull who wanted to accompany us, the delegates for this appearance. If any one of the members of your Committee would like to call upon them, well, they are welcome to do so. Unfortunately, there are not many of us because your sittings come at times that are not always convenient for workers, for labourers.

The Chairman: I would ask the members of the Committee—you know that there are two different submissions—would you prefer to discuss the first one now or would you prefer to wait for the comments in the second submission.

Senator Pearson: What schools have you got in Hull?

Mr. Poirier: In Hull we have the Quebec provincial system of education; therefore, we have from the elementary to CEGEP, that is, the college of general and vocational education which leads to university. There has to be the whole series of schools as in any other city, but it should be pointed out that when we speak of a low level of education, we are referring mainly to the present adult population. In our inquiries, it is the parents who have very little education, but we also point out that there are, nevertheless, many children, young people, in these families, who have a low income, only a grade nine or ten education and that obviously is not enough to cope with life. I do not know whether that answers your question.

Senator Pearson: If these families had a guaranteed income, would they be in a posi-

tion then to continue their education, or would you have a certain number of dropouts anyway at Grade 9?

The Chairman: You understood the question?

Mrs. Laurette Strasbourg, Secretary, the General Assembly of the île de Hull: I do not believe that there would be people leaving school earlier if they had a fixed income, I do not believe, with a fixed income, because to the contrary, I think that children could continue going to school longer.

Mr. Poirier: Very often, one of the reasons why the young leave school is to contribute extra income to the family. When we point out, in an area that we visited, 234 families and in that area of the 234 families, one out of three families makes do with an income of less than \$4,000, then, when the children grow up, well, they have to work in order to have a better income in order to live even a bit decently.

Senator Pearson: Where would you have to go for the university education?

Mrs. Strasbourg: Well, they have to come to the University of Ottawa because there is no university in Hull—or to Montreal, or Quebec; but there isn't one in Hull at all. There is only the CEGEP—that is the highest we have.

The Chairman: Are there any difficulties in coming to the University of Ottawa?

Mrs. Strasbourg: Yes, because, at that point, you have to pay much more; there are many who would also like to send their children to the LaSalle Academy so that they could speak English fluently, but they have to pay \$55 a month, in addition to transportation costs; therefore, for a low-income person, that is not possible.

Mr. Poirier: I believe that there is someone in the room who would like to say something. Mrs. Croteau?

Mrs. Croteau: Yes, in Hull there is the composite school.

Mr. Poirier: Yes, that is part of the whole picture.

The Chairman: Is there anyone else who would like to ask questions?

Senator Pearson: Is the education that you have in Hull there and up to your junior

college, is that equivalent to the Ontario education? That is, you could move into the university here, any Ottawa college, quite easily?

Mr. Poirier: Not always; for the past few years only.

Mrs. Strasbourg: They come to Ontario; the children's English is not too good because they begin English somewhat later in Hull; in other words, they lose a year when they come to Ontario, right at the outset.

The Chairman: Are there any other questions, Senator Fergusson?

Senator Fergusson: On page 2, at the last statistic mentioned, in that paragraph you say that the population of the island is older than the rest of the city. Why should that be? Why is it that there are older people living there than in the rest of the city?

Mr. Nadeau: It is that young households those who get married, among the younger people, move away from centre-city; they go to the Wrightville or Mont-Bleu areas. These young households, the younger generation already have a bit more education and can get better jobs, and consequently can try to have a home built. Since there is no room in the île de Hull, they of necessity have to emigrate, to leave the île—as a result the population of the île is made up mainly of older families and the aged.

Mr. Poirier: I would like to add that, also, a very large proportion of the residents of the île de Hull are property owners. Therefore with a great deal of effort, with many sacrifices for a number of years they have built a home and it is their home; thus, they stay there, they feel at home, it is not possible for them, at the age of 45, 50 or 60, to build a new home in a better neighbourhood because they are still people with low incomes.

Senator Fergusson: What kind of a solution could there be to this?

The Chairman: Do you not have anything to suggest? Do you not see any suggestion?

Mr. Nadeau: Does that touch the urban renewal problem, for example?

The Chairman: That would be part of the subject.

Mr. Nadeau: What is beginning to happen in Hull, with the danger that was pointed out

a while ago—anxiety—and although the residents of Hull recognize the need for urban renewal, nevertheless, they will have to suffer the consequences because, you see, they leave centre-city, they leave their homes, which they have owned in some cases, and while their income is not raised and they have to pay a great deal more in another area of the city—that, if you like, makes them feel even more worthless.

Mr. Poirier: Our first problem is poverty; we emphasize participation. It is our firm opinion, I believe, that as long as we do not consider the poor, or those with low incomes, as being as worthy citizens as any other—as long as confidence is not shown in their ideas, where housing is concerned—as long as they are not allowed to really participate in everything that concerns their lives—I believe that we are going to keep the people in their state of poverty.

In saying that, we do not want to reject all economic solutions—no. I believe that there are economic solutions that we have to consider regarding unemployment, inflation. But since we are a voluntary group, we do not have technical solutions to propose to the Committee, because we want to stress our experience with human beings, and share with you our conviction that, if citizen participation were promoted more, we would be taking, I believe, a huge step forward in solving their problems.

May I give an example to show how the so-called middle income people are overlooked. In one area, there will be urban renewal. The law provides that before people are put out of their homes, homes must be built for them—therefore, an area in which X families live, and housing—the same number of homes for them, in a new area. The authorities are going to make plans, call for tenders, and will end up with three possible house plans. But, who chooses the best plan, or the plan that is going to be adopted? The residents who will have to go there have had nothing to say in the choice of one of the three. Nevertheless, they will be the ones who will have to go there—the citizens cannot decide which one, the authorities are responsible for that—but they forgot to ask them about their likes, their opinion—which could have been done very easily; they forgot to consult them and afterwards, they are surprised because the people are not happy, that they criticize and that people lose confidence

in established authorities. That is why we place such great stress on participation.

Senator Pearson: Mr. Chairman, may I ask a supplementary question there? How many of the houses in the island of Hull can be renewed? If you had interest-free loans, could these houses be brought back into habitable condition without the people having to move out?

Mr. Nadeau: I do not believe that the present houses can be renovated, without a master plan to lift the face of the city, if you please.

Senator Pearson: All houses cannot be renewed?

Mr. Nadeau: The streets are too narrow, the lots too small; the whole geography, of each lot, must be done over; the sewers must be rebuilt, as well as the water main; the Hull island must be completely transformed. That is the reason why I believe that it is impossible to repair the houses, one by one, by leaving them as they are, and I believe that that would be the choice of the population.

Senator Croll: I gather the community is not too large, about 24 thousand, as I understand it, and the largest part of the community is poor, if I understand it correctly. Why do they not have a greater say in what happens in the community since they can all vote and participate?

Mrs. Strassbourg: I believe that that is the result of the fact which we mentioned earlier: the very low level of the education. In addition, the people are not politically oriented at all, and they are somewhat fatalistic, and they say: What will happen, will happen: if we vote, we are going to put someone in there, and he may not be any better than the other. These people, therefore, and to a great majority, are not interested in politics, because they have been frustrated on several occasions; that is the reason why the people do not participate as much as they should. That is the reason why we are trying to make them participate; we are trying to put them into groups, to show them that they, truly have a voice in their destiny.

Mr. Poirier: I must state that a population of 25,000 is only a part of the city of Hull—that it is a section; the city of Hull contains from 60,000 to 65,000 persons.

Senator Croll: But you would have at least one alderman and maybe more. How many altogether?

Mrs. Strasbourg: Three in that section.

Senator Croll: Is any one of you an alderman?

Mrs. Strasbourg: No, not yet.

Senator Croll: I think the other gentleman had something to say.

Mr. Nadeau: We might add something on the subject of participation. You just mentioned the magistrates. The participation on the part of the Mayor and the Magistrates until now, can be summed up as zero. The participation which the Mayor and the Magistrates would like to see is a participation during the election; they wish the citizens to participate in electing them; after that, they tell us: leave the administration to us, you have given us a mandate, we want to perform our duties. Therefore, the citizens are not used to participating in the decisions, and now that a trend is being established and the citizens wish to participate, they are not used to it, they are not educated, and it is, therefore, a job that will take time.

Senator Lefrançois: But the people should demand an election program that serves them. The people of the island of Hull should demand a well defined program of their candidates, during the elections, and that committee should see to it that it is executed in actions after the elections. I have been told that what has happened elsewhere will happen here—but they have done nothing in the city of Hull for too long a period of time. It has even been said that you did not paint your houses, in order that the taxes should not go up, and this for a number of years. And then, you arrive, and they congratulate you; you wish to take care of your co-citizens, and you have been told earlier that there is much to do; they should like to do in one year, what should take 40 years to do. I, personally, find that you are too late, and that we should find, in a few years, the means to correct this, and as you said, the lots in the city of Hull are too small, the streets too narrow and the sewers should be rebuilt. But if we try to do it all at the same time, I am wondering where we would find the necessary money; we will need help from the government, or something similar. You are teaching us nothing—us, who do not quite live in

Ottawa—but I have been here for 20 years, and I travel between Montreal and Ottawa; you are not teaching us a thing about the city of Hull, about that section that has been left alone—and the owners may not be able to do any better; but they let their houses deteriorate, and they did not wish to paint them, by saying that their taxes would go up. That is something which I do not admit. The municipal reformation may be brought about, I am not familiar with it. But, do you have any suggestions to make—we do not see them; there are some suggestions, but it is a big job to be done, that cannot be spread over a few years, but that is not easy; how much will it cost?

Mr. Poirier: As I said earlier, we put ourselves at the level of participation. One of the solutions might be to encourage organizations that are working to facilitate and increase that participation. If on the one hand the governments would help each other in the making of grants with respect to questions of urbanization and restructuring in accordance with a master plan, well, it will also be necessary that the population participate in it, and it is often not just by means of a program presented by the deputy or the magistrate, but above all through a work of political education on the part of organizations like ours, that will truly permit us to advance together, from an economical as well as an educational point of view.

Senator Lefrançois: There is much to do.

The Chairman: Mr. Poirier, do you think that it will be easier, with the new generation? Do you think that the same mentality will exist among the new generation? Do you think that the new generation will give you new hope?

Mr. Poirier: Yes, there certainly is hope, because of the opening up of the mind, which is happening to the youths of today; but I do not believe that we should forget the surroundings in which these young people are living all the time. Even if they have a better instruction, they have lived constantly in an atmosphere as described earlier in our participations, they also run the risk of falling partly in the same mentality. Do you wish to add something?

Mr. Nadeau: You are speaking about participation. The participation of the citizens is difficult to start; there is that participation of the people in charge at the town hall. A

municipal housing office has just been established. That office consists of six members, and there are three members from the town hall...

Mr. Poirier: Five members.

Mr. Nadeau: Five members. Three from the town hall and one citizen—the town hall gives one place to a citizen—and they make us feel that they are doing us a favour. However, it is not the Mayor, and it is not the Magistrates who are going to live in those new houses; it will be the people with good jobs, I assure you; those are the citizens. But in a project that affects them personally, they are hardly consulted. You can see on which level you find the participation.

Senator Croll: Yes, but if you are talking about participation can you tell me why someone who has a grievance and a cause, and you appear to have it, can't get more participation than you tell us you have at the present time?

Mrs. Strasbourg: May I answer you?

The Chairman: Yes, certainly.

Mrs. Strasbourg: I believe that it is difficult to get the people together, just for that reason; the people are not familiar with it, they do not want to leave their homes; it is comfortable to them.

Senator Croll: You say in the brief that 17½ per cent of the families in Quebec have such a low income that they live in real poverty. What do you mean by real poverty?

Mr. Nadeau: I am not speaking as a specialist, but, according to the figures which you have given, if you say a family, that has four children, it needs an annual minimum income of \$6,000; that is the same thing as saying that you need a minimum income per person of \$1,000 per year. And, when you talk about the meaning of poverty, you take, for instance, the case of a family that is on welfare, a family with two or three children, that receive \$2,500 or \$3,000 per year for five persons, that is clearly insufficient. What happens in a case like that? One wonders. Means must be found to have the money.

Senator Croll: Where did you obtain the figure of 17½ per cent?

Mr. Nadeau: I have taken these figures from a report; I cannot tell you exactly where I took them; it was from a report. I know that

it is in Michel Blondin's document, in Montreal. I cannot identify it.

Mr. Poirier: You will find that figure in the report called "The Third Solution" published by the Montreal Labour Council, in which the various levels of poverty are defined with figures and statements to support them. Do you know that report?

Senator Croll: When was the report published?

Mr. Poirier: Of the Montreal Labour Council, two years.

Senator Croll: The other gentleman who answered the question referred to \$6,000 for a family of five. That is higher than the Economic Council definition of poverty, are you aware of that?

Mr. Nadeau: That is possible. It may be that a family of five... I would say that a family of six means four children and two parents.

Mr. Eugene Loyer: That is exactly my case. Our income is \$3,000; we have six children and two parents.

Senator Croll: How big a family?

Mr. Loyer: Eight in all, six children.

Senator Croll: Six children and two adults?

Mr. Loyer: That is right.

Senator Croll: You draw from the Welfare Department no more than \$3,000 a year for eight in the family?

Mr. Loyer: \$3,000. I also have a small girl that is sick, and I have been sick for 11 years.

Senator Croll: How do you do it? How do you make it do?

Mr. Loyer: How that is done, it is rather difficult; it is hard to explain to you; we do not know it ourselves, how we get from one week to the next one, from one month to another.

The Chairman: I should like to emphasize to the members of the committee at this time, that I see an opportune moment. The Committee members have emphasized two very important points of participation on the part of the citizens. We have discussed it relatively at length, and I believe that the second point that has been emphasized is the embarrassment of the Social Welfare, and I believe that

the time has come, as Mr. Loyer mentioned in his case, that the members of the delegation give us further information concerning the embarrassment of the Social Welfare, and that is a subject that is quite appropriate, according to me, and comes under the jurisdiction of this committee, the position of the Social Welfare.

Mr. Poirier: I believe that it is important and I believe that Mr. Nadeau is in the best position to explain and to give us examples with Mr. Loyer concerning that very important question.

Mr. Nadeau: Mr. President, would you like to hear the testimony of some persons who are here?

The Chairman: The Committee will hear anything you may submit to it, with open arms.

Mr. Nadeau: I do not know if someone wishes to speak? Mrs. Blais? Mrs. Clermont?

Mrs. Clermont: I can tell you that we receive \$120 per month—and I have four children in the house.

The Chairman: Instead of taking personal cases, could we take, for the time being, the overall problems that exist in the Social Welfare?

Senator Lefrançois: I believe that it is said that the Social Welfare creates problems for those receiving help?

The Chairman: Did we speak about the embarrassment of the Social Welfare?

Mr. Poirier: Mr. Nadeau could give a few details that we have, not concerning the Social Service, but concerning the Social Welfare, and the conclusions he draws from them, that that service does everything to discourage the people to ask for the services which they need. Could Mr. Nadeau explain it?

Mr. Nadeau: Yes. I would not say that the Social Welfare causes trouble for those receiving help. It can be summed up in the sense in which you usually hear it. For instance, the people are supervised, questioned, checked,—it is not in that sense, but rather concerning what is done to the citizens in the welfare office; all sorts of difficulties possible are created for them; first of all, when you try to reach the Welfare by tele-

phone,—it does not work; if you wish to speak to a Mister so and so, who would be in charge, you cannot reach him; the calls are screened by a receptionist who transfers your call to another gentleman, who asks you to which subject you are referring, and so on you are unable to reach the persons in charge. Then, you are being received by accounting people; you enter a large room a bit smaller than this one; there are no chairs and you must remain standing, and when it is your turn, you go to the counter, where there are three or four persons in charge, and there, you make out the statement, with reports,—the public statement that can be heard by everybody in the room, they can hear what you say. Then, you wait for months, you do not receive an answer, it drags on, and you must come back. As you can see, that is what causes the difficulties. What happens is that the people end up by being discouraged, and when they have gone to the Welfare three or four times, they return home and say: there is nothing we can do, and I will endure my misery and crawl in my hole. It is like that. Are there any other questions?

Senator Lefrançois: You never went there?

Mr. Nadeau: I went there on two occasions with a citizen who was turned back like that four or five times; he no longer wanted to go to the Welfare, and I told him: I will go with you.

Senator Lefrançois: It seems that you have a start, and that those receiving assistance were well received.

Mr. Nadeau: And then, there is no published allowance scale at all. If it were published, for instance: a family with one child so much per month; a family with two children, so much per month; and if it were taken into account where there is a sick person, that it costs more because of the medications. Nothing is published; everything is secret; it is the policy of the Welfare to grant, or to give as little as possible. They do not speak about possibilities; they start with a certain policy that discourages the people. That is the situation, as I know it.

Senator Croll: Have you ever compared what a family of two, three or four receives by way of welfare allowance in Hull, with what the same family gets in Ottawa?

Mr. Loyer: There is at least a difference for a family of four children and two parents, of \$200 per month.

Senator Croll: Between Ottawa and Hull. Forget the handicap for a moment. Let us talk about the welfare for two or three people in one family. Has anyone compared that?

Mr. Loyer: It is about the same thing in Ontario. You draw \$125 in Hull.

Senator Croll: If a man in Ottawa has a family of two—four altogether—and there is a similar family in Hull, and if the difference between one allowance and the other is so considerable, what are you doing about it?

Mr. Nadeau: I believe that no action has been taken, until now, to change the situation, and I believe that a citizen committee should be formed as soon as possible to study and organize that study and change the situation.

Senator Croll: What are you doing about it? The federal Government contributes 50 per cent to Ottawa and 50 per cent to Hull. What are you as citizens doing about it?

Mr. Nadeau: There are many reports, and...

Senator Croll: But are you not a little late?

Mrs. Strasbourg: Better late than never.

Senator Croll: I suppose so.

Mr. Nadeau: Yes, there are many reports, governments have held enquiries and there has been pressure from Hull Citizens' Groups who have submitted briefs in this regard. But there has to be a waiting period before the government acts on the recommendations of the briefs and the reports of its Boards of Enquiry. At the present time we are still in a waiting period. I think this has been under investigation for a year now and it was only recently that they decided to revise the assistance scales. They haven't finished with that yet. These welfare matters are a very long and very complicated business.

Senator Croll: When the Canada Assistance Act was made law of the land, it applied to all of Canada. There is a provision there, which has been agreed to by all the provinces, that there will be an appeal board so that a person on welfare may appeal if he does not like what is being given to him. How

many appeals, do you know, have ever been made?

Mr. Nadeau: Is there such an office in the province of Quebec?

Senator Croll: You ask me. I am not that intimate with the Quebec situation. I said there was an agreement that they would put it into effect. You tell me. Does it exist in the Province of Quebec?

Mr. Nadeau: I know that there is one in Ontario but I don't know about Quebec.

Senator Croll: Does it exist in Ontario?

Mr. Nadeau: Yes.

Senator Croll: When you say you don't know if it exists in Quebec, but you do know it exists in Ontario—when you found out it exists in Ontario, do you not think you should have found out whether it exists in Quebec or not?

Mr. Nadeau: I found out about the existence of this organization in Ontario from "Action 70" two weeks ago. Tonight I'll know if there's one in Quebec.

The Chairman: Mr. Nadeau, I think that this is important news and we must hear more about it. This shows how little information we have. And information is hard to get because Quebec is so far away. You can imagine how difficult this becomes when the welfare of a citizen is involved. We are all aware of the importance of this piece of information.

Mr. Nadeau: It was a member of the audience at "Action 70" who got up and went to the mike to report the existence of this organization in Ontario. This seemed to be the first the public had heard of such an organization and what is even more surprising is that this was the first that most of those on the speaker's platform (councillors, the Mayor of Ottawa, M.P.'s, Ministers...) had heard of it.

Is this something else that is being covered up to prevent people from making decisions? There is a glaring lack of information.

Senator Croll: I don't think it is machinations at all on the part of Members of Parliament or others, but it seems to me that through the medium of television, radio and the newspapers you are exposed to all that. Surely there is enough information on these media.

Senator Pearson: I have a further question; if you have a renewal of that island of Hull, what do you propose should be done about air pollution, E. B. Eddy and Canada Packers and the dump? Are they to be moved out or are you going to move all the citizens from the island of Hull and put them somewhere else?

Mr. Nadeau: The master plan which shows what Hull will be like in X number of years has not been made public. Half a million has already been spent on master plans for Hull. These plans have been set aside one after the other and we still do not have a final plan. So, we don't know if the Eddy Mill will be moved. They say yes; it is supposed to be moved outside the city. Canada Packers isn't on the island but it is in Hull and that place really gives off a smell. There are no words to describe the stench emanating from Canada Packers. It's putrid and nauseating. What's more it stinks.

Canada Cement makes tons of the stuff. On humid summer mornings automobiles are covered with what looks like a thin layer of snow, but it isn't snow. It comes from Canada Cement. What is to become of this industry we don't know. We'll have to wait for the master plan.

Senator Pearson: When do you expect to get action?

Mr. Poirier: There have been a great many studies but it will be a long time before there's any action.

Mrs. Strasbourg: All the problems should be tackled. Our group has been in existence for a year and a half now and it is very difficult to deal with all these problems at once. We have tackled health problems and we will probably participate in anti air pollution and welfare campaigns. All this will come but I'm afraid there aren't enough of us to handle all these problems. When we can get more people to participate we will be able to attack on several fronts at once.

Senator Pearson: Are your aldermen going along with you in this renewal planning or are they just indifferent?

Mrs. Strasbourg: As for urban renewal, the aldermen are all for it. But it isn't the alderman from the island of Hull who is in the Master Plan Urban renewal office. I don't know if his word would carry much weight there or not.

Mr. Poirier: This movement toward citizen participation is a very new thing. For citizens to organize themselves into committees is a new phenomenon. Often the first reaction to these groups is one of fear but I think that when there has been more discussion there will be more cooperation. But at first there is a somewhat fearful attitude toward this new strength. However, at the present time we seem to be at a turning point and there should be more cooperation. We hope so anyway.

Senator Inman: On page 9 of the brief, you mention about the Sacred Heart Hospital and you say it is not serving the community, that it is badly managed, and that the emergency department is overworked. Why is this? You have given some of the reasons, but it seems to me to be a peculiar situation.

Mr. Nadeau: It's hard to believe what is stated there, it's hard to believe that this is true.

Senator Inman: But why? Can't you help that in any way?

Mr. Nadeau: Here again, when people want to participate they are butting their heads against a stonewall of incalculable thickness. The Health Committee put pressure on the hospital last summer when it closed an entire floor for the vacation period. The Health Committee wrote to the Department of Health at Quebec to bring them up to date on the situation and to ask that the hospital be brought up to full staff so that it really served the needs of the people. There is always an urgent need for hospital service. This hospital is absolutely essential and always unsatisfactory. So, something must be done. But again you are dealing with the government and you are dealing with the hospital administration and you end up waiting and waiting...

Senator Inman: Can you not change the personnel of the administration some way perhaps?

Mr. Nadeau: I think it would be a good idea for several Hull citizens to be in the Hospital's administration office because it belongs to them and it is there to serve their needs. The staff of the hospital put their own interests before the interests of the public.

Senator Lefrançois: This isn't always the fault of the administration.

Mr. Nadeau: To some extent it is. If Hull's Sacred Heart Hospital decided to maintain full service throughout the year I think it could do it, with public support.

Senator Lefrançois: Could you get the required staff and all the rest of it and the backing of doctors who would be willing to stay on duty seven days a week?

Mr. Poirier: How come this is the only hospital in the Hull-Ottawa region where this situation exists? Our Committee asked this question. The reply was that they didn't have enough staff. People are asking if we have made an effort to find staff. We are still skeptical. The Committee is not satisfied with the reply.

Mr. Nadeau: Monday I made a comparison between Hull's Sacred Heart Hospital and Hull Jail, two public organizations which depend on the government on the one hand and the unions on the other. At Sacred Heart Hospital they said that they had to reduce services because the government sets the number of employees they can hire and because the unions have obtained the right to vacations for all employees even if they are employed in essential services such as hospital services. Hull jail is also government supported and there is a union involved. But one floor isn't shut down during the summer. This wouldn't be expected to happen, the public wouldn't expect it to happen. At the jail services are maintained while at the hospital they are reduced, cut down. There are two sets of rules. Of course we understand the mess. It's all very complicated and it's unfortunate that this is the way things are.

Senator Lefrançois: Anyway, you will have to get more people involved in this if you are to accomplish anything. A small group like yours can't tackle all these problems at once. It isn't going to be easy but you are going to have to get more participation and have everybody do their part if you are to handle all the work there is to be done.

Mr. Poirier: That's it exactly.

The Chairman: Are there any other questions? Is there anyone in the group who would like to say something, express an opinion or ... Yes Mr. Nadeau?

Mr. Nadeau: I don't know if you are about to close the meeting, but there was one question I wanted to ask the Chairman of the Senate Committee. Are there any poor people on the Committee?

The Chairman: We are all poor.

Senator Lefrançois: They are all Senators.

Mr. Nadeau: That is why I asked the question and I have been answered, indirectly. Only poor people know what it is to live on \$32 to \$35 a week. They understand this because they live and have lived under these conditions. It seems to me that these people could be very useful and they would be well qualified to assist in the working out of legislation which is of vital importance to them. Perhaps I should rephrase my question; is there anyone on the Committee who lives or has lived under poverty conditions?

The Chairman: In an attempt to answer that question, I might say, Mr. Nadeau, that if you had been present during discussions with other delegations that have come before us you would have heard several Senators tell of a life of poverty when they were young. If you asked the Senators who are not millionaires to raise their hands, every hand would go up.

Mr. Nadeau: While we were waiting a while ago I heard an interesting thing; someone said that welfare assistance scales are reviewed every year in the Province of Alberta.

The Chairman: That's right.

Mr. Nadeau: Would it be wishful thinking to hope that Quebec will do this some day?

Senator Lefrançois: The Committee can hardly answer for the provinces.

Senator Croll: Mr. Chairman, may I say that you have answered the question, but not as fully as you might have. Your modesty did not permit you to. All members of the Senate committee joined the committee because they wanted to. It is a very hard-working committee and the majority of the members came from poor homes, not poverty stricken but poor homes and they know what this is all about. It is not strange to them at all.

Many of the members of the Senate Committee on Poverty have held public office. They are intimately acquainted with welfare and other social measures. We cannot do too much unless we have active participation from such groups as yourselves. The next time you find out that the people in Ottawa are receiving more than you are in Hull under similar circumstances, you do not wait

two weeks to start raising hell; you start raising hell the next morning.

The Chairman: Members of the Committee, friends, seeing that the session is drawing to an end, it is my duty to thank the people who have come out to meet us and to compliment them on the important points that they have brought to our attention. You have opened our eyes to the problems that exist in Hull. As for myself, I have learned a great many things. I must confess that I didn't know anything about Hull before this morning but I am certainly going to make a tour of the area we have been talking about. I would particularly like to thank Father Roger Poirier who is a member of your delegation for his work and his aspirations. I would like to congratulate him and his entire group on their activities. As has been said before, I think Hull should have had a Father Poirier thirty years ago. It's going to take a bit of time. As some Committee members have said: everything can't be done in a day and while we must tackle air and water pollution, education and medical care first that is not the end of it. All these things link up with other things. However all of this will take time. Your committee is to be congratulated on its efforts and as for me I am convinced that the best remedy is to have everybody participate in these activities. There is no cure-all. Where people are involved one has to make sacrifices. We have had a great deal of discussion. I think it was Senator Croll who asked why something isn't done right away. One of the reasons is this; when you are poor you see all these things but in order to do something about it you need money. Poor people don't have any money. So you say this should be done

through the proper channels. I would like to take my complaint to Quebec, I would like very much to make a trip to Montreal, I would like to do these things. But where do I get the twenty-five or thirty dollars. I haven't got it. So the poor man sits at home and accepts his lot. This is one of the points I wanted to stress. It was asked why poor people didn't know there was a Committee where they could bring their complaints about their dissatisfaction with welfare assistance and so on. Probably this is because the person who doesn't need welfare assistance isn't interested in it while the person who needs it and sees the things that go on would have to travel. Travel costs money and a poor person doesn't always have the money to do the things he would like to do. So this fact must not be overlooked. It's all well and good to say; do this, do that. All of these things cost money. Those of us who have money do something while those of us who don't have yet another problem. Once again I would like to thank you and offer you our apologies for the technical difficulties that we have experienced and overcome this morning in our attempt to make this a French and bilingual program. I think the experience will help the Committee and show us where we slipped up. And it certainly shows that our technician needs to read another page of his manual so that we won't have this problem again.

So, once again I would like to thank you very much. We have been very happy to have you come and see us.

Mr. Poirier: Thank you sir.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

BRIEF ON POVERTY

SUBMITTED

to the

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

by

THE FAMILY SERVICE CENTRE OF OTTAWA

Recommendations

Based on a broad definition of poverty, which includes but does not put major emphasis on economic poverty, our agency makes the following recommendations:

1. (a) That a program of guaranteed income be implemented so that the basic economic needs of all are adequately met, thus removing from thousands the gnawing insecurity and pressure of economic crises and freeing their energy to deal with other life problems.

(b) That such a program be supported by fully integrated educational, recreational, health, social and rehabilitation services so that the objective of the total program is truly preventive.

(c) That, as a first step, one or several demonstration projects be developed in which the knowledge and practical expertise of all specialties and disciplines is integrated and in the planning and implementation of which citizens are fully involved.

2. That the concept of education be broadened so that the child from the beginning is educated for human life and not fragmented and partialized by a system of services unable to view him as a total human being.

3. That a re-assessment of priorities be undertaken by all levels of government so that decisions for delegation of funds are based primarily on humanistic rather than materialistic values.

4. That the mass media change their major focus and use their vast power and resources to educate and enrich human life, as well as to support human rather than economic values.

A Description of Organization

1. The Family Service Centre is a member agency of the United Appeal. It is a private, non-profit, non-sectarian agency serving Metropolitan Ottawa and environs. The agency is a member of the Family Service Association of America, an accrediting body with a membership of over 340 family agencies in the United States and Canada which sets standards of professional practice.

2. The agency is governed by a 21 member citizen Board and has a social work staff of 13, qualified with an M.S.W. degree or its equivalent. In addition, it has one full time and four part-time program staff operating its After Four children's program in Centre Town Ottawa. This program also absorbs over 125 volunteers in direct service to these children and their families. During 1969 the agency gave service to 2,100 families, including individual service to many children in these families, particularly adolescents.

Purpose and Function

3. As a social agency we desire to alleviate human suffering and to assist and support social measures which will provide for maximum individual development. As a family agency, our general purpose is to help in the promotion, development and maintenance of family interrelationships, to strengthen positive values of family life and promote healthy personality development and satisfactory social functioning of its individual members. The agency carries out this purpose through the provision of family counselling, parent education and direct services to children, as well as through involvement in social action. In the last three years emphasis on social issues and social action has been greatly

facilitated by direct involvement of over 20 parents of children in the After Four program.

4. Our daily work with people provides ample evidence of the negative effects of poverty in its many aspects. We are impressed by the work of Senator Croll's Committee which clearly reflects that Canada is prepared to face squarely the conditions within its boundaries which incapacitate great numbers of its citizens and limits them and their children to lives of relative hopelessness. We are hopeful that the Committee will play an instrumental role in reshaping old programs and initiating new ones to achieve human welfare in its broadest sense. We welcome the opportunity to submit our convictions and recommendations for the Committee's consideration.

5. At any time 50 per cent of the families to whom this agency offers service have an income of below \$7,000.00; in these families one clearly sees such things as poor, crowded living quarters, reduced access to education and recreation, occupational restriction to simple manual types of work, security which is quickly threatened by such things as illness, loss of work or legal problems. More serious, however, is the effect of these conditions: the feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness and isolation which display themselves in delinquency, alcoholism, desertion, violent behaviour, and family breakdown. It is easy to cite these manifestations of poverty related primarily to economic factors, but what is of concern to us as an agency, is the poverty of human relationships which we see in increasing numbers of the families with whom we work, regardless of income. The past two decades have seen wonderful strides in the area of technology and the physical sciences, but our work causes us to query whether we have to date paid too excessive a price in human values for the material standard of living to which we as a nation have aspired. We think the mass media have played a major part in this in inculcating us with equating success and the 'good life' with material symbols such as bigger and more powerful automobiles and the acquisition of fancier and new gadgets and appliances. We suggest that the time has come for the mass media to recognize this awesome power to mold and create public taste and to assume responsibility for using this power to enrich human life rather than simply play into the hands of Madison Avenue.

6. We think the following excerpts will illustrate the foregoing:

(a) Mr. and Mrs. A. and five children are living on \$400.00 take home pay earned jointly by parents. Mrs. A. does part-time cleaning work and Mr. A. holds an unskilled job. Both are limited intellectually and are under constant stress financially with a heavy debt situation. These stresses limit further the parents' ability to form good social relationships with each other, friends and even their children. The lack of financial and social stability in the home will pose more problems in the future as the children become 'teen-agers' and later still in their own marriages. Children such as these are dependent on community facilities to learn a positive experience in personal relationships.

(b) Mr. and Mrs. D. are coping with marginal income as well as the emotional difficulties of Mr. D. expressed in alcoholism and infantile rages. He was emotionally deprived as a child, born out of wedlock and raised by his maternal grandmother who did not believe in school. The boy was indulged, disciplined inconsistently and forcefully, and never was given any responsibility. With emotional retardation or possible brain damage from the blows on the head as a child, this man functions as a self-employed carpenter of some skill. He cannot write or spell and cannot fill in an application form for other employment. Mrs. D. is employed as a typist, has Grade 12, but has had to cope as well with the full responsibility of caring for their two children, filling the homemaker's role, and trying to help her husband—surely a tall order for the strongest of people. Now 38 years of age, she is fearful of the future and the children are showing signs of disturbance at home and school. With their unbalanced home life, one can predict that their own marriages will start with built-in difficulties, continuing the cost in loss of human potential but also the cost of community services to help their function.

(c) Mr. and Mrs. J. have asked the agency for help in marriage problems. Mr. J. a writer earning \$10,000. a year, is a person who never experienced positive human emotions and relationships. He functions well in his job and as a provider but is unable to give his wife emotional support. Mrs. J. is a dependent person needing her husband's strength. Their daughter, a Grade 12 student at 16, is now showing strain and nervousness and has failed all her examinations. This girl will marry and

form a house with similar patterns; she cannot know what is involved in family life or have the strength and stability to stand the stresses of life because of her present poverty in human relationships.

(d) Mrs. G. is a separated wife with three boys, aged 6, 5 and 4 years. As a child her family were on public assistance, her father a broken older man, the product of the depression. From her background of isolated, economic and emotional poverty, what hope was there that she would form a healthy union in marriage? She married a man who became alcoholic. Now alone, with bitterness and anger about life, she too has had to accept public assistance. She wants to work to break out of the rut of poverty, fearful that her sons will face that future too. However she, with Grade 12 and typing, cannot earn sufficient to maintain the home and provide day care for her children. Subsidized income plus day care facilities would help this woman maintain her dignity and her feelings of self-worth.

(e) The B. family are seven in all. Five children and an income of \$6,000.00 forces this family to live marginally. They have many strengths, are not a 'problem family', but with any extra stress, illness, dental care, etc., even their excellent management of money and a lucky break in housing is not enough to provide flexibility and the family has to request help from community resources. A supplemental income for working poor would provide stability and self-worth for this family.

(f) Mr. and Mrs. S. are 27 years and 23 years of age respectively. Mr. S. a car salesman earns \$4,000. a year. He has a passive personality, hates to exert pressure, and is unsuccessful in his job. He has Grade 12 education and no specific skills. Mrs. S. has three years of university but as children are 2, 3 and 4 years of age she has to be at home. This family is relatively comfortable, but to maintain that, their total energies are spent coping with material needs. Their interpersonal relationships are affected and stimulation to move out of house for recreation is thwarted. Thus apathy and inertia are produced and the home becomes almost a vacuum giving little to the children in positive warm human relationships.

7. While citing these case illustrations, we are acutely aware that the family has been historically the crucible responsible for the social and moral development of its individual members, especially the children. But as

we see the abilities of individuals vary, so also do their opportunities. The stresses of poverty and the complexity of life to-day break down even that family which functions marginally or better, and make it impossible to function for those caught in economic poverty. Thus the crucible is weakened. The individual product of our present day family is often less able to fill his adult role than his actual innate potential would indicate. A knowledge of family life, philosophy of true human values provided for to-day's children would better prepare the next generation to cope with their problems.

8. To date our society has tried to alleviate poverty but it has been a 'mopping-up' process. Poverty has become a many-headed monster—economic, social, cultural and emotional—and is growing faster than our ability to mop up. We must start on a preventive course of action, a positive approach to our problems of poverty. To do this the community must provide measures not only to control the monster but to break down its tragic effects on human life.

9. We feel the nation is ready for change, ready to affirm that economically we cannot afford to continue as we are because of both the financial and the *human* cost. The appointment of this Senate Committee so indicates. Also our experience in our After Four Project¹ has provided us with contact and support from all manner of people in the community; health, welfare, churches, schools and private individuals from all walks of life. This too has made us increasingly aware of the real desire for change in our community, the desire for a fuller understanding of the struggle of others, as well as our own. We have also felt in people a sense of loss and of inadequacy as human beings to cope with the technological development in our times and to retain their dignity as people. Are we in danger of losing our very humanity to keep up with these changes? Is this the precious commodity that we must trade so that our children can go to the moon?

10. This must happen. At this point in time society has to reassess its standards and values. Poverty is not merely a matter of dollars and cents. Indeed the battle against poverty involves a reassessment by society of the value placed on individual worth.

January 21, 1970

¹Family Service Centre of Ottawa: *After Four Project Research Report*, September 1968, Ottawa Ontario.

APPENDIX "B"

HULL ISLAND AND POVERTY

Hull island is the oldest part of the city of the same name, located on the North shore of the Ottawa river, facing Ottawa. Situated, on the other hand at the confluence of the Gatineau river, Hull island has developed since 1880 with the wood industry, and paper mill installations of the E. B. Eddy Company are still to be found in Hull. The local population of the island has always been for the major part a population of workmen, due to its context. The population is French speaking (94%) and numbers approximately 24,000 persons.

The surrounding atmosphere

Hull island appears to be a place through which run very busy highways, especially during peak hours, because three of the four bridges that connect with Ottawa pass over the island of Hull, and more than one half of the workers in the urban area on the Quebec side work in Ottawa. In addition to this transient aspect of the traffic, there is no section to be found on the island that is really residential. Industry, commerce, manufacturing installations, restaurants, movie theaters, service stations, automobile repair shops, single family dwellings, multi family dwellings, all of it is to be found side by side in an indescribable mixture. It is clear that we are faced with the results of an inefficient zoning policy.

The problem is aggravated by the fact that the network of roads is presently totally inadequate. It is known that 75% of the streets of Hull island are less than 50 feet wide, whereas the standard used in residential sectors demands a minimum width of 66 feet to be expropriated.

However, that is not all. The present standards suggest that the surface area of a lot used for a single family dwelling contain 6,000 square feet and that the dwelling does not cover more than 30% of the surface area of the lot. When looking at Hull island from that point of view, it is noted that 31% of the lots contain less than 3,000 square feet, and that 88% of the lots contain less than 6,000 square feet. Furthermore, the dwellings erected on these small lots are bi-family or multi-family dwellings to the extent of 79%.

In short, all the conditions are present to cause the population to live in surroundings where the air is polluted, ventilation and sun are absent, where it is at all times noisy, where the risk of accidents and fire is very high, and the courtyards and open spaces are congested, if not lacking. The health of residents in such surroundings will be affected, and the social problems will rise in number; they will have to pay higher rates for such services as fire insurance.

Housing

Notwithstanding the unfavorable conditions of the surroundings, it may be believed that the population is living in suitable houses. How true is this? The average age of the houses varies from 40 to 50 years, depending upon the sector. It is actually known that the city planning branch of the city of Montreal estimates that the life span of houses is approximately 55 years. On the other hand, according to the established criteria, more than 55 per cent of the houses of Hull island are in a state of advanced deterioration (deteriorated for more than 35 per cent); 25 per cent of the renters do not have hot water; 26 per cent of the houses do not have a bath or a shower, and in certain sectors 50 per cent of the dwellings do not have that equipment; 42 per cent of the families are short on bedrooms; 20 per cent of the population does not sleep in a bedroom; 25 per cent of the parents sleep with a child in their bedroom, and 9 per cent have two children in their bedroom.

It seems to us that the housing situation of Hull island is deplorable. Town planners confirm that 76 per cent of the houses of Hull island are considered to be inadequate due to the road system, the water and sewer services, the surroundings, the available services, the condition of the houses and their overpopulation.

Lack of participation

Emptied of its traditional elite and physically abandoned, the island has deteriorated in its physical aspect and its infrastructure. Consequently, the population feels that it is abandoned. It has developed an inferiority

complex and a complex of passive resignation. People have lost confidence in themselves. They feel that they have nothing to say from a political and social point of view. Very little information is supplied to this, population concerning its situation in case of urban renewal or massive expropriations by the governments (expropriation is even more expeditious than renewal, it is the preferred means!). This lack of official information, clear and precise, as to any interior project in which the population is involved, is probably one of the major sources of anxiety; it is an important factor of social deterioration. People are asking themselves where they will be the next day; what it is going to cost them; if they will be able to cope with that new situation. A filtered and parsimonious distribution of information works against participation and creates a latent insecurity. If urban renewal consists in rebuilding a community, not only the buildings should be rebuilt and one should even be less content with just expropriating sectors. It involves enabling a population to achieve a collective promotion by participating in its own development, by assuming its own responsibilities for what affects them. But who makes the decisions, and is a participation in these decisions possible?

The Power Structure

A recent study¹ reveals that most of the important decisions made in the Ottawa community have been made by a limited number of individuals: merchants, businessmen and professional persons. These persons operate virtually without opposition from the population. In reality, the groups and the persons not being part of them have less chance to be heard in the community when their interests are at stake.

These persons project an image of first class citizen upon the community, which has its counterpart in the image of second rate citizens, which they agree to call the "disfavoured" ones.

A good part of the population of Hull island is exactly disfavored. According to the same study, the "disfavored" ones depend in the satisfaction of their basic needs upon supply sources over which they have no control. The satisfaction of their basic needs is largely dependent upon institutional arrangements from which they are excluded. They depend upon the orientation which the socio-

economically more advanced groups give to the collective equipment. Their need to experiment feelings of integrity, of independence, to feel that their efforts are not absurd, is conditioned by the situation, meaning by the relationship that exist between them and the nervous system. Ironically, the nervous system usually dictates what should be, in their opinion, the conditions for their independence. On this point, it is interesting to note now the decision was made concerning the choice of the subsidized housing projects recently submitted to the municipality.

The Alienation of the "Disfavored Ones"

The image of the first class citizen projected by the nervous system is alienating for the "disfavored" ones and the efforts of the nervous system to help them identify themselves with this image which takes their identity away, renders them ambivalent and often powerless. The presence of certain groups belonging to corporate structures, the resistance to basically change the fundamental pattern, the total absence of the "disfavored" ones in the decision making process, the emphasis placed upon the "consensus" and upon the integration of the "disfavored" ones, upon the adaptation of their standards of living to those of the first class citizens, without taking conflicting interests into account, have for a long time lead the community institutions to be engaged in a "wrong therapy", which, until now, scarcely seems to be a start of a solution of the "poverty problem".

The nervous system has a tendency to rationalize in advance that the "disfavored" ones are incapable of acting in an autonomous fashion. It follows that they also have a tendency to treat them as semi-responsible, as trouble makers and worriers. The attitude of the nervous system is a mixture of paternalism, aversion, fear and intolerance. The system has the feeling that they need to be supervised, cared for, administered and admonished if they behave in an inappropriate manner. On the other hand, the introjection of the image of first class citizen, as favored by the system, provokes feelings of guilt among them. The frustrations that inhibit them reduce even more the efforts they might make, and takes away their self confidence and prevents them from seeing their interests in the correct perspectives.

Self-Determination

The conditions for the existence of the population of Hull island pose a serious problem to the just society. The dependent varia-

¹ J. McPherson, *Welfare, Control and Social Change*, Hull 1969.

ble that must be changed in this case, is the social change. But, society guides social change toward two poles. The community can be "guided" in the sense of a self-determination of the human units (individuals, organizations) or in the sense, as we have seen, of an alienation of these units.

The social change becomes alienating when it is the expression of objective conditions that subject the units to procedures that condition their behavior, in the face of which the units are unable to react in an authentic fashion. On the other hand, social change tends towards self determination, when it creates and improves the conditions to provide for the basic needs which man must satisfy and which he can satisfy possibly more adequately in certain structures rather than in others. The effective participation of social units in the determination of these conditions is the surest way of ensuring the change to be made as a function of the needs; this is the way to really favor the growth of a community. Without that participation it is virtually impossible for a community to continuously adapt itself to the needs of its members. Without that participation, the emphasis is placed upon the adaptation of the individual needs as a function of the community in general.

The Development

The challenge for the citizens of Hull island is the passing from a social change that tends toward alienation, to a social change that tends toward self-determination. The self-determination of the social change is really the basic dynamic factor of the development. "Development is the process of continuous growth of humanity, the sum total of all the realizations and of all the human values, whether of an economic, social, political, cultural or spiritual order. The programs for human development force us to revise our ways of observing and our social priorities. This process goes much further than cataplastic remedies; it goes to the root of human misery itself. It exceeds the mentality that considers the aid to the poor as a painful burden which the rich have to bear whether they want to or not; it goes as far as a fraternal attitude of mutual assistance. It opens a new door for a participation in the making of decisions. Development liberates

the human beings and enables them to live fully, each according to his fashion and according to his own rhythm".¹

The Collective Awareness

The citizens of Hull island are subject to a alienating social change. In order to be able to participate in a social change that tends toward self determination, it is necessary that they have access to various measures of self-determination from a local point of view (first of all) and that conditions are made available that favour their emancipation. This emancipation is only possible when there is a collective awareness of their situation and if they organize themselves in an independent manner to hold discussions with the various forces of the surroundings, because development is only possible when the total of the forces of the surroundings actively participate in it. However, not all the groups have an equal chance at the point of departure. The citizens of Hull island are not organized, they have no financial power, they are not used to public discussions, they have little education, they do not know the complexity of the wheels of the Public administration and of politics.

"When we look around us, we notice that there are very few free persons, that several do not feel themselves to be free, and do not dare say what they think. They are AFRAID. FEAR prevents almost anybody from saying what he thinks. They are afraid of losing advantages, to find that their cheque is smaller, to lose their job, to be looked at askance by others, to be criticized, to be treated as communists or something like it".² That feeling of fear expressed itself dozens of times on Hull island during the last year.

The Participation-Inquiry

In order to overcome that fear, the citizens must learn to be solidary, they must be able to know their needs and their resources, they must have a desire to be self determining. For that purpose a model of a special action has proven to be more and more efficient: the participation-inquiry.

The participation-inquiry is the inquiry of the citizens, by the citizens for the citizens. Contrary to the inquiries usually made by

¹ Report of the Strategy, A Christian answer of a development league, pp. 10-11.

² Canadian Conference on the Church and the World, Toward equality...through participation p. 10.

experts and sent to an organization that decides upon the action as it sees fit, the participation-inquiry is conceived by the citizens, with the aid of the necessary technique. Once the questionnaire has been completed, the investigators are recruited on a voluntary basis in the sector where the inquiry is to be conducted. The sector should comprise approximately 200 families. The investigating citizen, whether a student, a pensioner or housewife, then contacts part of the district, meets with the co-citizens, and asks them questions concerning the following points: housing, health, work, unemployment, income, use of community services, social security, information, family problems, recreation, popular education, participation, etc. The compilation is made by the investigator himself or by a volunteer. Once the district has been fully covered, an analysis of the data is made and a simple and short report is written. The citizens of the district are then called to an information meeting. The report is explained to them and an animator helps the group in reaching a collective awareness of its needs and resources.

The inquiry is made to the extent the citizens are willing to work in a district. The fact that the citizens of the district establish the contact between them themselves and jointly discuss problems that are theirs, favors the creation of a motivation and the awakening of a solidarity that is the result of shared needs. The picture which the inquiry gives them of their district reinforces these feelings among the citizens, and stimulates their desire to react. This is a first step toward participation in the development.

Claude Létourneau

Introduction

The survey carried out in Hull Island since early 1969 has yielded some revealing figures on health conditions, and some investigators have been shocked by their observations. This study is no more than an approach to a few aspects of the problem; its purpose is to alert a larger number of people to a deplorable situation that has gone on too long. It seeks to motivate people to work together to find a solution to what amounts to a scandalous state of affairs in the world of plenty in which we live. The subjects covered here will be the gaps in the existing system, some cases of injustice, and the shortcomings of government agencies.

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In this grey area, a kind of "reservation" has been created, the residents of which experience difficulties in gaining access to further education, well-paid jobs, adequate housing, and so on. This gives rise to a multitude of problems, and some blame the underprivileged for the situation they are in. We must not be afraid to face reality. There would be no point in sympathizing with the disinherited, if a fresh awareness did not lead us to ask ourselves some searching questions, based on better knowledge of the environment in which we live.

Hull's underprivileged live in geographical isolation. Brewery Creek does not merely cut the city in two physically speaking—it has become symbolic of division between people, the better-off and the impoverished.

The "anomaly" is still there, and it must produce a reaction in us. Health conditions in Hull Island are as much a cause as an effect of poverty.

A Few Statistics

To afford a better grasp of the health problem and place it in a realistic context, we present few statistics obtained in a survey covering a fairly representative sector of the Island. These figures are based on a sample of 330 families and 65 single people:

- 30 per cent of the families must go without other things in order to purchase essential medication;
- one mother in three described her health as bad or not very good;
- of those who do not live in family homes, 50 per cent described their health as bad or not very good;
- only a tiny minority of small wage-earners have medical insurance;
- doctors' fees are too high for them;
- drug and medicine prices are exorbitant;
- it is impossible to obtain treatment for some diseases—such as epilepsy—in Hull;
- the impoverished are exposed to more frequent and more serious illnesses;
- the population of the Island is older than that of the rest of the city.

Water and Health

The question of water is hardly reassuring. The Ottawa has long been seriously polluted by the discharging of untreated sewage. The water and sewerage system of the City of Hull leaves a great deal to be desired. Parts of the water-supply piping is still of wooden

construction. There are leaks, and a large amount of water is lost. There is no filtration plant; more and more chlorine is added to the water. When we see the patches of foam coming from the Eddy plant, knowing as we do all the sewers that discharge into the river without any purification measures, we understand why the Ottawa is hardly used at all for recreational purposes.

Water as a Resource

In comparison to other cities, Hull has a great deal of water. Although nature has been generous in this regard, the city does not escape the consequences of public unconcern. Urbanization, industrialization and expansion into recreational areas have been largely responsible for making the water problem a real threat to public health in this region. Since water is a community resource, it should be purified and conserved so as to satisfy the most important needs of the people.

Priorities

Water for drinking is the *primary necessity*, since physical health—not to say life itself—is dependent on it. There is a feeling in some quarters, moreover, that Man, who is living a life more and more at odds with nature, must be able to get back to nature from time to time in recreational areas. Since outdoor life is largely centred on water, “water for recreation” comes to be regarded as a second primary necessity. According to this theory, water purification and conservation should be primarily intended to meet these two human needs: “water for drinking” and “water for recreation”.

Is Hull Air Polluted?

If your neighbourhood is cut off from the morning sun by the substantial smokescreen from the Eddy mills; if you have breathed the fumes from Canada Packers; if you have inhaled the smoke from Canada Cement, and if you have passed near the City dump, then you have the evidence. The residents have long been accustomed to such things and no longer even notice them; they do not think of protesting, even though the spoiled air is imperceptibly undermining their health—killing them “quietly”, as it were. An individual may choose whether to drink water or something else he is not free to breathe any air other than the air around him. Asbestos and gold miners know a thing or two on this subject. The problems of air and water pollu-

tion continue to become more serious, and governments seem powerless to check them. When will we have legislation under which legal action can be taken against those guilty of causing the pollution? And why should people have to subsidize the industries responsible for the damage, in order to assist them to eliminate it? The situation is serious in this region, and requires immediate action. Let us return to the matter of water. On August 29, 1969, the beach on Lake Leamy was (once again) closed to the public, the water there being dangerously polluted, according to experts from the Quebec Department of Health. On that date, the water had a bacteria count of 2000, 200 being the maximum allowed for water to be open to the public. Children, especially, ran the risk of contracting disease. Last December 27, a local newspaper reported that a sample of water taken from the mouth of Brewery Creek showed a high content of bacteria that can cause typhoid; should the drinking water supply plants run short of chlorine, a serious epidemic could result.

Housing and Health

The most impoverished area, and the one with the highest concentration of slums, is in the oval formed by the old railway right-of-way, St. Hyacinthe and Champlain Streets, and Sacred Heart Boulevard. There, and elsewhere, many old houses are reported to be in need of repair; they remain damp and cold despite heating. A number of others should be demolished, since they are quite incapable of meeting even minimum standards of hygiene, safety and comfort. Many of these people are unable to build themselves proper housing because of their low incomes, the high cost of labour, and so on. There follow a few more figures from the survey:

- 25 per cent are occupying housing that is too expensive for them;
- 22 per cent are dissatisfied with their housing.

Public Health and Hygiene

“When even a solidly-constructed house stands near a polluted stream, a factory giving off noxious smoke and fumes, or a street that is too narrow and covered with refuse, on land stripped of trees, shrubs and grass, it is just as unfit as bad housing.” Since the streets are open to traffic of every kind, those in residential areas deteriorate rapidly—their air is polluted, and accidents are

frequent. (There were 4,000 accidents in Hull in 1969, according to a City Police report, December, 1969.) Such factors as heavy traffic, industrial fumes, and the lack of fresh air and sunshine have a major effect on public health in urban areas. Need we mention the din that reigns constantly on some streets and intersections in the city. "The noise in our streets, which is sometimes very loud, is as harmful to public well-being as air and water pollution, according to a recent statement by two scientists. It can cause partial and permanent deafness. In any case, it disturbs the peace and irritates the populace. According to the reasonable standards of its people, Hull should have five times as much parkland within the city limits as it now has. Brewery Creek, which should be one of the city's greatest scenic attractions, is an open sewer." (Town Planning Commission, Hull, 1962)

Overcrowding and Health

Overcrowding is a phenomenon that affects a family that has to squeeze as best it can (probably not very well) into cramped housing, where the members do not have sufficient living space to live normal lives. This is a frequent occurrence in the Island. As a rule, overcrowding is injurious to health, as a result of unsanitary conditions. The following is an example found in the 1969 survey. In a veritable hovel, two families live one above the other. Each has 7 members. Downstairs: 2½ apartments, monthly rent \$35. Upstairs: 2 apartments for 7 people, remember, 4 of them older children, monthly rent \$28. Both dwellings are without a hot water system, a bath, or a 220-volt electricity supply. Both are cold and dirty, with cracked walls, uneven floors and so on. In them, researchers found an anemic mother and a child coming home from school famished. Parents' educational level: grade 4. Poverty, forced unemployment, promiscuity, and so on. They cannot get out of this vicious circle by their own efforts.

A few figures:

- 26 per cent are living in cramped quarters;
- reports indicate that barely half the dwellings in the Island have an adequate number of bedrooms;
- 25 per cent of the parents have to share their bedroom with a child;
- in 25 per cent of cases, 3 additional people must share the same bedroom;
- 20 per cent have to sleep in the living room or hall.

Home Comfort and Health

Is there really a connection between unsanitary housing and disease? How can people remain healthy when the most elementary standards of hygiene are denied? According to the Hull assessment service, the facilities in dwellings in the Island are generally inferior to those in other sectors, and do not meet reasonable standards. In the matter of bathroom facilities, the situation is deplorable:

- of all dwellings in Hull, 17 per cent have neither bath nor shower;
- in the Island, this percentage rises to 27 per cent;
- 28 per cent have no hot water system;
- 20 per cent are difficult to heat;
- inadequate windows do not give the necessary light and air;
- in some basements, the drains overflow during summer storms.

Anxiety and Health

In view of the housing situation as just described, it is understandable that the citizens of Hull are in favour of urban renewal, an urgent necessity in some sectors. But this process, as it has begun and threatens to continue, if more attention is not paid to the persons displaced, makes life unbearable for them. Expropriation and renewal tear people away from their surroundings, and the elderly suffer from it more than others. They have to take more expensive accommodation, while their incomes do not rise. They have difficulty finding housing at reasonable prices; once construction is completed, will they be able to return to their neighbourhoods? It amounts to deportation. They are prey to constant tension. When exactly will they be evicted from their homes? There is a shortage of housing to accommodate them. This has a worse effect than many diseases, for there is scarcely any remedy. One known case involved a person who lost his sanity, and another met an untimely death. The noise of demolition (and reconstruction) deny sleep to those working shifts. A resident who is not obliged to leave before 1972 is thinking of leaving as soon as possible, and makes the comment: "They will win by getting us completely discouraged". This does great psychological damage. In the atmosphere of insecurity that prevails in dozens of homes, permanent anxiety sets in, undermining those in the best of health and bringing on depression.

Income and Health

It has been shown that a family with 4 children needs a minimum annual income of \$6,000 in order to live without constant cheseparing. What is the situation in the Island?

- 26 per cent of the families do not have enough income to make ends meet;
- 30 per cent of the families have to get by on an annual income of less than \$4,000;
- several families who depend on public welfare have an income of approximately \$2,000 a year;
- the sector ranks high in the number of unemployed, invalids, lower wage earners.

In Quebec, 17½ per cent of the wage-earning heads of households do not enjoy living conditions that are sufficient to enable them to satisfy even certain basic requirements; they earn a wage which condemns their families to a life of poverty.

Tobacco and Health

In addition to making a big hole in Canadians' pocketbooks, (approximately \$400 million a year) cigarette smoking has repercussions on the health of the users. It is a known fact that "smoking" is one of the compensations that are offered willingly to the unemployed and the poor, even though according to "our" standards, they do not have the "means". Tars, nicotine and many other substances are inhaled when people smoke and cause serious ailments among which should be pointed out: cancer of the lung, mouth, throat and bladder; peptic ulcers, chronic bronchitis, emphysema, heart disease, respiratory infections, inflammation of the sinuses, etc. According to Mr. John Munro, Minister of Health, in 1966 over-smoking was responsible for 29,000 of the cases treated medically. During the same year, fires caused by smokers, to private property and forests, amounted to \$13 million.

Alcohol and Health

When the lower wage earners list their expenses, alcohol, like tobacco, does not appear on the list. However, we know that in some cases, this is a major item. Is it a waste that people are embarrassed to admit? Can such things be forbidden to the poor? They may have the same tastes as the rich who nevertheless can indulge in blameworthy extravagances, if we think of their duty to share their overabundance. It is a well-

known fact that in Hull there are "drinking" problems. The city does not escape this social phenomenon; it has its heavy drinkers, its alcoholics. Every day social workers come face to face with the consequences of alcoholism: delinquency, family quarrels, homes that are broken or on the way to being broken. In these households there is a persistent uneasiness, a threat, a tension which leads to depression. Poverty, indigence, misery, illness. An alcoholic is very sick. At the same time he undermines the health of his family and we know how difficult it is to rehabilitate him. This is what makes the problem serious; the alcoholic affects his entire surroundings, beginning with his wife, his children, his relatives. Alcoholism sometimes ruins years of joint effort. The whole community experiences the situation. Because of his drinking, the alcoholic often deprives his family of the necessities—of food, medicine and other essential requirements.

A few figures in this connection: The Quebec Liquor Control Board office on Main Street in 1969 alone had a volume of business which neared 2 million dollars from the sale of 387,000 bottles of wine and liquor. This does not mean that these were all consumed by the residents of the Île de Hull because outsiders come there for supplies, including Ottawans. (Because of a wider choice and the size of containers). Nevertheless, let us not forget that a good number of Hull residents buy their "drinks" in Ottawa where it is cheaper. As for beer, owing to the fact that we could not produce precise figures on the volume of sales, let it suffice to point out the facilities where it can be obtained or drunk. In the Île there are 40 licensed grocery stores, 6 hotels, 6 motels or licensed restaurants and 13 taverns.

Leisure and Health

Half of the families of the Île do not take an annual vacation. The poor, humiliated, exploited, poorly paid, poorly housed, poorly fed, poorly cared, should at least have an opportunity to relax if they are not to stagnate psychologically. But outdoor leisure is not enough. We are aware of, how many young people roam the streets, under what conditions and what conversations! Parks and holiday resorts are inadequate or beyond their means. On property that is already too limited, the bit of space not used up by the house is soon paved or taken up by a shed or garage. Undoubtedly urban renewal projects

and health insurance plans will solve a few of these problems, in the long run. But in the meantime, what is to be done about immediate needs? In winter, there are indeed a few outdoor rinks; but the Arena, which should serve all the residents, is always rented to clubs. Here again, individual interest before the public interest. In Ottawa, each of the 5 arenas devote a minimum of 14 hours a week to the general public for skating. In Hull, that is limited to absolutely zero. Is the Hull Arena a service or a paying proposition...?

Social Assistance and Health

Perhaps there would be salvation in social assistance? Let's see! Some people on welfare receive a "medical card" with their monthly cheque. This card entitles them to free medical visits to a doctor or specialist. The same card does not entitle them to free prescriptions. They are allowed a diagnosis but are refused a part of the solution to the problem.

In the brief submitted to the Castonguay Commission by the Outaouais Social Service in November 1968, a typical case is mentioned: X is a good worker; but since he does not have an education or a proficiency certificate, his income is inadequate. His wife is ill; one of his children is mentally retarded, another two are asthmatic. He incurred expenditures during a recent move, they are in debt (voluntary deposit law), etc. In order for the ill members of the family to continue urgent treatment and to get the necessary medicines, a special allowance application was made to Quebec in May 1968. One formality after another, many letters later, a final answer arrived... in November (6 months later!) saying that an extra allowance of \$40.00 had been granted. As the report says, "what happens in the meantime? If the patient doesn't die, the family is in such a state of anguish that the illness gets worse and recovery will be all the harder. Those who ask for help often have to undergo humiliation and a great deal of distress before receiving allowances that are often ridiculous, as in the above case". A Department of Welfare officer in Hull admits that some people on welfare receive an inadequate allowance; they have to do budgetary gymnastics just to survive and that in the final analysis they have scarcely enough to live on decently when we take the standard of living of those around them into consideration.

Welfare in Hull

The entire welfare system should be rethought, *humanized*. The Welfare office in Hull is organized so as to discourage "clients", to humiliate them, to intimidate them. The people are received by welfare officers, they have to stand around waiting and finally present their "case" in front of those lined up at the counter, just like a complaints office in a department store, *public confession!* Telephone calls are processed so that it is difficult, if not impossible, to contact the people in charge as a last resort. The government would get away from abuses, would put an end to fraudulent practices and could give fair treatment to those who really need help by setting up an adequate system of investigation and supervision. The Government would be saving a great deal and the people in charge know this also. Those really in need are often those who have enough pride and human dignity to suffer in silence; but from certain facts, it can be concluded that they are the ones who are confronted with greater obstacles in obtaining an adequate allowance.

Then what?

"The effect of all these steps is to make the individual feel progressively more morally degraded, which ends up in undermining any trace of pride or human dignity. This situation ends up being crystallized in a firm inferiority complex and feeling of impotence, counterbalanced by the loss of any possibility of rising above it, of recovery, of rehabilitation. Thus, a vicious circle of misery, poverty and dependence is created around this individual. As the proverb says, Misery breeds misery. The present system is almost in the process of making dependence a trade, not to mention a profession". (Castonguay Commission Report)

More of the Same

Too often the ailing poor are considered as beggars asking for charity; moreover, incomplete charity because the medicine is at the expense of the patient who will very often be forced to do without it; or he will have only a part of the prescription filled. Are only the rich and the well-off entitled to medicine? When will the vital and inalienable right to health be permitted to all human beings in a rich country like ours and in a so-called "just" society? Another direct consequence of too low wages or allowances is malnutrition which causes anaemia, rickets, vulnerability to any diseases going around; the children's performance at school is lowered, etc. A dieti-

tian at St-Jacques Clinic in Montreal noted as a cause of illness: unhealthy housing and malnutrition. According to her, a number of families have only one good meal a day.

Hull's Sacred Heart Hospital

A good many citizens of Hull were surprised and indignant to learn that during the summer months, more than 100 beds in their hospital were vacant—particularly in view of the inadequacy of the hospital even when it is operating at capacity. The waiting list for admission to the hospital contains several hundred names (500) and 30 per cent of Hull residents have to be treated in Ottawa. The reason? A shortage of qualified personnel—doctors and registered nurses. A doctor has said that Hull needs 30 additional general practitioners. There is also a shortage of male nurses, but a major weakness is in the area of female registered nurses. Several dozen more would be needed in order to avert the reduction in services during the vacation period. Is there a planning failure on the part of hospital authorities? When consulted, they took issue with: (1) Quebec City, which lays down how many people the hospital may hire; (2) the collective agreement, which is said to allow the employees to take their holidays whenever they wish, on a seniority basis; (3) Ontario, which steals our employees by paying better salaries than Quebec, etc., etc. The most discouraging thing is that we have been told the empty-bed situation could recur at the hospital next summer. And all this time, there is still talk of enlarging the hospital, which is admittedly necessary. How can the mess be untangled? If service cannot be provided for the beds already there, how will they cope with 200 or 300 more? We understand the deadlock at the hospital, but we remain concerned about the sick. It is a question not merely of increasing the number of beds, but above all of providing services for those in hospital. Contemplating the shortcomings of our hospital services and the hesitancy of our governments, a doctor ironically quoted the well-known slogan: "Québec sait faire—Quebec can cope". Someone commented: "At the hospital, they don't even try".

On the Same Subject

Dr. Paul David feels that the very cost of operating hospitals makes it illogical and unacceptable that the number of beds in use should be reduced during the holidays. Ways should be found of avoiding the seasonal recurrence of this anomaly whereby personal

interests come before those of the general public. If all hospitals accepted the same policy on hirings and vacations, something could be done. At the moment, the law of supply and demand gives a hospital no alternative to reducing the number of beds in use during the summer, when the nursing staff take their month's vacation.

Some doctors admit that medicine, as they are compelled to practise it, has lost its human element. They are no longer treating people, they are treating numbers, on a mass production basis. One doctor was even moved to tell the committee on health: "Hospitals are becoming factories". Are not hospital staffs too often just "employees" like those of any other industry? With hospital care costing about \$50.00 per patient per day, it seems that each of them is entitled to the best.

People Have No Choice

Confronted by the steadily increasing difficulty in getting doctors to make house calls, particularly for urgent cases, and at weekends, people take the only solution open to them: they go to the emergency department of the hospital. But, we were told, the emergency department is strictly for accident victims, though no one could define exactly which accidents entitle their victims to free emergency care. The hospital rebukes people for presenting themselves at the emergency department in excessively large numbers, for treatment that should be given in a doctor's office or at home. People are reproached for getting into panic over "nothing" and rushing to Emergency. About 150 people come every day, more in the winter. The result is that Emergency handles three times as many cases as the available staff can cope with, and this leads to traffic jams, delays and so on. Thus, if a child falls ill suddenly, or a heart sufferer has an attack at night, people think of Emergency. But we are told at the hospital that it would be better to wait until doctors' offices are open, and they will give an appointment a week later for lack of an adequate clinic, at the hospital or elsewhere; there is no solution but to continue going to Emergency.

A Service That Is Too Little Known

At Sacred Heart Hospital, there is a service prescribed by provincial law that is available to citizens free of charge. This is the out-patients' clinic, which obviates the need to be hospitalized for check-ups and diagnostic tests. It handles blood and urine tests, x-rays,

etc. The procedure is to visit a doctor, who will prescribe the laboratory test. Applications are forwarded to Emergency, which summons patients as and when services are available. Again, there is a waiting list, but it does free some hospital beds.

An Authoritative Comment

To sum up the medical situation as it presently appears, the following testimony was given by Dr. Paul David, Director of the Institute of Cardiology, Montreal: "The constantly rising cost of medical care has made it less and less accessible to the population as a whole. Regardless of the number of doctors, the question must be asked: in practice, do the sick have ready access to the doctor? Attention must be drawn to the grave anomaly whereby medication is not free of charge to the patient, for whom it is often a major expense, and to whom the hospital cannot give medication or sell it at cost if it is not consumed on the premises. It seems to me just as urgent to reimburse the assisted patient for medication expenses as it is to pay the doctor his consultation or visiting fee. The proposed medical insurance scheme that is to come into force next July 1 will not provide any free medication. We know how difficult it is to get a doctor to respond to a call at night or over the weekend. Services in the emergency departments of our hospitals are inadequate."

Dr. David wonders "whether people really derive all the benefits from the fantastic sums allocated to hospitals, doctors and health services in general (almost \$500 million in 1969); let us not forget the antiquated organization of some dispensaries, the time it takes to be admitted, the failure to supply medication to the poor, the shortage of beds for the chronically ill, and the great gaps in medical care for the aged. Note, too, the expensive travelling that some people have to undertake to get proper treatment for some diseases. Does our extraordinary social progress benefit mainly the economically weak, for whom the new legislation is intended? Will the doctors be the only ones to benefit from their new working and income conditions?"

Dr. David again notes that "the number of specialists is increasing, to the detriment of general practitioners or family doctors; the proportion is presumably 3 to 1, which is abnormal, in view of the needs; and on the eve of the implementation of health insurance, this situation is upsetting and compro-

mises the distribution of care. People mainly need doctors who are accessible, available, devoted and capable of treating a multitude of symptoms, illnesses and accidents at home. When necessary, it is up to him to refer to a specialist for consultation or to transfer a sick person to him. Specialists' fees and general practitioners' fees should not differ so much, if the years of preparation are the same or almost the same. A doctor is always excellent when his prime concern is to serve his client rather than *himself*. In the implementation of a health insurance plan, if the poor and the economically weak do not get complete free medical coverage, this social step forward will become a social setback". (Extracts from a lecture to the members of the Canadian Association of French speaking doctors, November 1969).

Their right to a place in the sun

"The economically weak are perpetually poorly educated, the most poorly housed, condemned to a life in poorly equipped and overcrowded quarters. They also suffer the most from technological advances; it could even be said that they have been left behind by recent economic developments which have pushed them down to the bottom of the occupational scale, when they have not simply eliminated them from the labour ranks. The state of poverty is self-accelerating, self-intensifying. The poorer a person is, the more numerous the characteristics of poverty that will cling to him and keep him in an economically and socially inferior condition." (3rd Solitude).

Government Inertia

Despite the cries of alarm, the briefs submitted, pressures of all kinds, it does not appear that governments at the various levels are stepping in quickly enough or are using adequate measures to correct certain vices in our economic system which condemn too many of its participants to misery. The report of the Quebec Department of Health (1965) points out "nuisances", not specified, at the following locations in Hull: Centre d'apprentissage (apprenticeship centre), Cité Étudiante, Lac Leamy beach, municipal dump, Canada Cement plant and Riviera project. A finger could be pointed at serious shortcomings in the local Health Unit, mentioned in the same report. It should suffice to point out one; the Dental Clinic on St-Joseph Boulevard was hardly adequate when it was in full swing. It was closed for 14 months in 1968-1969.

Our collective conscience when confronted with such facts

The poor are becoming invisible. Their problems, their misfortunes are beyond us. They are no longer roused. They are becoming insensitive to poverty and the frustrations that it brings with it. The visible city hides deep layers of misery and it is painful to become aware of them. It is with ever new astonishment, if not poorly contained irritation, that we periodically remind ourselves of the existence of people who live in degradation which creates greater poverty. Then, the temptation to ignore the problem, the desire to consider misery in terms of special cases, a few victims whom we hold responsible, moreover, for their tragedy.

This study has by no means touched upon all the problems related to health; and as pessimistic as it may appear, it nevertheless is honest, based on data identified during the presentation. Its aim is to suggest to the various authorities concerned that they find practical and effective methods which will make it possible to, if not educate (sic), at least minimize a great social evil: poverty with its numerous repercussions.

A sprouting hope

The HEALTH COMMITTEE which is preparing to open an education, consultation and treatment clinic for low-income people in the Île de Hull, is the open door to hope. It is at the bottom of the re-education program which will dissipate the feeling of impotence held by the poor who have been convinced for a long time that there is nothing that can be done to improve their fate. By making citizens sensitive to the problems engrained in the neighbourhood, the General Assembly of the Île de Hull and the Citizens' Committees are undertaking to fight along with the economically weak so that their rights will be respected, injustices combatted, at all levels. The low-wage earners do not have to be ashamed that they belong to the exploited class. Just because they are poor does not mean that they cannot *think* and act, and create better social conditions. Too many families in the

neighbourhood must struggle along with incomes that are below the poverty line. This is the local THIRD WORLD. It is more than high time that we "roll up our sleeves" and go on to concrete action which will eliminate problems that are scandalous in a society of plenty. The citizens, better informed, regrouped, realize that it is pointless "to wait for" everything from governments and to submit just claims to deaf or blind organizations. Aware of their STRENGTH, the citizens are putting their noses to the grindstone in order to get out of their mess.

They will soon realize "that God helps those who help themselves". A NEW POWER is surging, one that is realistic, adapted and appropriate to the needs of the area. Finally, the people will have their say in the decisions which concern them.

In conclusion

The residents of the Île de Hull believe in the dynamism of regrouping, in the *Strength in Solidarity*. The setting up of the Clinic in the Île de Hull meets an urgent need, raises their self-worth, restores their confidence. It is a sign of their good will, their determination to get out of a dead-end situation, a way of making their claims known and of protesting peacefully when confronted with the passivity of established agencies.

Alphonse Nadeau, Hull,
January 1970.

Appendix

"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control."

(The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25)



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament
1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 17

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1970

WITNESSES:

Neighbourhood Improvement Committee: Mrs. Alice Maitland, President; Mr. Bertrand Serre, Co-ordinator; Mr. Achille Hubert, Social Animator; Mrs. Monique Turgeon, Member of the Executive; Mrs. Arlene Moke, volunteer worker; Mrs. Edna Bedard, area resident; Mr. Roland Gregoire, area resident; Mr. Yvon Guindon, area resident; Mrs. Rosa Dussiaum, area resident; Mrs. Lea Gendron, area resident; Mr. Lionel Larocque, area resident; Mrs. Fleurette Gregoire, area resident.

APPENDIX:

"A"—Brief submitted by the Neighbourhood Improvement Committee.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Fergusson	MacDonald
Carter	Fournier (<i>Madawaska-</i>	McGrand
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	<i>Restigouche, Deputy</i>	Pearson
Cook	<i>Chairman</i>)	Quart
Croll	Hastings	Roebuck
Eudes	Inman	Sparrow
Everett	Lefrançois (<i>Queens</i>)	

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

151 Primrose Street,
Ottawa, Ontario.

TUESDAY, February 3, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 10.00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll (*Chairman*); Carter, Fergusson, Inman, MacDonald (*Queens*), McGrand, Pearson and Quart. (8)

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

Mrs. Alice Maitland, President, Neighbourhood Improvement Committee;
Mr. Bertrand Serre, Co-ordinator, Neighbourhood Improvement Committee;

Mr. Achille Hubert, Social Animator, Neighbourhood Improvement Committee;

Mrs. Monique Turgeon, a Member of the Executive, Neighbourhood Improvement Committee;

Mrs. Arlene Moke, volunteer worker, Neighbourhood Improvement Committee;

Mrs. Edna Bedard, area resident;

Mr. Roland Gregoire, area resident;

Mr. Yvon Guindon, area resident;

Mrs. Rosa Dussiaum, area resident;

Mrs. Lea Gendron, area resident;

Mr. Lionel Larocque, area resident;

Mrs. Fleurette Gregoire, area resident.

(Biographical notes concerning these witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.)

A brief submitted by the Neighbourhood Improvement Committee was ORDERED to be printed as Appendix "A" to these Minutes.

At 11.45 a.m. the Committee adjourned until 9.00 a.m. Thursday, February 5, 1970.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Mrs. Alice Maitland: Chairman of the Neighbourhood Improvement Committee; a working mother with four children.

Mr. Bertrand Serre: Co-ordinator of the Neighbourhood Improvement Committee with a Degree of M.A. in Adult Education from the University of Chicago.

Mr. Achille Hubert: Social Animator of the Neighbourhood Improvement Committee with a Degree of M.A. in Religious Science.

Mrs. Monique Turgeon: An Executive Member and Volunteer Worker of the Neighbourhood Improvement Committee.

Mrs. Arlene Moke: A Volunteer Worker for the Neighbourhood Improvement Committee.

Mrs. Edna Bedard: A mother of seven children who has been a recipient of welfare for seventeen years.

Mr. Roland Gregoire: A resident of Dalhousie Ward in the City of Ottawa, 36 years old and a recipient of welfare because of injuries.

Mr. Yvon Guindon: A resident of Dalhousie Ward in the City of Ottawa, 34 years old and a recipient of welfare because of injuries.

Mrs. Rosa Dussiaum: A mother of seven children and a recipient of welfare as her husband is at present unemployed.

Mrs. Lea Gendron: A mother of six children and a widow.

Mr. Lionel Larocque: A father of four children, separated and a recipient of welfare.

Mrs. Fleurette Gregoire: A mother of six children and a recipient of welfare as her husband is at present unemployed.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, February 3, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 10 a.m. at the headquarters of The Neighbourhood Improvement Committee, 51 Primrose Avenue, Ottawa.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, The Neighbourhood Improvement Committee was formed by citizens in Dalhousie Ward to cope with the problems of high rents, housing and normal problems that concern people on welfare. Some of the members were on welfare, some still are, and some are on their own. I will call first on Mrs. Alice Maitland, who is the chairman of the committee. Father Bertrand Serre and Father Achille Hubert are staff members who will have some remarks to make, after which they will introduce other people who are involved in this problem and have comments of value to make. We will start by asking Mrs. Maitland to speak.

Mrs. Alice Maitland, Chairman, Neighbourhood Improvement Committee: The Neighbourhood Improvement Committee is a citizens' committee that deals with all problems in Dalhousie Ward. Every day we face and see much poverty here. We are very glad that you could come and meet us today in order to listen to what we have to say about how poverty actually is down here. Now I think I will hand the meeting over to Senator Croll.

Father Bertrand Serre, Co-ordinator, Neighbourhood Improvement Committee: I will give a very brief description of what we are doing. The meeting is intended not only to hear of our experience, but to hear more of poverty. For about a year and a half we have studied the housing crises facing people on these streets. This group of residents was formed into committees with other residents who had been working on recreation problems. Then evolved this organization, which is called Neighbourhood Improvement Commit-

tee. The French title, Nouveaux Impératifs Communautaires, is more meaningful. It is nondenominational and invites everyone from Dalhousie Ward. We have tried to start with the people because we feel that poverty will be fought only if the people facing problems are motivated to do something on their own. We can provide the best services, but if they are not interested in improving themselves there is no use giving them money. Our philosophy is summarized in this sentence: Help people to help themselves. This has to be very clear. There is a Chinese proverb which says if you give a fish to a person he will be able to eat one meal, but if you teach him how to fish he will be able to feed himself for the rest of his life.

We have an executive committee made up of citizens and eight subcommittees concerned with the different issues facing people in the area. These subcommittees run from housing to recreation and a news letter for the area. We have tried also to organize services that may help people to help themselves in a better way. In this connection we have gathered the social agencies together so that most of the important agencies, from Childrens Aid to regional welfare or provincial welfare have been working from this centre for about a year. They have tried to work with the people and for the people. This is a brand new approach. We hope to have a clinic here within three weeks, or at the most a month. It is being organized in conjunction with the citizens and medical students from Ottawa University. We have endeavoured to work with the legislators, as we thought that our experience in working in the area may be helpful. In this connection we invited Mr. Andras regarding housing and he came twice after Mr. Hellyer's visit. We have launched a pilot project on housing. We endeavour not to fight, but to work in collaboration with everyone. We have received a grant of \$25,000 a year from the Department of National Health and Welfare. This grant will continue for five years. We also have a small grant of \$500

from City Hall, which is more in the nature of support than funding.

Father Achille Hubert, Social Animator, Neighbourhood Improvement Committee: We are very glad to welcome you to hear our people. We have a furnace downstairs in this house, but it is broken, so if anyone here has a grant for a furnace we would be glad to have it. I would like this meeting to be very informal and be simply a conversation about the problems.

Mrs. Monique Turgeon, 34 Balsam Street, Ottawa: I am a housewife and I have been working at Rochester Heights Recreation Centre. Since then I have been with the N.I.C., which was organized a year and a half ago. I have been involved with two or three of the groups.

Senator Fergusson: Father Hubert, I did not quite understand when you said the Children's Aid and other agencies work out of this centre. Would you explain that? Perhaps you meant they work with you?

Father Hubert: They work here, but it is not exactly what we wanted, which was to limit an area here and to have some workers sent by different agencies to work under the supervision of the people here only on the problems of this area. After about two years of work in a particular area we would see what the problems are. This would be an experience and a kind of pilot project. As it is now however, it is not what we wished. The workers come from different agencies and are still connected with their agency. They work with their central office and come here only to have what they call case conferences. What we desire is a pilot project, a new approach to the social problems in a particular area to see what the problems in that area are and how to approach and cure them. We hope to arrive at that, which itself will be just a beginning. It was very hard to have the social workers from different agencies work together. That is a big step, but still there is more to do.

Senator Fergusson: I think the idea is very good and I am sure it has to be worked out over a long period of time, but it is a very imaginative way of tackling the problem.

Mrs. Turgeon: I will state a few problems, then people may wish to ask questions. There is discrimination by the landlords, social agencies, Government, and so on. The poor

are called lazy and uneducated. They say that because people are poor there is nothing to be done with them because they do not have education.

Mrs. Edna Bedard, 93 Elm Street, Ottawa: am speaking on behalf of the people of Dalhousie Ward. I believe that we have been cast aside. The authorities think that because of lack of education we have no knowledge of what is going on in these programs which concern Government. I hope through this conference we are having this morning that something is going to be done, not only discussions and briefs being presented. This has been gone through time and time again. We want results and action, you people to look into this situation and have it cured, to know what is going on and what is taking place. I would like the public opinion of these poor people here and in this area to be brought forward and looked into. Do not cast us aside, but do something for us.

Senator McGrand: What is your one major problem?

Mrs. Bedard: Wages. Money is one problem. housing is another. They are all different. The program we are attempting to carry out through N.I.C. is to help people to help themselves, to stand on their own feet and try to solve the problems that exist in the ward. If we cannot help the people who come to us, we direct them to different agencies who can help them. We are not here only to hand out money. Ours is education, teaching people how to go about solving their own problems with respect to jobs and wages. I only hope that we will meet with more success than we have done in the past. We have undertaken housing and out of this committee we have formed a group which is able to lend money to landlords for the rehabilitation of their houses. I do not know why the Government does not interest itself more in rehabilitation, rather than bringing in bulldozers, pulling down properties and then spending millions of dollars to build new homes. It is better to rehabilitate than to bulldoze. Educate the people, give them a chance to get better jobs and wages. Maybe this would cure part of the present situation.

Mrs. Maitland: We see many people trying to make ends meet with what they receive on welfare. Many of them would prefer to go to work, but they would make much less money working than is received from welfare, which

is not very much in itself. In my opinion the only possible solution to this is a guaranteed income in Canada. I do not know how it can be arrived at, whether by subsidy from welfare and other methods, but I do know that we have to guarantee people in this country a certain level of income if we are going to overcome poverty in any form.

Mrs. Arlene Moke, 726 Cooper Street, Ottawa: I feel the same way as Mrs. Maitland does after talking to some of these people on welfare. One family I know of has seven children. The father did not want to go on welfare, so he put his children in the Children's Aid for a year while he accumulated enough money to get into a house. After obtaining an Ottawa rental house and getting back on his feet they would not give his children back until he had furniture in the house. His income was not enough to buy furniture and food in order that he could have his children at home. They are still in the Children's Aid. If the welfare would even subsidize his wages he would be able to keep his children. He went to the welfare agency and asked them if they could help him. They said he would have to quit work if he wanted to go on welfare.

Mr. Roland Gregoire, 104 Lyon Street, Ottawa: My problem is that I am a welfare recipient. I had an accident a couple of years ago but I can work now. I went to the National Employment Service and told them that I would like to learn a trade. They said that if I want to learn a trade I have to have an education first, but I do not have much education. I only went to grade 7. I would like to learn woodwork in a workshop for people like us.

Senator McGrand: Were you born in Ottawa?

Mr. Gregoire: Yes I was.

Senator McGrand: You have lived in Ottawa all your life yet you only went to Grade 7?

Mr. Gregoire: Yes.

Senator McGrand: Why was that?

Mr. Gregoire: At that time my father could not afford to keep us, so we had to work.

The Chairman: You said that you went to the government office for the purpose of trying to obtain training?

Mr. Gregoire: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: Were there training facilities available?

Mr. Gregoire: They told me the only thing they could do would be to give me a job in the trade I wanted to learn. They said that I would have to start at the bottom salary. I told them it is good to start at the bottom, but I will need money to support myself.

The Chairman: Have you children?

Mr. Gregoire: I have six children.

Father Serre: This concerns the problem of co-operation between Manpower and welfare. This is a good example of the problem. At present there is no connection nor co-operation.

You went to Manpower?

Mr. Gregoire: Yes I did.

Father Serre: How were you received there?

Mr. Gregoire: I was received very well, but they told me that if I start at the bottom I will have to get help from somewhere else in order to support the family.

The Chairman: We are familiar with that problem. He is repeating something that we realize is very serious problem in this country at the present time.

Senator Fergusson: How old are you, Mr. Gregoire?

Mr. Gregoire: Thirty-six.

Mr. Yvon Guindon, 50 Lawn Street, Ottawa: My name is Yvon Guindon.

The Chairman: Are you married with a family?

Mr. Guindon: Yes, I have two children. My problem started a long time ago, when my mother and father separated during the war. I was raised through the Children's Aid Society and placed in one foster home after another. Because of this I did not get much education, so I had to work as a labourer. In this area that is seasonal work. I always tried to better myself by seeking better jobs, but because of my low education people would take advantage of my ignorance. I fell into the company of some young men and somehow got into trouble. For this particular reason I have a

criminal record, which keeps my background pretty well loaded. I went to jail. The judge said "I will send you to jail for eight months, where you will be able to learn a trade and better yourself." I am sorry he did not give me two years, because I did not have enough time in eight months to learn this trade. When I came out I tried to get myself a job in this trade. When I went to see the first person he said, "We do not need people like you around here." I will always remember his words.

The Chairman: What was the trade?

Mr. Guindon: Sheetmetal.

The Chairman: How long ago did this happen?

Mr. Guindon: I was 16 and I am 34 now.

The Chairman: When did the incident of the man saying "we do not need people like you" happen?

Mr. Guindon: About 18 years ago. So I took all my draughting books, and everything, and threw them away. I went back to what you would call thieving.

Father Hubert: He is not dangerous now; you can keep your fur coats on.

Mr. Guindon: I went to the priests at the St. John the Baptist Society and Father Murray gave me a hand-out. He said, "I know you can't stop this thieving, but I'll help you to stop." Even though I was seeing this man I seemed to have a knack of getting into trouble all the time. Finally I got, what you call in my language, "nailed." My wife got in touch with Father Murray and he visited me and said, "You're not going to stay here. I'm going to get you out." I replied, "You can't get me out of here, I'm nailed like a rat in a trap." He said, "Don't worry, I'll get you out." And he did. He said, "Do you want to work?" and I said yes. He said, "why don't you look for a job?" I told him that the only thing people said was, "We don't need you, you're not bondable." He said he would get me a job and he went to the C.N.R. This is one of the best jobs you can have here in Canada, as a matter of fact. Father Murray came back and said, "I'm going to tell you something, but I don't want you to be hurt by this. You can't have this job." I said, "I know. I could have told you that before you started to help me." He said, "It's not a lost cause. You have

learned to accept the fact." From then on this was my problem. I could work as a labourer. Three years ago I worked for Exclusive Ambulance, lifting patients. I liked the job very much as I used to meet people and talk to them. I suffered a back injury, so this cut my work down to what? I am not bondable, I can't work at hard labour any more. What am I going to do?

The Chairman: I have to ask you this question for a particular reason. When was the last time you were in trouble?

Mr. Guindon: About nine years ago.

The Chairman: We will be able to do something about that bonding business before too many months have passed. There is an act of Parliament now before the House of Commons, which will be before the Senate next week, wherein people like you who have been clean for a period of five years will have their record completely eradicated.

Mr. Guindon: But why do people hurt people like me all the time?

The Chairman: Yes, of course what you said was true.

Mr. Guindon: I would say that about 60 or even 70 per cent of the reason why people return to thieving is this particular reason. They say what is one more black mark?

The Chairman: If you are clean for a period of five years, your record will be eradicated and there will be no mention of what happened before so no one can ask you the question. There will be nothing there to indicate that you have ever been in trouble. This is something new that is long overdue.

Mr. Guindon: The kind of work that I can do I am not educated to do and I must go to school. I have a family to look after. If I go to school and the Government is willing to pay me and look after my family, that is fine, but in the meantime the work I have been doing has been on my own. I have been doing this for six months. Father Sayer and Father Hubert have been encouraging me to go ahead and learn this. As a matter of fact, last week we went to visit a school in a very small town in the Province of Quebec. They are learning something good there. We have seen it and it is marvellous for retraining and rehabilitating people. I want to work, but like

my probation officer told me, "Look, I think society has forgiven you". The judge even said, "I feel you can find yourself a place in society." Let society give me a chance to find that place. If I keep going the way I am now—at the moment I am cheating the social welfare, because I have to. I have learned that the only way is by thieving and I am still doing it in another way.

The Chairman: Your problem is, in many respects, not unsimilar to this gentleman's problem, who was prepared to take training, as you are prepared to take training and if you qualify for the training you are paid while you are being trained. The difficulty is that you lack what they call "basic education" and we are concerned with that particular problem. We have had it before us many times. It is not a matter of school education; it is perhaps education that one obtains in the school of "hard knocks". So, this problem is a very vital one. We understand it. I am not here to lecture you. There is room in society for you.

Mr. Guindon: Sure there is.

The Chairman: You ought to take Father Murray's advice and play it on the up and up.

Mr. Guindon: I have found a place in society even though I had a difficult fence to climb over, but I have done it. I did not do it alone.

Mrs. Maitland: Would anyone else like to speak?

Mrs. Rose Lucien, 159 Primrose Street, Ottawa: I am Mrs. Rose Lucien.

The Chairman: Do you have any children?

Mrs. Lucien: I have seven children. I lost one. He died in June. My husband was working then and was going back to work the day after the child was buried, but he was fired. Ever since that time he has been trying to find work, but has been refused because of lack of education. He only went up to Grade 4. I asked him to go back to school but he said, "I'm at least 40 years old." All he could answer me is, "Don't you think at the age of 40 that I am a little bit too old to go back to school?" I tried to encourage him to go.

The Chairman: What work was he doing before

Mrs. Lucien: He was a truck driver. When he started at this job they told him that he

would receive \$2.25 an hour. After two weeks of working his boss came and said that his salary would go down to \$2 an hour. Since he needed it and did not want to go back on welfare he said, "All right, I will stay on." My little boy got hit by a car in May and died in June. It is very difficult for him to find work. Every kind of job he tries to get he is refused. He needs Grade 9, but he has not got it and this is very difficult for him. He could find some jobs that would pay \$80 a week, but can we live on this? We cannot. The kids need everything, such as clothing and food. The doctor told me that my children are not strong enough and that they should have vitamins, which we are unable to purchase and have a proper diet, but what can we do with the money that the welfare people give to us? Even hamburger today is so dear that you cannot buy it.

The Chairman: Have you any objection to telling us what you draw from welfare? If you have you do not have to.

Mrs. Lucien: We get \$350 a month. The rent is counted in this.

The Chairman: How much is your rent?

Mrs. Lucien: Ninety dollars a month and we pay about \$20 every two months for electricity. In the month of January we had 400 gallons of oil brought in to heat the place.

Father Serre: I would say you do not pay a high rent for the area.

Mrs. Lucien: No, but just the same it comes back in the oil.

Father Serre: We have people paying \$175 for their rent, believe it or not, who are on welfare.

The Chairman: How large are the accommodations?

Father Serre: About six rooms. They have large families and have to go into the only houses available.

Mrs. Bedard: They have to go into these houses which range from \$170 to \$200 a month, which is luxury rent for slum conditions. If you could see the deplorable way in which these people have to live on welfare. Some only receive \$212 a month. \$167 goes to rent and \$80 a month for the heat and their water. If your house number runs 204 you pay four cents on the number on the door. It is

atrocious and deplorable that a slummy landlord can come into this beautiful City of Ottawa and rent places such as that. It does not only exist here, but outside our wards. He owns many properties like this. It is all the welfare people or mothers who are alone that Mr. Paikin tries to rent to, and runs ads in the paper to this effect. These are the kinds of places we put these people into. There is not enough housing nor enough money for people to pay \$150 to \$200 a month. They cannot exist on it. What is wrong with these people? The poor people—the poverty people are like drowning men while the governments are standing on the beach. Everybody is arguing as to how they are going to be saved. "Let's throw them a rope or get them into a boat." Who is going to do it? In the meantime people at government levels are reading briefs and discussing. When is something going to be done about it? I say, "Be mobile now. Get some action and not just read briefs and have discussions. Do something about it now."

Mrs. Gendron: My name is Mrs. Gendron. My husband died in 1965. I have six children and have had to raise them myself. Three are married, but three still go to school. In August the 20-year old one got into the police force. The 19-old went to university for his 13th Grade. My 17-year old daughter started to work in a beauty parlour. I was on Mother's Allowance, and two years ago they sent me to the Manpower Training School. I achieved my 13th Grade there and passed every subject. When I finished they started calling me for jobs. I had a backache and found out later that there were four discs worn out. When the aching started I had to remain two or three weeks in bed. There was no use my taking a job then. I went back on Mother's Allowance, but they put me on city welfare for three months. Finally I got \$257 monthly and it went up until last August when my 19-year old son got into university. Then they told me that city welfare for him would not be allowed on Mother's Allowance.

The Chairman: What do you mean, they deducted something?

Mrs. Gendron: They deduct from my cheque, because he was going to university instead of Algonquin College.

The Chairman: For training in Algonquin College...

Mrs. Gendron: He finished his 12th Grade and applied at Algonquin and university. He took the first one to come in, which was the university. My social welfare agency told me that he was to be cancelled from my cheque on account of the fact that he was going to university instead of Algonquin.

The Chairman: If he had gone to Algonquin they would have allowed him to claim the cheque. At Algonquin you take training and at the university it is something else?

Mrs. Gendron: I suppose so. My 20-year old son applied for the police force and he was called in August. My daughter had finished her schooling at Vanier School. So, instead of going to Algonquin—she had to work a year before going to Algonquin, and when they found out that she was out of school they cancelled my cheque altogether.

The last one I had was at the end of August, when they put me on social welfare, from which I received \$30 the first month and \$33 from October to last month. I have \$26 more this last month.

I have put it on paper, in black and white, that my brother who has been living with me since five years is giving me \$20 a week for room and board. My son who is starting in September in the Police force will pay \$80 a month for his room and board. The one in university does not give me a cent. My daughter, who earns only \$22 a week, gives me \$10 a week. She also needs a few dollars for herself for bus fare and other things. She does not give me \$10 every week, because some weeks she needs to buy a dress. She had her teeth removed the first week of January. She was not able to work for a week so she did not pay me \$10 that week. Last night when she came home from work she told me that she will only be working two and a half days per week, because the boss said there is not sufficient work for her to be there all week. That means that I will not receive this \$10 room and board money any more.

Another problem which came up is that my children must leave the house because we do not have enough money. They must try to find a room somewhere else so they can eat and feel free to bring their friends home. I do not want to cut their education. As long as they want to go to school I will let them go so as to receive an education in order to live. Besides, I pay \$125 for rent plus the water and fuel which amounted to \$70 this January. Three hundred and fifty-nine gallons of oil

came in January. I have to pay my telephone and try to get enough to eat. I can't afford to buy a pair of stockings.

Father Serre: Mrs. Gendron, I saw the figures of how much you are in the hole each month.

Mrs. Gendron: I was more in the hole last month, because 359 gallons of oil came in this January. I have the figures and I have got the bills with me and they amount to \$70.

Father Serre: You run \$110 in the hole each month?

Mrs. Gendron: Twenty dollars from my brother. That means \$86 a month, plus \$80 from my 20-year old son—\$166 plus \$33 a month. I have \$26 more this month from welfare, but I don't know why.

The Chairman: From the welfare?

Mrs. Gendron: From the welfare, \$26 more.

The Chairman: Where does your daughter work? You said she earns \$22 a week.

Mrs. Gendron: As a shampoo girl.

The Chairman: In a beauty parlour. How old is she?

Mrs. Gendron: Seventeen. Her boss got her out last night and she will only work just Fridays, Saturdays and Mondays.

The Chairman: When she was working full-time she received \$22?

Mrs. Gendron: That was what she was bringing home, plus a few tips. I could not ask for more than \$10 a week. She is now cut off with only two days to work. She will not be able to give me that \$10 weekly any more.

Father Hubert: You cannot work yourself?

Mrs. Gendron: I have not been able to work for two years on account of my back. I finally got in touch with Dr. Wiley, who gave me pills to help. Now I could get a job and work because I have those pills. They would help if my back aches more. I tried Manpower and other places but I haven't been able to get a job. They all say, "I will call you", but nobody calls me.

The Chairman: What were you trained to be by the Manpower?

Mrs. Gendron: As a bookkeeper. I learned typewriting, English and math.

The Chairman: If you went to work who would look after the children?

Mrs. Gendron: They are grown up.

The Chairman: Are they all working?

Mrs. Gendron: Three are married and three are working. One is going to university.

Mrs. Moke: How does he pay his education?

Mrs. Gendron: What they call in French a bourse. He has to give back sixty per cent, and 40 per cent he can keep. He is allowed \$12.50 for his room and board, but he does not give it to me. I said to keep it, that if he does not want to give it to me, keep it and pay for his course next year or put it in the bank for next year. He took his first allowance which he got in November and the balance is due maybe April or June. Even the students don't know when they are going to get it. From the first amount that he got from them he paid his full course, so he saved the money by paying the full course right now.

The Chairman: How old is he?

Mrs. Gendron: Nineteen.

The Chairman: I gather he needed a bursary.

Mrs. Gendron: Yes.

The Chairman: So he is quite a bright boy.

Mrs. Gendron: He has to pay back 60 per cent. I don't get anything from him. I called the City Hall for a man to inspect the house and told him about the attic, that it was a common attic running right through the six houses. It is a six-house row. He did not believe me. So he went in the attic himself, and he said, "I see it but I still don't believe it." There is no insulation in the walls. No wonder it cost me 359 gallons of oil in January. There are big holes in the walls and on the floor and in the ceiling. You can't get any heat in the back bedroom. You can't put any in, because it won't go in. There is a hole in the floor and we can feel the cold coming out between the floor boards. The curtains just go like this and that. There is a window in the attic with three broken panes. They put cardboard in it, but it does not help.

The Chairman: To cover the holes?

Mrs. Gendron: Yes, to cover the hole. Imagine the below zero weather we had in January. The cold comes right in.

The Chairman: It circulates.

Senator Quart: Did you tell the council about it or the alderman of the ward?

Mrs. Gendron: In December I talked about the house, but not everything. I had not discovered the attic at the time I talked to Mr. Kerwin.

The Chairman: Is there anything else that you want to say in addition to what you have told us?

Mrs. Gendron: Like the others say, if we were able to work and get jobs and if the city or whoever looks after us, such as the welfare could...

The Chairman: Assist.

Mrs. Gendron: And if we could use the balance that we need to live not only to exist, but to live a little...

The Chairman: In order to make up the difference between what is necessary and what you can earn.

Mrs. Gendron: And let us work if we can get a job.

Mrs. Moke: Sir, I would like to ask why the Landlord and Tenant Act has not come into force?

The Chairman: It is in effect, but not being enforced.

Mrs. Moke: This is what I mean.

Mr. Guindon: Mrs. Gendron, are you the one who told me that when this rent came out that your landlord probably asked you whether you want your rent raised or your rebate. Were you the person who told me this?

Mrs. Gendron: No.

Mr. Guindon: Somebody told me this and it is a proven fact. When the rent rebate came into effect the person was told, "Do you want your rent raised or do you want your rebate?" This is another problem you are going to have to face pretty soon.

The Chairman: That is a new twist.

Mr. Lionelle: I am Mr. Lionelle of 110 Spruce. I am alone with my kids. My wife left me about a year and a half ago.

The Chairman: How many children do you have?

Mr. Lionelle: Four.

The Chairman: How old are they?

Mr. Lionelle: Nine, seven, eight and three.

The Chairman: What do you do?

Mr. Lionelle: I am on welfare.

The Chairman: Before you were on welfare what did you do?

Mr. Lionelle: I used to look after a school. I had to quit my job in order to mind the kids. I went on welfare, but I would like very much to go back to work but I can't afford a woman to help out. They just give me enough to live on.

Senator Quart: You could not marry one?

Mr. Lionelle: I was married for 11 years, and I would not get married again for awhile. That is why I wish I had someone to help me so I could go to work. The money they give me is not even enough for food. Sometimes I have to phone the church to help me out. I pay \$115 a month, but they give me \$100. I get \$260 a month and they take \$100 for my rent and I get \$80 every two weeks. I have to take \$15 off the \$80 to make the \$115. I still have to pay the light bill and phone and I do not have enough to pay for my clothes. I must go to the church in order to get clothes for the kids. That is my problem. I wish I could get more money and had somebody to help me. I am doing everything myself, such as cooking, washing the clothes and looking after the house. I get up at 7 o'clock in the morning. I cannot even look at the newspaper at night time because I am too tired.

Senator Inman: Do the children go to school?

Mr. Lionelle: My oldest ones. They keep me busy.

Father Serre: Is there any nursery service you could rely on or day care service? Is there no place where you could send your children where they could be looked after?

Mr. Lionelle: Not that I know of. Maybe there is one, but I am just living in Ottawa for about a year. I previously lived in Eastview for 32 years. I was unable to get a place. I lived at Paikin's place. They took me out,

because it was too dear. Now I am living on Spruce Street.

The Chairman: How old are you?

Mr. Lionelle: I will be 40 in April. I did not have very much education, because my father took me out of school when I was 13 years old and put me on the farm.

Father Serre: Were you born in Ottawa?

Mr. Lionelle: No, I was born in Cyrville.

Mrs. Turgeon: They talk about housing and things like that. I live in a low income housing project here, and I do not think that shoving people into them is helping. When you are there you can't get out. If you get a little money they increase the rent right away. You can have an account at the bank and they find out right away. If you have over \$500 they throw you out.

The Chairman: Under the low income...

Mrs. Turgeon: The low income project.

The Chairman: How many are in that low income project?

Mrs. Turgeon: One hundred and six homes, and there are 418 children. That raises another problem. There are a lot of dropouts. I work a great deal with them and we have started a recreation centre there. That does not solve the problem. The dropouts are stealing for dope and creating a big problem for the people around here, because there are a lot of stores and places being broken into. We try as much as possible to work with them so that they will help themselves, but the Manpower and the Algonquin College does not want them between the ages of 16 to 19. Therefore, they walk the streets and don't know what to do with themselves. That is what causes the problem. This is our future generation.

The Chairman: You said that the Manpower does not want them between 16 and 19. Do they give a reason for this?

Mrs. Turgeon: Because they say that they have left school and must go to work, and so on. Most dropouts now have a criminal record. They consider any delinquency a criminal record. We are working quite hard to get a trade school for them. In this way they can work there on the job and earn a little money in order to make their room and board. Not many of them have a fixed

address, as they call it. Most of the time they are in and out of jail. They do not care about the future because they say, "I've got a criminal record, so whether I make it a little bigger or smaller doesn't make any difference." Quite a few of them are on drugs.

The Chairman: On drugs?

Mrs. Turgeon: Yes and they have to steal for that. The problem is that they have been stealing. The police are going around the district frequently. There is a lot of discrimination towards these youths. What is their future if the law is not changed? In regard to public housing, it is not sufficient to shove people into this housing because the rent is low; the fact is that the rent is not low.

Senator Fergusson: What is the average rent?

Mrs. Turgeon: It is 29 per cent of the gross income. If I go to work minding children for \$10 a week they take \$22 a month more for rent. The same thing happens if you have a child who wants to go to work on a part-time job. At present there is a rent freeze, but we do not know when that is going to stop. The welfare people who live there get a worse deal than we do, because it is a vicious circle. On the one hand it comes from the Government, then it is given back in the 50 per cent rent. Why does a welfare recipient pay 50 per cent of the money from the Government back in rent? A woman getting \$205 with three children pays \$100 a month in rent. The home is heated, but she still does not have enough for the full month.

Senator Quart: Is this municipal low rental housing?

Mrs. Turgeon: Ours is the Ottawa Housing Authority. There is also the Ontario Housing Corporation. I send my rent here in Ottawa and the other people send theirs to Toronto. It is completely confusing. A friend of mine moved to another project and her rent has been increased by \$25 a month.

Senator Inman: I notice that one landlord got \$40,000 to repair his property. Did he do anything to those houses?

Mrs. Bedard: Yes, he has rehabilitated a seven door row where I live, which was in a deplorable state before. He has given us all new dry walls, tile, painted the property both

exterior and interior and fixed the backyards by laying sod.

Mrs. Moke: A man from Hamilton bought up all the old houses.

Senator Inman: This is the one I read about in the newspaper.

Mrs. Bedard: No government at municipal level can stop this man buying properties.

Senator Carter: How long does it take a person to become reinstated on welfare or mother's allowance after being employed?

Mrs. Gendron: When you apply for mother's allowance it takes three months for inquiries about you. They sent me to this school and I asked them if it would take three months of inquiry again if I came back with them, or whether I would start where I left? They said, "You start where you left." I came out of that school and I found out that my back ached so I stayed in bed. It still took them three months to inquire and I was on welfare again for those three months.

Senator Pearson: When improvements are made to the home are your rents raised?

Mrs. Bedard: No, the landlord has signed a contract with the adviser that we have at the N.I.C. He cannot raise his rents for 25 years unless his taxes go up, when he may raise them to help him pay back the 3 per cent mortgage he was loaned.

Senator Pearson: Does he maintain the whole house, or just the outside?

Mrs. Bedard: Right now he is giving us aluminum windows.

Senator Pearson: Aluminum windows are no catch; we found out in the west that they let too much cold in.

Mrs. Bedard: It is very warm.

Senator Pearson: You do not need insulation?

Mrs. Bedard: No, because it is very compact. It is a seven door row and it is not cold at all.

Father Serre: Mr. Leaning, an architect, works with this group, so we had good advice at this level. This was a pilot project, or a demonstration carried out while the Hellyer Task Force was travelling around the coun-

try. We did not want to see what happened in lower town when, as Mrs. Bedard said, bulldozers came in and tore the houses down. We feel that the Minister of Housing should try to rehabilitate houses, keep the community intact instead of breaking it down. He should help the people to help themselves, because here the tenants themselves were asked to paint the houses. They had the choice of the colour, the tiles, and they were involved in the process. Sometimes we see tenants who do not care about the houses. They feel that it is too expensive so they will break everything. They even sell the furnace.

Mrs. Turgeon: When we took these two houses over, they were in a deplorable state. People said you can do nothing with them, but just look at them now.

Mrs. Bedard: Has the Government smartened up yet enough to do anything about it? They have had a year of consultations and discussions.

Senator Pearson: This is a pilot project, a row of houses. Can an individual landlord get the same assistance to renew his house?

Mrs. Bedard: Why does the Government not come up with this? This was a pilot project of our own, to show the Government what can be done between landlord and tenants.

Father Serre: This can be done at the regular rate of interest.

Father Hubert: The tenants cannot afford to do this.

Senator Pearson: He is not under the same control as this pilot project.

Father Hubert: No.

Senator Fergusson: Father Serre says this can be done at the regular rate of interest, but can a landlord be encouraged to do it then?

Father Serre: No.

Senator Fergusson: Where were you able to raise the money for this pilot project?

Father Serre: From private investments. Try to get \$100,000, which is necessary. We got this money because it was a pilot project. Those people said, correctly, that this was government business, not their business. It was private enterprise. They just wanted to

show the Government, but it is another thing to let us fix all the houses in Dalhousie Ward. I do not know how many millions of dollars we would need.

Senator Fergusson: Mrs. Bedard mentioned different matters that are bad in Dalhousie Ward. The major problems are in housing. Then she said education. Is education different in Dalhousie Ward than in other parts of Ottawa?

Mrs. Bedard: Yes. It is statistically proven that this is the poorest ward in the City of Ottawa. It is lack of education on the part of men and women. These are the kind of people who were pulled out of school at an early age in our time and went to work to help the families, which were large at that time. It is handed down from generation to generation. The mother and father live on welfare. The children see it, get married at an early age with lack of education, drop out of school, cannot get a proper job and fall back on welfare. This woman stated she would rather see her children go to school. I would do the same thing, even if I had to go out and scrub floors to keep my children at education. It takes you many a year to get off welfare. I lived on it for 17 solid years. Thank God they helped me on welfare and I was able to better myself. My husband was a construction worker in the summertime and off work in the winter. We have been off welfare for three years and have bettered ourselves in this community.

Senator Fergusson: Is this situation of the children dropping out to help parents continuing in this area?

Mrs. Turgeon: Yes. We are still working on the project Action '70 and we keep up with the youth problem. The youth are the only ones from whom you can get really honest answers. They tell you what they think and feel and why this is caused by the background in the family. They are sent out to work and cannot find jobs. We have a good plan of adult education now to help people help themselves.

Father Hubert: Another point is the method of teaching. The young men have to sit and listen and look at the blackboard. They get bored doing this, because they want to be active and work practically. We visited a retraining centre in Hull. The professor told us that they spent half the time in the class-

room and half in the workshop. All the young people there like that very much. It would be better for those people who do not want to go to university and do not like academic courses to have a retraining centre where they can learn a trade by working at it. They do not like to sit at a table, listen, write down, and so on.

Senator Fergusson: That is an excellent idea, part education and part training simultaneously.

Senator McGrand: Father Serre, could you give me some idea of the number of tenants who do not pay their rent, or the difficulty the landlord has in collecting rent? On the same question, what is the situation with regard to damage done to these run-down properties by indifferent tenants with large families? Is that a problem for the landlords? I mention this because there are a great many people who refuse to sublet their apartments because of what happens to them when they do so. I think it is rather worse when you have a large family in an old house.

Father Serre: With regard to arrears in rent, usually this is not publicized, so it is hard to give you exact figures. From my experience I would say that not many people are behind in their rent. As soon as they are usually the landlord will just throw them out, because they do not have a lease but are on a monthly basis. The next month they will be out. There are some who damage their houses. It is quite hard to give you figures or proportions. I can tell you that some children will damage houses. Is it worse here than in other places? It might be to a certain point because of the fact that those people are tenants. When you own your own house you really watch your children. If the house does not belong to you you may not care. I do not want to say though that all the tenants are bad. A few of them are and their children will break windows, and this sort of thing.

Senator McGrand: You were referring to these cold houses with no glass in the windows.

Father Serre: Mrs. Gendron received promises from her landlord that he would fix the house within a certain time limit. Many times it was not done. I can think of many examples of that.

Mrs. Turgeon: I do not think it is the children who bring bugs and rats into the houses anyway. The landlords do not get rid of them.

They just leave them there so that you have company all night and they make a racket.

Senator McGrand: I am talking about these houses that are cold. This lady had to buy 350 gallons of oil a month. Those are awfully cold houses. I can understand that these landlords are only interested in getting rent. If a house has deteriorated through damage caused by the former tenants, the new tenant takes over the property with the damage unrepaired. Is that not what happens?

Mrs. Moke: Yes.

Mrs. Turgeon: Yes, and many of the houses are so old that the stairs are falling down and the landlord will not fix them before you move in. You have to fix these things yourself with your own money.

Senator McGrand: The rats do not belong to the landlord either, you know.

Senator Pearson: Did the city authorities condemn any houses at all?

Mrs. Turgeon: They did condemn these two here four years ago. Some of the houses are still in good repair and they destroy them and make parking lots. It is the ones that really should be closed which are not, and the landlords rent them.

Father Serre: The only thing the city was able to do against Paikin was to fine him \$300 for a very poor house. Only \$300 when he is charging \$75 for his houses. It takes between two and six months delay to bring him to court. The penalty was to put a red card with the words "This is a substandard house" on the door. This does not mean that tenants cannot move in, but the authorities say at least they will know what kind of houses they are moving into. This is ridiculous.

Senator McGrand: The tenants have no choice.

Father Serre: Exactly. When they have large families they have to look for a bigger house. Landlords take advantage of poor people in slum areas. Something has to be done about this. People who live in the west end or Alta Vista do not face these problems.

Mrs. Turgeon: I went to look for a house for \$130, which was all I could afford. I have only two children and I have been turned down because of that for a year now.

The Chairman: Mrs. Maitland, are there any people here who have not already had an

opportunity to say something who would like to do so?

Mrs. Fleurette Gregoire, 104 Lorne Street, Ottawa: The house I live in is not too big. I have only three bedrooms and we are eight in the family all together. I would like to have a bigger house. My baby and one little girl sleep in my bedroom. We have six children and pay \$135 rent a month.

Father Hubert: I would like to put a question to all the senators here: a few months ago we had a visit from the Hellyer Task Force. You know what happened and what they have done with that report. I ask you: do you feel that the same thing is going to happen to your report. We like to meet you and discuss and explain the problem, but if it is going to be useless and for nothing it is pretty discouraging. Do you feel that something will result from your report and what do you expect that will be?

Senator Inman: I have been on three of Senator Croll's Special Senate Committees and out of each one some good has come.

The Chairman: That is nice of you to say, but Senator Croll has no more to do with this than other members of the committee have. This is a joint undertaking. The Senate has very many things to do and we are busy people, but we are concerned and we undertook this task because it needed to be done. We are the first ones who have ever taken a look at poverty in its totality. We are anxious as you to make sure that some good comes from our investigation and report. We think that it will. We have a great deal yet to hear from many, many people. We have probably got 100 more organizations and persons who will be making representations. We have yet to visit six provinces other than the four we have visited. The provincial Ministers of Welfare are to appear before us. All we can tell you is that we appreciate and hope that the country generally appreciates the severity of poverty for particular people in Canada. I do not think they fully appreciate it as yet. I cannot tell you what the report will contain. None of us can tell you that, but this hearing this morning, along with other hearings, will help us to understand the problem. For instance, the matter of education and training is a vital problem. We have considered it and discussed with the department the ability of man to take further training, no matter what his age.

In the Province of Prince Edward Island we found people older than 50 years of age taking training beneficially. Some of these problems you are emphasizing are new, but some you are merely emphasizing. The more emphasis the better. You have a large part of the committee here today and what you tell us makes an impression. We are confident that a great deal of good will result.

Mrs. Maitland: Are you also going to go around and visit the areas to see how the poor people live?

The Chairman: Yes. We have been around already, and we will be around to see more areas.

Mrs. Maitland: Visit a person who makes \$65 a week with six children and who pays \$150. Just see how he lives. We should make sure that they get some money and are able to exist.

The Chairman: We think that those people with six children, earning \$60 a week really do not live; they exist. The point has been made many, many times with us and it is a problem for which immediate solutions do not come easily.

Father Hubert: You feel that it is a firm conviction and determination to fight poverty or is it only a concern or very far concern that we are going to talk about poverty, because we are afraid that something can happen. Do you feel that in the Government here is a firm decision to fight poverty?

The Chairman: We feel, in the committee, that there is a very determined decision to fight poverty. We do not think that the Government would have established the committee if they were not convinced that something of a serious nature had to be done about it, and quickly.

Mrs. Turgeon: The Government has been existing for many years and there has been a lot of survey work and a lot of money spent, but what was done about it?

The Chairman: This is the first complete investigation on poverty that has ever been undertaken. Many aspects of poverty—housing, welfare, health services, and education, all bits and pieces—have been discussed and studied before. We are trying to put them all together and look at the whole problem in order to see what can be done. Dealing with these things one piece at a time will not solve the problem. It is by adjoining and integrat-

ing all of these problems that we will have a first-class chance of alleviating poverty, if not completely eradicating it.

Senator Quart: May I ask a question that has always worried me when hearing of these different problems? Would it be a temporary or at least interim solution if pressure were brought to bear on provincial and municipal governments so that a person on welfare could do a certain amount of work without having to declare his income from it? Would this be any sort of a solution?

Mrs. Maitland: We are already working on this through our welfare recipient association. They have a program called "Operation Comeback," and they are trying to bring pressure by way of legislation to allow them to subsidize their welfare so that they will be able to live on the extra amount they make. Some of them can only work part-time, but they can't live on part-time wages.

Senator Quart: We are really encouraging people to become hypocrites and commit thievery, as you said, by not declaring it. When you employ somebody who is on welfare they want to be paid in cash, not by cheque, because they do not want to declare the income. You don't blame them. I would do the same thing.

Mrs. Turgeon: It is a very bad example for the children as well.

Senator Quart: The whole system is wrong.

Mr. Guindon: I need \$350 a month on which to live, which is a little above the poverty line. If I could earn \$250 and the welfare would supply an extra \$100, this would be right. I could better myself, and as my wages went up to \$350 they could gradually cut me off welfare until I am on my own.

Senator Quart: I should like to congratulate you very much. I realize that most of you are French-speaking, and the way you have spoken in English is a good lesson to many of our citizens to become bilingual. I am bilingual.

Father Serre: May I make a few quick comments? I know time is running out. In line with Mrs. Maitland, I think the problems brought out in this meeting this morning always refer to a gap between agencies and people. Unless we start with the people—and I insist, with the people—there is no use providing better services. This is the big lack, because if you look at provincial welfare, Manpower was supposed to help people. They

are not helping, because they did not start by trying to help them, but as Manpower felt they should be helped.

The low-cost house is a good example. They provide nice boxes for those people. How about all the problems that those people are facing in those houses? You bring multiple problems and families together. Imagine what it means? There are no social workers there. There are no provisions or facilities for children.

I would like to congratulate your committee. I do not want to send you flowers after you have sent them to us, but I think your committee has to go into the area, such as you did this morning. That is why we are so glad. You must even go further. You must go into houses and talk with poor people and try to make them feel as easy as possible so you can get first-hand information. This is just one example. Let us see you provide a man with a chance for a better education. By seeing the family you will understand that this service will not hurt him. I know some families where the husband will not go to work because the wife does not want him to. You can bring him the education and give him some money.

I have just one other question. This question is no business of mine, but being a citizen and paying taxes I question the fact that you visit so many cities in Canada when we know that the problems here are just the same as in Toronto. You will spend I don't know how many weeks in Toronto and it will cost the Government a lot of money. Why do you have to spend two months or more trying to help those people? Let us put this money to other use so that we can help them.

Senator McGrand: We have listened this morning to people saying that they dropped out from school because they need to go to work. You have heard that for a long time and it is very common. Tell me this, are the children dropping out today for the same purposes?

Father Serre: The same thing; and even worse, it is multiplying. Being on welfare means you do not feel responsible and that you are not a citizen in full.

Senator McGrand: Then the dropout situation is getting worse instead of better?

Father Serre: In the City of Ottawa we have the largest proportion of social recipients.

Senator McGrand: You have not answered my question. These people dropped out

because they had to go and earn money in order to support the family, but the children who are dropping out today are not getting jobs. The people we have heard about today dropped out of school because the family needed their earning power, but the children who are dropping out today are not doing so to earn money to support their parents, brothers and sisters.

Mrs. Turgeon: They try. They have respect for their parents in the poverty areas.

Senator McGrand: I would like to see a little more evidence of that. Where do these youngsters 14 and 15 get jobs?

Father Serre: They go into construction during summer and winter.

Senator McGrand: Fourteen and 15-year olds do not go into construction.

Mr. Gregoire: Sometimes many do not want to drop out of school.

Mrs. Turgeon: The problem is between 16 and 19. At 19 years of age they can go to Algonquin College, but the worst is between 16 and 19.

Father Serre: Another thing I would like to mention is since there are a lot of jobs available in the Government—you start at Clerk 4—you could have a job quite easily with Grade 10. This is a chance to have a job, but at the same time it limits your possibilities. There is a kind of thing here in the capital of Canada where there are a lot of jobs available, but they do not go very far. I can give you names of families and of very young married couples of 21 and even 19 years old who are on welfare right now because their parents were on welfare.

Senator McGrand: This is not something new. This happened in England 200 years ago.

Father Serre: What do we do? Just in this ward there are more than 1,000 families on welfare.

The Chairman: Out of how many?

Father Serre: Thirty thousand people.

The Chairman: In the ward, 30,000 total?

Father Serre: Yes.

The Chairman: One thousand families with an average of three to a family?

Father Serre: One in six roughly. How much money does it cost the Government to keep those people on welfare?

Mrs. Turgeon: I can give you a list of youths between the ages of 16 and 21 with their entire background story. They are sad stories.

Mrs. Gendron: The way welfare is going it encourages laziness. How many people do I know who are able to work, have the health and the strength to work. What is the use of working if I have got money in my pocket. They have big rolls of money. Some have more than others. People don't go to work if they have enough money of their own from welfare.

The Chairman: Senators, I am told by the President and others that all the people who wanted to speak have spoken and said what they wanted to say to us. I should like, on your behalf to say that we are very pleased with the meeting this morning and the way in which people have come forward to tell us circumstances that were not completely new to us. We knew a considerable amount about their problems already, but they have re-emphasized them. We are impressed by the

kind of people who have appeared here today. They have helped to guide us in our deliberations. Our task is not an easy one and it will take us some time yet. Poverty is not the same in every city or every province. There are serious variations and they need somewhat different solutions. The discussion here today had great emphasis on education, and we feel that is very vital. That problem comes up time and time again. Housing, of course, is a very important matter. There are of course other matters as well, such as rents and the landlord-tenant problem, which is a very serious one, as you pointed out. These matters are being taken into consideration. The report of the meeting will be studied and looked at to that extent.

We thank you, Madam President, and your activators who are here today, for the assistance you have given us and the opportunity to meet the people assembled here. Thank you for your hospitality.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT COMMITTEE

The probability of success of a volunteer organization can be measured by the concern, and involvement of its participants. A crisis sometimes results in the realization of common needs and problems and provides an opportunity for participation and collaboration. It was in this way that the Neighbourhood Improvement Committee was born.

Following eviction threats, some tenants seek a solution to their common difficulties. In this way some tenant committees were initially formed. The tenants involved realized that they were united.

In order to overcome a general lack of interest, they organized a march on City Hall of about 200 persons. The Mayor and many aldermen were there to receive the group.

Other citizens had been working on other problems. Some tenants of subsidized homes had organized activities for youth. At their request, the Dept. of Recreation and Parks had provided some outdoor recreational facilities, as well as indoor accommodation.

The various groups more clearly understood their common difficulties and chances for successes as one united group. At a public meeting to which the different citizen committees were invited, an official Citizen Committee was formed. This association united the already existing committees of tenants of Dalhousie and Wellington wards. About 50 persons elected a president, a vice-president, a secretary, a treasurer and an agent for public relations.

Our discoveries:

The citizens realized how urgently a rehabilitation and a renovation program was needed. Existing social services can not always offer adequate answers to such problems. Indeed too often they satisfy themselves in sending a monthly fixed cheque, while rents and costs increase. While agencies do not work co-operatively social rehabilitation will be a distant goal.

Collaboration and Co-Operation

Our Society presents a host of social problems. When one stops treating individuals as

cases each person becomes an entity who differs from others, requiring special attention.

In our present social context one is inclined to criticize and blame social agencies. The N.I.C. believes that all concerned wish to provide better services. Confrontation is always the last resort, and only after a fair try at co-operation.

Many key persons in Ottawa were asked to join the Citizen Committee as counsellors. Important services of Ottawa were approached and every time the invitation to participate received a positive answer: the Director of Urban Renewal, the City Urbanist, the Regional Welfare Department Director, the Social Planning Council Executive Director, an Adult Education Community Director, the Director of Public Health and Nursing, the Ottawa Boys Club Community Director, the Executive Director of the Children's Aid Society of Ottawa, a lawyer, an architect, a real estate man, a builder, a merchant, an Anglican priest and two Catholic priests. All were invited for counselling and collaboration with the executive committee of citizens. They do not impose leadership but rather listen and try to help in providing better services through the citizens's suggestions, as well as helping the citizens to solve new problems.

A pilot project

To date the financial subcommittee has been very active. Their initial objective is to raise \$40,000.00 which will be lent at an interest of 3 percent for housing renewal. This initiative demonstrates that it is possible to restore houses which are still in reasonable condition rather than let them deteriorate to such a point where city government would have to replace them. In this way, tax funds could be put to better use. Individuals would also be better served, as they would not have to move from their neighbourhood. Furthermore, landlords and tenants alike would be offered the opportunity to co-operate in renewal and renovation.

A New Approach:

To provide better shelter does not solve all social problems. To it must be added the very important task of human rehabilitation. The

N.I.C. believes that it would be better to have more social workers, each one looking after fewer clients. The Committee also believes that a social service is adequate only if it attempts to include rehabilitation.

A Neighbourhood House (151 Primrose Ave.,)

The N.I.C. is in the process of providing facilities to bring this new approach to realization. It has acquired a house for a nominal rent and is transferring it into a neighbourhood centre. The major social agencies have tentatively agreed to work from this location in a designated area, in conjunction with the citizens of the N.I.C. Collaboration and participation are the principles on which this centre is to operate.

Other Activities:

The subcommittee to which the housing problems are referred has succeeded in finding new homes for numerous persons who have had to leave their former residence. Four adult educational courses have already been established: these courses are organized by the citizens themselves. New courses will be offered to help people improve their education and therefore chances for better employment. Youth programs it is hoped will be started in collaboration with the existing recreational organizations.

A Co-Ordinator

The N.I.C. has chosen a co-ordinator to work according to the principles of the "animation sociale". This means that he will always work with the people and try to maximize the resources of the leaders in the community. He will aim at the more active participation of the greatest number of citizens.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

General Statement:

The Neighbourhood Improvement Committee has been formed as a result of the concern of the residents of the Preston Street neighbourhood for the quality of life possible in their area of the City of Ottawa. The general goal of the Committee is therefore the improvement of their neighbourhood as a viable community in which to live and work.

Recognizing that it is the people who determine the course of a community's development the Neighbourhood Improvement Com-

mittee bases its activities and priorities on the fulfilment of the needs of individuals in the community for the benefit of that community. In this manner the total community will be improved by the fulfilment of the needs and aspirations of its members.

The Neighbourhood Improvement Committee recognizes that existing social agencies are solving many real and pressing problems. However, at the same time it recognizes the necessity of personal involvement of as many community members as possible, if overall development is to take place. The Committee, therefore, intends to involve Preston Street Neighbourhood residents in programs undertaken, directed and implemented on a local basis. The assistance of social agencies, governments and individuals from outside the community will be most welcome on a co-operative basis with local participants in the carrying out of the activities of the Committee.

Specific Objectives:

The Neighbourhood Improvement Committee recognizes that the opportunities for development within any community are varied and diverse. It has selected the following specific objectives as outlining its course of action:

1. To encourage individuals and neighbourhood organizations in seeking solutions to their social and economic problems.
2. To pursue the physical rehabilitation of the neighbourhood by undertaking actual renovation as well as examining and recommending legislation dealing with physical rehabilitation.
3. To recommend new and progressive legislation to enable comprehensive neighbourhood rehabilitation and social development.
4. To seek the co-operation and participation of social and government agencies in neighbourhood rehabilitation and development programs.
5. To undertake education and recreation programs to meet specific neighbourhood deficiencies.

COURSES ORGANIZED BY THE N.I.C. AND THE HIGH SCHOOL OF COMMERCE

N.I.C.—236-9438

HIGH SCHOOL OF COMMERCE—232-5996

Again this year the N.I.C and the High School of Commerce have attempted to deter-

mine the subjects that might interest people in Dalhousie Ward.

If you are interested in taking a course in any of the subjects on this list, feel free to call. We would like to know (a) what subject(s) you are interested in, (b) what nights you are able to come, (c) any other interests you might have and ideas you might have for courses.

1. Nutrition: How to cook *Economically* and how to shop economically—2 nights a week—not more than 5 weeks.

2. Sewing: How to convert old clothes into new ones; how to repair clothes, etc. Basic training in how to handle a machine. Embroidery, knitting.

3. Civic Government: What are the rights of every citizen; how to defend those rights and have them implemented.

4. Personality: In French and English. How to improve your personality through public speech and to be at ease within a group.

Développez votre personnalité en parlant devant un groupe de gens.

5. Interior Decorating: How to refresh your furniture, your house, *economically*, with different and inexpensive materials.

6. Modelling: How to care for your clothes and arrange your clothes so that you look fresh and up-to-date. Care of hair and personal grooming.

7. Languages: English—for women, in the mornings or afternoons. French. Italian.

8. Up-Grading Classes for Adults: From Grades 1 to 8. Classes de Rattrappe pour adultes: Hommes et femmes; 1^{re} à 8^e année—A la maison du N.I.C.—151 Primrose.

MAR 19 1970

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 18

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1970

WITNESSES:

Canadian Council on Rural Development: Dr. Thomas Espie, Executive Director; Mrs. Jane Abramson, a Member of the Council; Dr. Gordon A. MacEachern, President, Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada.

School of Economic Science: Mr. Malcolm MacCarthy, Director; Mr. B. Cowan, Research Director, International Research Committee on Real Estate Taxation.

APPENDIX:

"A"—Brief submitted by the Canadian Council on Rural Development.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Fergusson	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Carter	Fournier (<i>Madawaska-</i>	McGrand
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	<i>Restigouche, Deputy</i>	Pearson
Cook	<i>Chairman</i>)	Quart
Croll	Hastings	Roebuck
Eudes	Inman	Sparrow
Everett	Lefrançois	

(18 Members)
(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, February 5, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll (*Chairman*); Carter, Cook, Eudes, Fergusson, Inman, Lefrançois, MacDonald (*Queens*), McGrand, Pearson and Quart. (11)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

THE CANADIAN COUNCIL ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT:

Dr. Thomas Espie, Executive Director;

Mrs. James Abramson, a Member of the Council;

Dr. Gordon A. MacEachern, President, Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada.

THE SCHOOL OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE:

Mr. Malcolm G. McCarthy, Director.

(Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.)

Mr. B. Cowan, Research Director, International Research Committee on Real Estate Taxation.

A brief presented by the Canadian Council on Rural Development was ordered to be printed as appendix "A".

A brief presented by the School of Economic Science, having been read in its entirety, is on record in the evidence submitted to the Committee.

At 12.00 noon the Committee adjourned to 9.00 a.m., Tuesday, February 10, 1970.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Dr. Thomas Espie: Dr. Espie is an economist who has made a close study of the social aspects of economic development; Dr. Espie graduated in economics from Balliol College, Oxford, and first came to Canada from England in 1953; after teaching in British Columbia for several years he moved to the United States and since the beginning of the "War on Poverty" has been engaged in the direction of programmes of adult education and social motivation for the United States Government; Dr. Espie holds graduate degrees in education, communications, and economics. He is married with four children.

Jane Abramson: Jane Abramson gained her B.A. at Swathmore College in the U.S. and her M.A. in psychology from the University of Pennsylvania. In the U.S. she has worked in a consultant capacity for the U.S. Department of Agriculture and for private companies on problems of motivational research and communication effectiveness. She also at one time has written a regular column in the Washington Post. Nearer to home, she has more recently acted as Research Director and Vice-President in charge of Research for the Canadian Centre for Community Studies in Saskatoon. She is presently Head of Continuing Education at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. As well as being a member of the Canadian Council on Rural Development, she is a member of the Advisory Board on Manpower and Immigration Research, a member of the Executive of the Saskatoon Social Planning Council and consultant to the Manitoba Manpower Extension Service with regard to extension programmes in the Interlake District. She is the author of numerous reports and articles notably, *Rural to Urban Adjustment* a study completed in 1968 for ARDA and *Barriers to Population Mobility* also completed in 1968 for the Atlantic Development Board, the Department of Forestry and Rural Development and the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

Dr. Gordon A. MacEachern: President, Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada 1968 to present. Prior to this Dr. MacEachern was Staff Economist for the Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada from 1965 to 1968. Before joining EARCC, Dr. MacEachern was Professor of Agriculture Economics at Purdue University. He is a member of the Canadian and American Economics Association, Canadian and American Agricultural Economics Association and the American Management Association. Dr. MacEachern received his Bachelor of Science Degree at Purdue University and his Ph.D. at Macdonald of McGill University.

Malcolm G. McCarthy: Director, School of Economic Science; President, Allmac Investment Limited, Toronto, Formerly; 1948-1964, Fred Thompson Sales Limited, Toronto, General Sales Manager, 1935-1939 and 1945-1948, Christie Brown & Company Limited, Branch Manager; 1939-1945, Royal Canadian Navy, Lieutenant Commander; Born and educated in Toronto.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Thursday, February 5, 1970
Ottawa, Canada

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (Chairman) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, the first brief this morning will be submitted by Dr. Thomas Espie, Executive Director of the Canadian Council on Rural Development. Dr. Espie, whose biographical sketch will appear in the record, has been connected with the "War on Poverty" in the United States and has been teaching this subject which is before us this morning. Accompanying Dr. Espie is Mrs. Jane A. Abramson, a professor at the University of Saskatchewan and head of the continuing education at that university. She has written this book, *Rural to Urban Adjustment*, and is highly esteemed in her own particular field. We are also very pleased to have Dr. Gordon A. MacEachern, President of the Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada since 1968 and Staff Economist between 1965 and 1968. His biographical sketch will also appear in the record.

I will ask Dr. Espie to open the meeting.

Dr. Thomas Espie, Executive Director, Canadian Council on Rural Development: Thank you, Mr. Chairman and honourable senators. First, a word about the council.

The Canadian Council on Rural Development was established in 1965, by the then Minister of Forestry and Rural Development, to act as an advisory body with regard to the formulation of national policy on rural development. The Council continues to serve the Minister of Regional Economic Expansion in a similar capacity.

There are currently thirty-two members of the Council, from all parts of Canada, either representing associations and organizations active in rural areas or distinguished by specific professional knowledge of rural prob-

lems. No other body speaks for so wide a range of rural interests.

The CCRD is distressed to note the continuance of poverty within the structure of a generally wealthy and well fed society. On the other hand, the Council sees the establishment of such deliberative bodies as this Special Senate Committee as grounds for some hope and guarded optimism.

The fact of this Committee's existence is clear evidence of the fact that, as a society we do care, that we are not content to accept the perpetuation of poverty in our midst in a period of generally high living standards.

The Council is grateful for the opportunity of making known in this context its views on the problem of poverty and hopeful that in some degree our contribution may help this Committee to come out with recommendations which will act as effective guidelines for future government policies serving, if not to eradicate poverty, at least to considerably reduce the scope and intensity of its incidence.

In the first place, it should be made clear that the Canadian Council on Rural Development is fully aware that poverty is not solely a rural problem. The Council is deeply concerned with poverty wherever it may occur, but because of its inherently rural orientation, the Council has tended to focus much of its attention on rural poverty.

In fact there is fairly high correlation between being rural and being poor. Rural people comprise about 25% of our total population but about 40% of those with low incomes.

In our brief we give some account of what we call the dimensions of rural poverty, reaching the conclusion that rural people earn less than city people. They have less chance of employment. When employed, they are more likely to be underemployed. Their general level of living is much lower. The health and educational facilities available to them are not of the same standard as those availa-

ble to urban people. Their housing tends to be older and more crowded and the level of domestic comfort and amenity they enjoy is far lower than it is for urban dwellers.

In the CCRD view, the economic gap between the urban majority of Canadians and the rural minority is the greatest economic disparity with which we are currently faced. This gap is not localised. It exists in every part of Canada. Wherever it exists it is intolerable. The closing of this gap should be made a prime goal of national policy.

In the view of the CCRD, it is important to make a clear distinction in dealing with the problem of poverty between welfare programmes and development programmes. Both have their place.

Many of our citizens, for a variety of reasons, are not in a position to make a genuinely useful contribution to the general store of wealth. This, in no way, diminishes their right to economic support—and let it be emphasised this is a right not a privilege. The only limit to the level of support we may assign to this group is the extent of our humanity.

Others of our citizens, because of unemployment or underemployment, are unable to support themselves and their families at an adequate level although, in fact, they have the potential capacity to make a valuable contribution to society if circumstances were somewhat modified. To make welfare payments to these people is an unsatisfactory palliative. Here, the real need is for an investment in development.

In the CCRD view, whenever choice exists, the development approach is preferable to the welfare approach.

Another important distinction which should be made here is that between growth, on the one hand, and development, on the other. While growth may be spontaneous and undisciplined, development is controlled, rationally guided, in accordance with some pre-determined plan. The CCRD rejects the notion of directive planning of the economy by government but recognizes the need for full coordination between the development programmes evolved by different levels of government and in different parts of the country.

Not only should our national development effort be properly coordinated, it should be balanced and genuinely comprehensive,

assigning proper weight to urban and rural development.

In the CCRD view, it would be neither fair nor functional to put all our national development eggs in the urban industrial basket leaving as the only option open to our rural people, if they wish to become part of the affluent society, that they move to the cities.

President Nixon has recently proposed as a national goal for the people of the U.S.A. that they "create a new rural environment that will not only stem the migration to urban centers but reverse it".

If the world's most highly industrial nation to our south can espouse a renaissance of its rural hinterland as a goal of national policy, there is something anomalous in Canada adopting development policies aimed at speeding up increasing the flow of rural people to our already over-crowded cities.

Another point made in the CCRD brief to this Committee is that a development programme aimed at simply increasing industrial production may have only a marginal and incidental effect in alleviating poverty. The kind of poverty we suffer from in today's Canada is caused not so much by under-productivity as by malfunctions in distribution.

To be effective in combatting poverty, a development programme must, from the beginning, be conceived in terms of the everyday needs of the people who will be affected by it. Further than this, people whose lives are likely to be radically changed by a development plan must be allowed to participate meaningfully in the formulation of that plan.

Those who are charged with the preparation of development plans may find that the involvement of local people in the planning process adds to the complexity of their problems. This may well be so but, in a democracy, administrative convenience cannot be accepted as a prime criterion in the framing of public policy.

The need for participation in development planning by all affected groups—particularly by the poor because they are most affected—is urged not only on grounds of equity but also on grounds of efficiency.

If development plans are prepared at the level of the bureaucrat and the expert and

handed down to the people as a fait accompli, they will be rejected.

Finally we must accept the notion of public participation in the planning process because the only alternative is confrontation.

The Chairman: Is there anything further you would wish to add?

Mrs. Jane Abramsom, Canadian Council on Rural Development: One other major point is that with the transfer of the responsibility formerly held by ARDA to the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, there is now no single agency which is responsible for the rural poor and I think that this is a very significant change in policy.

Senator Pearson: I was going to say that your statement made just now, Dr. Espie, is much better than this brief presented to us. I read the brief through and it is very academic. It sets out a whole story in a sort of university idea, instead of getting down to hard cases in the rural areas and talking about them. I felt you were not in touch with what you were talking about. I wonder how often your association meets during the year.

Dr. Espie: About three or four times, on an average basis.

Senator Pearson: Do all those meetings take place in Toronto?

Dr. Espie: Generally the meetings take place in Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal, generally in Toronto. The last meeting expressed the view of many members that the fact of meeting in big metropolitan cities was a disadvantage and it is strongly felt among members of the council that at the earliest possible convenience the next series of meetings should be where the problems are most severe, possibly in one of the Maritime Provinces. This is what we hope to do.

Senator Pearson: I felt that you were really out of touch. On page 4 of your brief, at the bottom, you say:

In every province, rural non-farm males earn less than urban males, and rural non-farm female workers earn less than urban female workers.

This is shown in the tables you presented. When you made this statement, did you take into account that living costs are lower in taxes, rentals, transportation, and so on?

Dr. Espie: No, sir, I must admit that is a shortcoming of these figures. They are not corrected to the cost of living. This is a factor we know very little about. I have talked to DBS about the possibilities of measuring the cost of living between rural areas and urban areas. There are very considerable differences and not much is known about this. I strongly suspect that in certain respects the cost of living may be lower and in other respects possibly higher.

In another part of the brief we indicate the need for more research into this, to determine the facts and figures in it. This is an interesting point that you have raised.

Mrs. Abramson: I could give some answer to this, on the basis of limited study of communities in the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec, even adjusting for the cost of living, it was still found that the rural people in that study would still be from 25 to 40 per cent of the average urban incomes in those areas.

Senator Pearson: On page 7, in paragraph 4, you say:

In certain areas the problem was particularly severe. For example, in 1966, net farm income of farm families in the Atlantic Provinces was about half of that in Ontario and about 40 per cent of that in the Prairie Provinces.

How do you account for this? Would you say that one of the problems is the difficulty of being close to a market, that is, those people in the Atlantic Provinces are very far from their real market and would they be much better off if we had a free trade so that they could market their stuff along the Atlantic coast of the United States instead of having to go to Toronto or Montreal?

Dr. Gordon A. MacEachern, Canadian Council on Rural Development: A number of people have looked into this but we find many of the products produced in the Atlantic regions are exported out—free trade is a very severe handicap.

Senator Pearson: Free trade, you say?

Dr. MacEachern: Restriction, I should say. The restricted trade is a handicap. Freeing the trade would be a real advantage, especially to potato people.

Senator Pearson: And fish?

Dr. MacEachern: Yes, fish and other things. Other things which might explain this difference are that the capital available per farm worker is much lower, about half of that in Ontario and the west. It is not just a matter of looking for markets outside. As you may know, the area is deficient in food production and it is growing increasingly deficient.

Senator Pearson: Why is that?

Dr. MacEachern: Well, there are probably a number of causes for it. One is that people don't seem to be encouraged to develop their agricultural industry there. They are not producing enough pork and beef even milk products. They have milk products coming into the area, but they have the resources there to produce their own milk—both the natural resources and the people to do it. But if you look at some of these areas you will find other reasons for the lack of production. There are technological changes and new techniques that are now a fact of life in agriculture. If you look at agriculture over-all in Canada, you will see that 3 per cent of our farmers have no formal agricultural training. So they have a difficult time in this world of change.

It would be of tremendous help to these people if they had encouragement to develop their agriculture and become more productive; and if they had trade incentives and if transportation rates were more equitable this would narrow that gap, because they have a market there.

Senator Pearson: You think they have sufficient market there, if they developed it?

Dr. MacEachern: They are also within 400 or 500 miles of one of the largest and best markets in the world, the New England seaboard.

Senator Pearson: It seems that the major unemployment in the rural areas is centered in the Atlantic provinces and in Quebec, according to page 8 of your brief. Apparently the rural areas of the Atlantic provinces show an unemployment figure of 9.5 per cent, and, in Quebec, 8.4 per cent. In B.C. it is 6.9 per cent. In the other provinces, the prairies and Ontario, I would say that there is practically no unemployment, as it is only 3.7 in the one area and 2.4 in the other. I suppose it is largely because they are not encouraged to raise their own food and such like, that the Atlantic provinces have such a problem. Is

Quebec in the same situation as the Atlantic provinces in that respect?

Dr. MacEachern: I would think so, generally. The dairy industry is, of course, much more prominent pronounced in Quebec.

One point I missed in referring to the maritimes that might help to differentiate the maritimes from Quebec is that most of the produce from the maritimes that is produced has a tendency to go outside the region but to stay in Canada. It is sent to Montreal, for example, and then comes back in in processed form. We have made some calculations that show that if they had sufficient processing or comparable processing for agricultural products in line with the rest of Canada the total economy of the Atlantic provinces would increase by about 10 per cent. So this is one area where perhaps public investment and encouragement, as the regional economic expansion group are suggesting, can be helpful. But you have to have a base for processing activity.

Quebec follows this, too, pretty well. What these people need is information. They need capital to be lent them on the basis of potential earning ability rather than on how much money they have. Much of our agriculture is on a small scale, and if you can only expand when you get big, then you don't need capital markets. So we have de-emphasized our rural areas, our agriculture, and we have got our farms down to less than 400,000 in this great country of ours which has a favourable man-to-land ratio. All our emphasis in the early stages has been on urban industrializing. Many people think in the search that is going on that we should take another look at reversing this process for a variety of reasons.

Senator Pearson: All governments have been doing the same thing. They have been handing out welfare instead of showing people how to be more productive in their own areas.

Dr. MacEachern: I think a certain amount of paternalism has developed, yes.

Senator Pearson: On page 14 of your brief you say that the relationship between low educational standards and the relative poverty of many rural Canadians is impossible to ignore. You say that the "recent report to the Minister of Agriculture in fact flatly asserts that the poverty, 'so prevalent in rural areas is a function of low educational attainment.'"

It strikes me that one of the reasons we have low educational attainment in rural areas is that when a student gets up to the high school level, if he shows any promise at all, his family sees that he has no opportunities in the rural area and they feel that, if the child has any amount of savvy at all and seems to be able to go ahead in his educational attainments, then they should send him off to the city. When they do this, of course he stays there, because he does not want to come back to a community that has nothing for him in the way of what he is doing.

In my opinion this is why you get the low educational standards in the rural areas, especially among the non-farm workers.

Dr. Espie: If I might comment on that, senator, I would thoroughly agree. All the research we have done in this area has fully endorsed what you have just said. I think it is commonplace in the literature on poverty that this is a circular phenomenon. One aspect of poverty tends to generate causes for further rounds of poverty. In a disadvantaged rural area the logic that you have just mentioned certainly is working not only to export population to urban areas but, possibly, to do so on a selective basis. In other words, there is a drain-drain of the more intelligent and the more industrious from the rural areas where the need for that kind of personnel is greatest.

This is the kind of circularity that occurs and because it is a downward circularity it continues to impoverish rural areas along the lines you have just outlined. However, if we bear in mind that this circular logic is there, we must remember that it can be altered and the circularity can be built up instead of leaving things consistently spiralling downwards. There is such a thing as an upward spiral and this is possibly the way through the woods in this respect.

Senator Pearson: Another factor involved is that the larger communities in the rural areas are moving ahead and the smaller ones are sinking down quite rapidly. As a matter of fact, because of the transportation we have nowadays and the good roads, people can get quickly from one place to another, and the resultant changes in the whole set-up of the rural areas will cause a great number of small communities to disappear altogether, except that these will still be farmers, and so on, out there. But that is all. The people from the local areas will all congregate into a sepa-

rate point in the larger community, and many small places will die out altogether.

Dr. Espie: That is quite true, I think.

Mrs. Abramson: I think some of them are dying out, but it is a very slow process. What sometimes we fail to recognize is that there is a feed-back into these small centres of old people who go to them to retire. So these places are fading out much less rapidly than most people assume. Moreover, in Saskatchewan the young farmers who are sons of families of this type are able to buy only submarginal farms because they don't have enough capital to buy viable farms. So they tend to move into these small places in order to combine farming with casual labour in order to supplement their family incomes. So it could be 60 years before a small village passes out of existence.

Senator Pearson: I see that all right. But the trend that is taking place right now is that they are fading out.

Mrs. Abramson: Yes, we have had a loss of many villages.

Senator Pearson: Would a guaranteed income help that local area to maintain itself?

Mrs. Abramson: Yes, I think it would, although it might not help, as you point out, to maintain the business people in the area because of the tendency to patronize larger centres.

Senator Pearson: But the older people would retire from their farms and move into the small centre and live there.

Mrs. Abramson: In many ways these small villages are preferable places to retire than the large cities.

Senator Pearson: I did not mean cities. I meant large communities.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, on page 22 there is a reference to "Guidelines for Future Policy". I was hoping there for more constructive suggestions than I actually found. Is your organization a purely research organization?

Dr. Espie: No, senator, we are not a purely research organization, by any means. In fact I would suggest that research is a somewhat marginal concern for us. Our main concern is to focus the experience and expertise of the membership on meetings, gatherings and the

meetings of minds to generate policy guidelines which will be valuable to those departments concerned with rural development. In doing this it is sometimes useful to have some research done.

Senator Carter: Do you have branches in every province? Does your membership consist of individuals or groups or how do you operate?

Dr. Espie: We have rather a unique form of membership in that we have organizations and associations as members of our council and at the same time we have individual members. The organizations and associations are groups which have a natural concern in matters concerning rural development. They are listed in an appendix attached to the brief. The individual members tend to be distinguished by particular expertise and experience in their various fields such as university professors who have been involved in these associations for a long time.

Senator Carter: How do you get these people together to spread the expertise and help people solve their own problems?

Dr. Espie: Simply by meeting if and when we can in two or three-day meetings to hammer out and bring together the opinions of the membership and endeavour to find some form of consensus from this very broad membership.

Senator Carter: One thing about your brief that I do like is that you have focused on the correlation between the rural people and the rural poor, and you have given a brief account of what government has done in the past through such programs as ARDA and FRED and ADA and now the Regional Economic Expansion Department which I gather you think is probably not as well adapted to cure rural poverty as ARDA was. I sense a little fear in your brief that the new emphasis under the concept of regional expansion is going to be more urban than rural, and anything that is done to help the rural poor is going to be more or less incidental. Is that a fair summary?

Dr. Espie: I think in broad terms that accurately sets out our feeling. However we are fully aware that the legislation under which the Regional Economic Expansion Department has been set up in no way seems to neglect the interests of the rural population. The statements of the Minister and senior officers of the department do

not demonstrate any intention to neglect the rural people of their interests. But the main projected strategy of the department is to operate in terms of comprehensive regional economic development and of course the word "regional" comprises urban as well as rural areas. However, we do have some disquiet that in terms of emphasis and stress more chips will be going on urban and industrial development than on rural development. This is just a fear we hope will be proved to be mistaken.

Senator Carter: The new theory is that we will concentrate on growth centres and if we can expand them, people will trickle in from the poor rural areas and get jobs in these new centres and then there will be a flow-back in terms of services which will benefit those left in the rural areas. That theory still has to be proved, and I wondered what contact you have had with the Department for Regional Economic Expansion. Have you conveyed your fears to them or have you made any proposals to them?

Dr. Espie: Yes, sir, we have on two or three occasions expressed this kind of concern. We are also shortly going to be expressing the same kind of concern again.

Dr. MacEachern: There are a number of areas of concern because it is very important to have programs to bring about a reduction in regional disparity and these people should be informed about them. It is also important that we should not simply go through an experimental process; we went through it with ARDA and did not apply it too well which resulted in criticism and eventually throw away. To elaborate on an earlier question this council has a group of fine people in touch right across the country with backgrounds ranging from Chamber of Commerce to Caisse Populaire, and one of the reasons the brief is not too specific is that this area does not render itself to any quick remedy. There are many, many things involved. But there is an emotional core in that group dedicated to this country and to making it better. I think we must convey to you that we are not at all happy with the way things are and maybe it is because of a lack of information on what plans we have to alleviate it, but there is very little information available on what growth centres will do to help rural or urban poverty. Agriculture makes up 42 per cent of the activity of this country today and if we do not develop this agriculture and supply the meat packer, wherever he may be, then, we

will be in trouble. The beer-parlour economy will not take us very far.

Senator Carter: Let us take the situation of an under-developed country which is almost any country in Africa, Asia or India. For example, we were in India not too long ago and there they have just now begun to realize that they made a mistake, a natural mistake that nearly every underdeveloped country makes. They think the answer to their problems is to get industrialized, and they go all out to create industry—sometimes heavy industry, but any kind of industry—and they think that is the solution. But then, when they have their industry, they discover they have no basis on which they can distribute the fruits of this industry among the people. The reason they have no basis is that they have not developed an agricultural economy, and most developed countries always started off with an economy with an agricultural base, and then when they had developed the agricultural economy they were in a position to industrialize successfully. Now most countries start off in reverse and discover too late that is the wrong way to do it, and they have to retrace their steps. Would you say that theory applies to provinces, parts of a country, as well as to a country as a whole?

Dr. Espie: In very broad terms, I agree that that is so. I think there is a danger, not only in developing nations but also in developed nations, to equate industrial development with development as such. The biggest experiment in economic development since the war was the Marshall Plan in Europe, in which \$13 billion were injected into destroyed economies, and that is all that was needed. It worked like penicillin; it was totally efficient.

Senator Cook: Did you say \$13 million?

Dr. Espie: No, \$13 billion. I believe the original allotment was in excess of that. The lesson some people learned from this was that if you want to produce development all you do is inject money. When you transpose this logic from the European context to developing countries, we find it is a complete failure. Solely to think of industrial development did not work in all contexts. It worked in the Ruhr because the people and institutions were there, though basically destroyed.

I think the more sophisticated thinking on economic development now is that it must be a balanced development—rural and urban, industrial and agricultural, and any other pri-

mary industries. There is sometimes the feeling there is a danger at the federal and provincial levels to equate industrial development with overall development.

Senator Carter: We have been told and, I think, like us you will have read it in the papers, that looking into the future we see Canada as a nation concentrated perhaps in a dozen or twenty large population centres, megalopolises or something like that, so that you will have this big core of concentration distributed in isolated centres, and you will have this great periphery with only probably 10 or 15 per cent of the population. What is your opinion on what would be the effect of that? That is the very opposite from balanced development.

Dr. Espie: I am sure that Mrs. Abramson and Dr. MacEachern have views on this.

One result of a preponderant concentration in urban centres strung along the United States border would be to reverse the notion of expanding into the total area of Canada and would be, in fact, a retreat from the notion of expanding Canada to, rather, a concentration of population along the American border in an urban setting, where they would be more subject to all kinds of outside cultural influences. I think the unique Canadianese of Canada tends to go more in this kind of situation than where the population is more equitably distributed between urban and rural areas.

Mrs. Abramson: In the history of urbanization, very often when you have concentrated population up to a certain point the process begins to reverse and you get flight from the cities, as it is called. The problems of cities are multiplying so rapidly that many people are leaving the cities and are going into suburban or fringe areas in order to escape them. This is a repetitive kind of occurrence in history.

Our Council is concerned about the assumption that by simply moving people into urban growth centres, or larger urban areas, you are going to solve the problem of rural development because there is a lot of cumulative evidence that this does not happen. The rural poor may be even worse off when they move into cities, on a relative basis, than they were in their home areas.

Many studies in the United States, Scandinavia, Italy and Canada indicate that when the rural poor move into the cities they come

into the lowest occupations, with less security in employment with the lowest standard of living of any elements of the population in the cities, and they take the place, in the United States, of the large waves of immigrants that came in towards the beginning of this century and the end of last century. In providing the basis for upward mobility of urban populations, some make it, but, on the whole, it is a minority of them.

Senator Carter: How does this fit in with this theory of growth centres?

Mrs. Abramson: I think it does not, and I am very concerned about it.

Dr. Espie: This is one of the points about which we are most concerned. The federal Government seems to have espoused the notion of growth centres as the basic principle of economic development in Canada. We would in no way say it is a bad idea because it has been adopted in many countries successfully, particularly in Europe. However, whether it is apt for the unique Canadian circumstance, we are as yet unconvinced, and I have seen no studies to show it would be right for this country, for precisely the kind of reasons Mrs. Abramson has just outlined.

Senator Carter: Would you say that if a person must be poor anyway it is better to be poor in a rural than an urban area?

Mrs. Abramson: I would say the problems of poverty in rural and urban areas are different. In studies I have made I find that rural families do not tend to suffer the kind of breakdowns you find in urban areas. You do not have a high percentage of divorced, separated, broken families. Delinquency is high in Saskatchewan, where we are beginning to get worried about the agricultural industry, because young people have very little to do and even the use of drugs seems to be penetrating into the smaller communities. But in the cities you have higher crime rates and incidence of what you might call social pathology. On the other hand, there are better public services available to the poor in the cities. So, I do not know that you can exactly compare them.

Senator Quart: Not knowing very much about your organization at all, and I am talking very frankly, I listened with great interest to your explanation of your set-up. When you go into these areas, if you do, do you hold open meetings with farmers and maybe with hotel keepers, and so on?

Would you not agree with me that in these areas they tend to grow potatoes and turnips, and things of that kind, rather than brussels sprouts or the other vegetables that sell at a higher price? Hotel keepers and buyers in that category could probably tell the farmer what they should grow.

I might mention—and Senator Inman should take note of this—that when I was going over to that province on the boat I was chatting with some Americans whom I told that Prince Edward Island grew wonderful potatoes. Since we did not want to starve we went into a little snack bar, and to my horror and their delight we saw instant potatoes. That seemed to be ridiculous in that part of the world. That is why I wonder if you hold meetings with the farmers of these areas, and counsel them on these matters.

Dr. Espie: Senator, I think I answered a similar question from Senator Pearson. In general terms, we do not meet in the rural areas. We regret this very much, and we are trying to adapt our pattern of meetings so that we can do that.

At some time last year we did have a seminar with our members, and we invited producers from rural areas across Canada. This was such a useful and enlightening experience that we hope to repeat this kind of involvement along the lines you suggest as frequently as we can.

Senator Quart: I know that in the Laurentians they held a meeting of hotel proprietors or hotel buyers, at which it was suggested that they use as much as possible the produce of the area in their menus. That is all I have to say.

Dr. MacEachern: I think you have hit on a very important point. There are great surpluses of dairy products and wheat in Canadian agriculture, and one of the problems is that our farmers are not producing those things that are wanted. For some strange reason in this country we do not seem to believe it is necessary to do some kind of market analysis and find out what people want. We should study product development. For instance, we could make our P.E.I. potatoes a little better looking by washing them.

Senator Quart: Do not forget the Quebec potatoes.

Dr. Espie: We could wrap them in gold foil.

Dr. MacEachern: Many of our imports of agricultural products are in competition with what we produce, and they amount to \$1.1 billion. Much of this we can produce in Canada. Our agricultural exports amount to \$1.4 billion, but they are composed mostly of grain. It is in sunflower oil seeds, asparagus, and so on that there are many opportunities. Many of the farm people are not geared to do research or to get the kind of information that is needed. They need a little help, direction, and organization.

Senator Quart: That is why I thought your organization could hold meetings with them and help them to plan. They could grow lettuce, for instance, in the season.

Dr. Espie: The typical farmer has no idea of how the hotel operator thinks.

Senator Quart: It is the small carrot that is in demand, and yet the farmers let their carrots grow large and tough. It is this type of counselling that I suggest can be done.

Senator Pearson: I think a great deal of trouble in farm production stems from the marketing rules that we have in these days. I knew a quite large turkey producer in Saskatchewan, who marketed about 5,000 turkeys a year. A rule was passed that instead of sending his turkeys to Regina he had to take them to Yorkton to have them eviscerated and dressed. He told me that he could not pay the trucking expense over to Yorkton, and consequently he was going out of the turkey business entirely. The same thing happens in the milk business. All of the little towns now get their milk in from Regina, because that is where the milk is produced in a big way. The little farmer cannot afford to compete. It is in these areas that he should have advice.

Senator Inman: I would like to point out to Senator Quart that she may have been eating P.E.I. potatoes even though they were of the instant variety.

About a year ago there was a survey made of Prince Edward Island. Was that made by your organization, by any chance?

Dr. Espie: No, we have never made a survey of Prince Edward Island.

Senator Inman: It annoyed me because it certainly did not give a true picture of life in Prince Edward Island, and I might say that I now every road and tree there. I read your brief, and I found it interesting. Quite a lot of

thought has gone into it. You mention the difference between the wages of the urban and rural people. Have you taken into consideration the fact that the rural people usually have their bed and board supplied?

Dr. Espie: As a matter of fact, senator, I think you have hit on a very sensitive area. How do you measure employment? I was talking to some people at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics recently, and I noted that they have, for example, very accurate measures of the distribution of record players, radios, refrigerators, and freezers by provinces on a rural-urban basis in 1968. They can tell you very accurately what percentage of homes in rural Prince Edward Island have freezers, and what percentage of urban homes in Prince Edward Island have refrigerators, very accurately. However, if you ask D.B.S. for information on employment and unemployment on a rural-urban basis then they will tell you the only figures available are those for 1961.

They realize that this is an embarrassing and annoying background factor in determining any kind of policy, but they point out that it is very very difficult to measure these kinds of things.

For example if a man gets part of his income from a farm, but he also drives the school bus in the area in which he lives, then his income is very difficult to measure.

Senator Inman: Take the case of a man who is hired by a farmer. He lives in the farmer's house. He may get so much a month in cash, but then you must take into account the fact that his living is provided for. If he wants the car to go into town, and the farmer is not using it himself, then he can have that. All of these things must enter into it. I was wondering whether anything was done about that sort of thing.

Dr. Espie: What we have done is to measure what can be measured most conveniently, but with the realization that the kind of factors you mention are very difficult indeed to measure.

Dr. MacEachern: Senator, we do not want to leave on that note, that it is better to suffer poverty in rural areas. I do not think we should ignore the rural problem. These people have great pride and they do not show their poverty. In my view they are not mentally impoverished. They have ideas as to how they will move forward with the right kind of

encouragement, but regardless of how one measures the income it is very low compared to urban people. Sure, things cost less, such as housing, but some of the supplies they purchase are expensive. Their purchasing habits are becoming very similar to urban people now. They have to contend with many high prices in local stores. A lot could be done, in my view, in the job area by encouraging our agricultural industry to make these people more productive by giving equal opportunities to services and education. Help can be given in getting better local government going, since most of the problems are local and will only be solved in part by themselves and local government effort. Sometimes we get scared when we see a lot of centralized directives, particularly in P.E.I., which is my home also.

Senator Inman: What part?

Dr. MacEachern: Near Bonshaw. We have stayed in your hotel in Montague.

Dr. Espie: If I might add to that, we must realize that in terms of taste, attitudes and aspirations, possibly because of the effect of mass media, we are becoming increasingly an urban society. The rural family, the housewife and rural adolescent particularly, are affected by attitudes which are primarily urban attitudes and tastes. When a rural adolescent looks at television for a program or for a character in which they can identify, what programs are offered? The Beverly Hillbillies or Green Acres? These are funny shows. Rural people are presented, by our media, as funny people and relics of a rather quaint picturesque, but dying culture. This is particularly sad for young rural people.

Senator Inman: I was born on a farm so I feel that the rural people are the backbone of the country.

Dr. Espie: We agree with you 100 per cent on that.

Senator McGrand: I have a great many questions I would like to ask.

The Chairman: You may ask them all; we have got a good half hour.

Senator McGrand: In making an assessment of New Brunswick—I happen to come from New Brunswick—who did you contact and how did you assess agricultural deficiencies and the lack of opportunity in certain places? How did you accomplish that in New Brunswick?

Did you go to see people and make a survey or did you take it from statistics?

Dr. Espie: I am somewhat embarrassed to admit, senator, that the direct contact with specific individuals in New Brunswick was rather lacking. I think this is a shortcoming on our part. It was largely through published reports and data. I would qualify that by saying the main operation of our council is through individuals. The idea of our council, with its membership of 32 people, is that it is able to have surveys by contacting people living in every province in Canada. We have a considerable contingent membership on that council from the Maritimes.

Senator McGrand: I looked at all of the names and I note that you have Dr. W. A. Jenkins on the Economic Council. That is the only Nova Scotian I see. In New Brunswick you have the most Reverend J. N. MacNeil, who is an individual member. I believe that is Bishop MacNeil, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Saint John. I think he has been in the province for only one year. That is why I was wondering how you made the assessment of the deficiencies of agriculture in New Brunswick.

What do you think is the future of the dairy industry in New Brunswick? In my opinion it is a dying industry. Do you agree with that view?

Dr. MacEachern: Yes, in all of the Atlantic provinces and this is particularly so because of the policy of the Canadian Dairy Commission.

Senator McGrand: Are they going to die?

The Chairman: I do not know what the policies of the Canadian Dairy Commission are.

Dr. MacEachern: The tendency is to set quotas on manufactured milk and, of course, Quebec is very large in the dairy industry. This is as unbiased as one can be.

Senator McGrand: I am not criticizing the Dairy Council, but remember that in New Brunswick you have a growing season 20 days less than in the milkshed of Montreal, Toronto, and so on. That has contributed a lot to it. Having made this assessment what would you think is the greatest potential for prosperity in New Brunswick? On what physical asset does New Brunswick's prosperity depend?

Dr. MacEachern: Senator, my interest is largely agriculture and food, but New Brunswick does have a great potential in forestry. Canada has a tremendous shortage of beef and the Holstein breed, is one of the greatest converters of food to meat, we import tremendous amounts. I believe that in 1968 we imported cheese to the extent of \$15 million. We have concentrated on producing fluid and manufactured and skim milk powder. We are already deficient in dairy products in the Atlantic area. In my opinion it is a little ridiculous to take milk from the high price areas, such as Quebec and Ontario, and transport it all the way down to Sussex, Saint John or Moncton. That is why I commented on the Canadian Dairy Commission. The strategy to be followed has been to concentrate a little more in the industrial provinces. Western Canada has suffered a great deal under this same program. In New Brunswick approximately 30 per cent of all economic activity is associated with agriculture and food. I am sure there are other areas of industry that can adopt technologically, but let us take agriculture. This is a deficit food area. Many things can grow well and when you are talking about 20 days less, they do not have a pasture failure down there such as in Ontario and parts of Quebec. They have got real advantages and one is that they have quite a bit of land available which is suitable pasture for beef. Pork and a variety of things have opportunities.

Agriculture has one of the highest multipliers. We have calculated, for instance, that for every dollar of meat which is sold through the packing plant, \$3 worth of other economic activity is generated. This is more than any other type of enterprise in this country, bar none, including the electronic or television industry. I would not write dairy resources off, but they must adapt to conditions a little more, such as getting those holstein cattle bred to Angus or other beef breeds. North America is the major meat deficit area in the world.

Senator McGrand: Some question was brought up here that they should grow brussels sprouts in certain places. In New Brunswick we have a fern that grows wild along the Saint John River. You have probably eaten fiddleheads. They have been growing wild for years along the marshes and anyone living along the Saint John River has picked and eaten fiddleheads. McCains in New Brunswick are freezing them. These fiddleheads

are picked by the Indians in the spring time. They are taken to McCains and are frozen. I am very fond of them. I make a trip to New Brunswick about the middle of May in order to get some fresh ones near Saint John. Last spring I paid approximately 49 cents a pound for fiddleheads grown on Darlings Island near Saint John. These were grown by a man who specializes in them. Next to the store where I paid 49 cents a pound they were selling fiddleheads for only 25 cents a pound, but these had been picked by Indians and were of an inferior quality and few people buy them.

Here is this great natural resource which can flourish in the marshes on Keswick Island or Oromocto Island along the Saint John River, but no department of agriculture, either federal or provincial, has ever made any attempt to get farmers to grow these. I have talked to departmental people for over thirty years and they have always given the same answer, that it cannot be done. This is the first product grown in New Brunswick that could reach the markets of central Canada. They come on the market about the middle of May. There is nothing else productive on the land in New Brunswick that could reach the markets of Ontario and Quebec as quickly as fiddleheads.

This is one of the things woefully neglected in our agricultural program. I have travelled through Albert county. I wonder if you know Albert county?

Dr. MacEachern: Not too well.

Senator McGrand: A lot of the land is barren. It is wonderful blueberry country. I asked who owns the land and was told that some Americans do. This is true of another large piece of blueberry country down there. It is all owned by Americans, former New Brunswickers who went to the United States, who came back and bought up this land. They come over in the summer and supervise the harvesting of the blueberry crop. A few people living in Albert county get a few cents for picking the berries but the real profit goes to the United States.

Coming back to the greatest asset, 85 per cent of New Brunswick is covered by forest, and so the survival of agriculture in New Brunswick has to be in some kind of mixed farming, some hogs, a few cattle, and the cultivation of the wood lot. How much time have you spent, or have you spent any, on the possibility of development of the wood lot in New Brunswick?

Dr. MacEachern: I have not spent much, and my understanding is that there are only one or two forestry people serving that area.

Dr. McGrand: This was an alarming thing and one could never get much interest, until lately. There is some interest now. The Department of Agriculture did not regard the wood lot as agricultural, but as forestry, belonging to some other department. But two men came down—Bruce Kelly and John Touransky, both born outside the province, to the U.N.B. forestry extension service. After years of coaxing and persuasion, they got people interested in the wood lot. I think that before this committee is through with its hearings, you will probably hear more about it. If you are going to revive and have a survival of rural New Brunswick—and remember, the shades of night are falling fast over rural New Brunswick—you are aware of that, are you not—it has to be done on the development of the natural resources within the province, within the area. Do you agree with me?

Dr. MacEachern: It is true for all Canada. We are still a natural resource country.

Senator McGrand: Some time ago we had a witness who made a suggestion that if Halifax had double its population there would be no poverty in Nova Scotia. Of course, when Halifax had only half its present population, there was less poverty in Nova Scotia than there is today. That takes me back to the work done by Orville Freeman, the Secretary of Agriculture in Johnson's cabinet. I read several of his books, in which he said that this building of the cities bigger and bigger must stop, that you have to go back into developing the resources of the rural communities.

There is one question I want to ask, in regard to the paper written by Mrs. Abramson, it is quoted here. It is mentioned on page 17:

The rural people, forced to the cities because low rural incomes and high rural unemployment, often lack the necessary skills to become properly assimilated into urban society and urban occupations.

That is a quote from Mrs. Abramson's article on rural and urban adjustment, pages 106 to 110.

As far as I know, you have made an analysis of this and found there is a great many of these people who move from the country

into the city constitute a lot of our urban poor.

That takes me back to when we were on the Committee on Land Use, ten years ago, and the then Minister of Agriculture of Manitoba appeared as a witness. I had the idea then that I have now—that you have to preserve the rural community. He said that the Department of Agriculture of Manitoba encouraged people to leave the land, the farms and the rural community, and go into the cities because, he said, they usually do well, they are jack of all trades, they are good with their hands, they can adjust quickly and most of them make good. He thought it was a wonderful thing for these people to leave the rural communities and go into the cities to find work. I thought of that when I looked over this brief. Would you elaborate on that article and that reference, pages 106 to 100?

Mrs. Abramson: Yes. I think that, by the standards of staying off relief in the city, a great many rural people I have studied do manage to support themselves and stay off relief. Therefore, I have very little findings in my studies to show they constitute a burden on the cities when they move in, in the economic sense. But I think the quality of life they enjoy in the cities is made up of something more than what people earn—it has to do with their happiness, with their integration into urban neighbourhoods, how they get along with neighbours, how the rural family stands up under the pressure of urban conditions. What we find is that a certain proportion of them do become so unhappy that they actually become ill and want to go back to where they came from.

About one-third in the cities I have met never really get around to being urban people in the sense of becoming adjusted to urban environment and becoming happy there—and many of them did have low incomes.

In the studies I made of farmers moving into Saskatoon—which I think one should keep in mind as being a fairly favourable place for farmers to move into, because it is a kind of agriculture-centred city—they tend to have per capita incomes that are something like 16 to 25 per cent lower than those of the average urban family.

Senator McGrand: Your work is mostly in that area? You did this in Saskatchewan?

Mrs. Abramson: Yes, but this is a consistent finding in the United States, on a national basis, and in the Scandinavian countries. Freeman had similar findings.

Senator McGrand: When we were in Halifax we found that a great number of the Halifax poor were rural-oriented people who came there. Similarly in Montreal we had people of whom I asked questions and we discovered that the English-speaking poor came from the Maritimes and the French-speaking poor came from the Gaspé. This information was given to us as though these were different provinces. When we were in Winnipeg, most of the poor were those from northern Manitoba. Now, having been a New Brunswicker all my life, I know that many people leave rural areas and become very successful in the cities but these are generally people with a lot of thrift and intelligence and despite small resources they make good. I would like to know which is the minority group and which is the majority.

Mrs. Abramson: Well, senator, it all depends on what you mean by making good.

Senator McGrand: Well, keeping out of the poverty level, I would say. If you can keep out of poverty, you are not doing badly.

Mrs. Abramson: The people who tend to do well in the cities are people coming from families who do well in rural areas. In other words, there is a wide difference between people because of their ability to adjust to economic environment. We find that the sons and daughters of more prosperous families in rural areas who come to the cities make good adjustments to the urban environment. The sons and daughters of poor people are unable to do this because they do not have the education or psychological equipment and so there is a large back-flow from cities to rural areas of these people who fail.

Senator McGrand: It seems to me that if here is a person in the rural area who is just below the poverty line, or just close to it, that's one of the reasons he wants to move. If he had a little extra money each month or each year to get him by in the rural area, would that not be better for him? Say he can earn two-thirds of what he needs down there, would it be better to pay him something extra to stay there rather than have him come to the city and perhaps sink into abject poverty.

Mrs. Abramson: I would have to make it clear here that I am not against rural people coming to urban areas to improve themselves. But it is necessary to understand that this is a complicated society which affects many areas of their lives. I think the fact that they get assistance in terms of better opportunity is one of the reasons for their moving. If there were supporting services when they move to the city to help them through the process of adjustment, it might help. But this can last maybe five or six years and in other cases it can last over one generation. I would not want to feel that we need a policy to support the rural community because it is good in itself. I also feel that we should not support rural people in these areas simply to keep them there. They need to have a significant function because they are a very proud hard-working people who for the most part pride themselves on their ability to be self-supporting, and I do not think you can substitute welfare for a meaningful job to do in our society and the feeling that they are a significant part of the society.

Senator Pearson: We had an instance of that in Saskatchewan where a very successful farmer who farms six sections of land decided he would like to move to Saskatoon and live there. He had a beautiful home in a rural area which he gave up and built a new one in Saskatoon. Now, however, he is ready to move back again but he is lost because he handed out his farm to his sons and his brothers.

Mrs. Abramson: Such situations do not only apply in Saskatchewan. They also apply in Quebec and many of the rural people who have moved into cities feel that this has meant a downward effect on their function and status in the community.

Senator Pearson: The environment is against them and they cannot make it.

Mrs. Abramson: And they feel out of place and they are not happy.

Senator Cook: I enjoyed the brief very much and I think very highly of it. However, on page 26, you say—

In the CCRD view, because a development plan must be considered in terms of its effects on people, it is essential that the people whose lives will be intimately affected by the plan actively participate in its formulation and in its implementation.

Now that is another way of saying that the plan is only as good as the people who are sharing in it or take part in it. I remember years ago in Newfoundland we had programs for small towns and villages and we would go to the magistrate or the clergyman or the teacher or the doctor to head up these programs and they would do so. Now, with the brain-drain from the rural areas, there is a real danger of lack of leadership in rural areas for these plans.

Dr. Espie: I would agree, senator, that it is a very real problem and I would say you are quite right that a plan is as good as the people who put it together. However, if a community suffers from a paucity of people to put it together, then, the only solution is to bring in the talent or to work in order to bring out such talent as does exist. This may involve showing people that they know more than they think they know.

Senator Cook: That is my feeling because the more adaptable ones move out when conditions are bad and move to urban centres and those who are left are there because of a lack of education or for some other reason and are probably less adaptable. I think you have to put the leadership in. In the older days the magistrates or the clergy were part of the community and accepted the responsibility of heading up such movements and did their best to make these things work. Are we not suffering in many cases from a lack of dedicated individuals in rural areas today?

Dr. Espie: Well, I think it might not be a lack of intelligence or ability, but it could be a lack of confidence. There could also be a lack of encouragement and given the right type of policy that encouragement could bring out the confidence that could lead to the development of tremendous ability.

Dr. MacEachern: It is also necessary to succeed in bringing about an understanding of what the whole thing is all about. My understanding of the situation is that individuals in many rural areas have many good ideas, and not everybody wants \$10,000 a year. If they get 10 per cent more than they are getting now they are happy. But the greatest source of ideas is the individual himself. I know that in a survey in Prince Edward Island some of the greatest ideas came from the people themselves. We have to remember that leadership can be paternalistic, but it can also be the opposite.

I am an economist, but in all the books on the development and improvement of income and human resources there is a little section that many people do not read. The basis of most of our development is the replacing of despair with enthusiasm and pride; not with great injections of capital. We must endeavour to make people enthusiastic and realize that there is hope. The only way we can do that, I think, is by communicating with people, and making them feel they are a vital part of the whole matter.

Senator Cook: What I am about to say is not meant as a criticism, but in looking through your membership I do not see listed there any members of the practising poor. I am wondering what your answer to that is.

Dr. MacEachern: We are all pretty close to it, I think, but perhaps there should be some such members. It has been suggested that anybody can get out of touch, and they do have a great deal to contribute.

Dr. Espie: This is a point of vulnerability of which we are amply aware.

The Chairman: We are not going to rub it in today, but I do point out that this committee has been made very much aware of the need for citizen participation, any organization that neglects it today, misses the boat.

We have a few minutes left, so I should like to ask you a question. When we speak about a guaranteed income or a maintenance income—and never mind defining it—what should be our relationship vis-a-vis rural and urban communities.

Mrs. Abramson: Should there be a difference?

The Chairman: Yes, that is what I am asking you.

Mrs. Abramson: If I may speak to that I would say that ARDA did establish a difference in the poverty level as between urban and rural people. I think you have to take into account the difference in the cost of living, although it is very hard to compare directly money incomes. However, there are some other bases for comparison. We know, for example, that food costs in rural areas are sometime higher than those in urban areas.

The Chairman: So the papers this morning say.

Dr. Abramson: Yes. Although rural people have cheap housing they sometimes pay more for the level of services they get. I think it would be possible to develop some real standards of the quality of life that we would expect every Canadian to enjoy, and I think that these should be adapted to the costs of the different regions and different locales in terms of the cost of living there.

The Chairman: Yes, but in the social history of this country we have always treated every Canadian, no matter where he lives, on the same basis. We do it with the old age security payments, the unemployment insurance payments, and the family allowances. What justification can there possibly be, allowing for differences and variations, for treating the rural and urban people in different ways?

Dr. MacEachern: If I may comment on that I would say that I think this is the basic principle that we go with—the equal treatment of all people, but as Mrs. Abramson was saying, if we continue to have a lower quality of service for our rural people then we must have some mechanism for equating things other than different payments. My own feeling is that every Canadian be treated alike and given equal opportunities to the kind of services they need in these rural areas too.

I think that there are mechanisms. A negative income tax can treat all low income Canadians alike, but the important thing is that rural people do not have equal opportunity to such things as education, or equal opportunity to health services.

Perhaps in the past we were too spread out to be able to provide this opportunity, but many of the people who are leaving the rural areas today are not leaving because of a lack of opportunity to produce; they are leaving because of a lack of access to the kind of services they get in the urban areas.

The Chairman: I have a question directed at all of you. We are here as a committee struggling with a problem that is very important to the Canadian people, and it concerns us a great deal. Give us your priorities. What would you do if you were in our position? Where do you think the crux of the problem is? What should we aim at?

Dr. MacEachern: If I may start this off, I think we need some kind of negative income tax.

The Chairman: Are you talking of the maintenance income?

Dr. MacEachern: Yes. I think it is ridiculous to start taxing people who are poor to pay for public services.

The second point of great importance is that there be a commitment to eliminate poverty in the things being done now. A number of public policies, economic and tax policies, exist in this country that contribute to poverty.

The Chairman: Just mention them.

Dr. MacEachern: Well, we are talking about urbanizing and growth centres, let us say, the greatest growth centers have been in central Canada. I think this does great harm to western Canada and to the hinterlands of Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. There is a deliberate effort to protect urban industrial growth, for example, the protective tariffs on many of our manufactures.

Other policies do not come to mind quickly, but I am familiar with our agricultural policy, and we have not always looked at our transfer payments there on the basis of equity. Sometimes the payments go to the people who need them less. This, I think, applies to a variety of other policies as well.

The Chairman: You are talking about subsidies?

Dr. MacEachern: Yes, but agricultural subsidies are not very great when compared with the treatment afforded gold mines and other industries.

Those are two matters that come to mind at this moment. We must make sure that what we are doing now does not contribute to a worsening of the situation. Inflation is a topical problem, and that is hitting the hinterlands too.

There is a number of things that people can do. Perhaps I am a little biased but the mothers in the rural areas who have nine or ten children, and who have lived all their lives in conditions of poverty, have many ideas on how to exist. There is a dynamism, and they should be given some opportunity to gear things up. But, we must show concern for people, and not treat them with a paternalistic attitude. We must realize that they are individuals. They are not poor mentally. They are poor in terms of income. Let us get their ideas.

I am convinced that emphasis must be placed upon changes in our system of education. We need entrepreneurs in this country. We need small business, and the rural area is the backbone of small business.

Mrs. Abramson: I agree with a great deal of what Dr. MacEachern has said, but I think there is another priority which is seldom mentioned in discussions of this sort, and that is for an immediate and widespread program of population control. A great deal of what we have been talking about has to do with the fact that we have too many rural people in areas where the resources will not support them. Even if these resources are developed to their maximum we are still going to have to deal with the problem of too many people. In certain areas, such as northern Saskatchewan, we have the highest birth rates in the world, and yet they are areas of very low resources, and where the people have very little opportunity to transfer to urban occupations. I think we must consider immediately a program of population control. The second thing that we do not think about very much is a widespread program of adult education. The parents are rearing many children in these areas, and no matter how much we try to improve the schools the response of the child to the school environment depends upon his family and cultural background to a large extent. We need to think not just of the children and their future opportunities, but we need to think of whole families.

The third thing to which I think we have given little attention is the provision of counselling services for people who are making the transition from one style of life to another, from one position in society to another, and from a rural area to an urban area. I feel that we need these counselling services before they move and after they move, because this is a process extending overtime and they, in many cases, cannot do it without some help from the rest of us who are in a better position to assist.

Dr. Espie: I would endorse what Dr. MacEachern and Mrs. Abramson have said. I would like to add that in generating programs of economic development that it be inevitably motivated by reducing the level of poverty and that we should be very careful in the programs we generate so as not to add to the program of poverty. It is possible that we should bear in mind that the growth of population from the rural to the urban centres may, in fact, add to the amount of poverty

existing in Canada. If we look at the largest industrial centres in the States we do not find that this eradicates poverty. If we make Moncton into a Detroit we might have the same situation where the poor burn it down.

I would like to summarize by saying that what we should do in terms of priority is to find out where poverty is most severe and go where the pain is most urgent and where the problems are most inhumane. We should, in no sense, ever neglect, for example, the native peoples, particularly the Indians who are not on reservations and under the care of any particular program.

Senator McGrand: Do you sort of agree with my idea that this mass of injection of capital in a certain area is no guarantee that a particular area is going to improve by it? I know that in New Brunswick, the Maritimes, there has been mass injection of capital into a certain place. I think that in 20 years the people will be poorer than they are now because of it.

Senator Carter: I would like to clear up one thing. You have made a great deal of reference in your brief this morning and in your comments in which you replied to questions about education and a discrepancy in the quality of education available to the rural areas, compared with urban areas. Are you basing that on the 1961 figures, because my impression is—I know there are exceptions—that education in rural areas have improved tremendously in the last 10 years with regard to schools and school buses. A person living in a rural area today receives almost as good educational facilities, and perhaps even better in some cases, than people in urban areas.

Dr. Espie: I agree with that. I think the figures that we do have available, which do indicate, by the way, generally lower level qualifications and lower salaries among rural teachers compared to urban teachers have possibly been ameliorated in the interim. Because of other types of social disadvantages in rural areas maybe there is a good indication for seeing that rural education is, in a sense, almost better than urban education to make up for other kinds of things. Having been a rural teacher myself I know that some of the best teachers in Canada are in the rural areas.

Senator Carter: I was one too.

Senator Pearson: I have one question. In your opinion, do you think it would be possi-

ble or would you advise that in having this regional development scheme that it be divided into two programs, one part involved in urban areas and another part taking care of the rural areas? There is so much difference between the two.

Dr. Espie: No, I would not recommend that. I feel that development plans should be conceived as not economic development plans, but social and economic development plans. I think they should be comprehensive, that is, not divorcing the rural hinterland from the urban centre, but inside the framework of the comprehensive socio-economic plan. There must be equitable emphasis and stress on the urban areas and the rural areas and the future of the rural areas must not be conceded solely to a part of the action they can get in urban growth. I think the way this program should be is by a balanced development and not by a development approach based on urban-industrial.

The Chairman: Are there any other questions? May I, on behalf of the committee, say to the three of you how much we appreciate your coming and how helpful you have been. In a sense you have broken ground for us. This is the first opportunity that we have had to hear from people who are directly concerned with rural aspects and we have been anxious to hear something about it. It was very well presented and also very intelligently and courageously, from our point of view. On behalf of the committee, I thank you.

Dr. Espie: Thank you, senator, very much for the opportunity of being here.

The Chairman: We have with us now the School of Economic Science. Mr. Malcolm G. McCarthy the Director, is President of Allmac Investment Limited, Toronto. He was formerly with the Fred Thompson Sales Limited and Christie Brown Company Limited. I note that from 1939 until 1945 he was in the Royal Canadian Navy. He would like to read a greater portion of the brief even though I have indicated to him that it might take away from the question period. Please go ahead.

Mr. Malcolm G. McCarthy, Director, School of Economic Science, Toronto: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, the reason I propose to read this brief is that I believe I have anticipated a great number of your questions and it will make it easier and shorter in the long run.

1. You have heard a great number of "briefs" since this investigation began in April 1969. These reports of the inability of so many Canadian citizens to earn a living are depressing. So much degrading poverty is, to us, our country's foremost problem. The newspaper reports of your poverty investigation in Vancouver on November 12th should make all Canadians realize the seriousness of our present conditions. It is unnecessary to enlarge on this, as we all know that the problem exists in Canada to an alarming degree. It is our purpose to attack the cause of this ill, so that natural laws will be unfettered to effect the cure.

2. In 1939 a group of dedicated Canadians arranged for the incorporation of our School of Economic Science. It is an educational institution, non-profit, non-sectarian and non-political.

3. The purpose of the School is to study the cause of poverty and to teach why poverty deepens at the same time that productivity increases.

4. Behind most social problems there is a social wrong. It is the purpose of our investigation to find the social wrong behind the problem of poverty.

5. Our studies of the causes have brought to light some very significant facts. Our governments are required to supply many services for our citizens and of course these services must be paid for by taxation. Taxes can be applied to increase productivity or on the other hand to discourage productivity and thus impede progress. If we can increase productivity, employment will increase and consequently our welfare rolls will decrease, with a beneficial effect on poverty.

6. By examining the factors of production, we can see that by applying taxes properly, production can be encouraged. We divide the material universe into three categories.

7. The first of these categories, in our terminology, is by far the largest. It contains everything that does not owe its existence to man. It embraces the whole surface and the interior of the earth—the land including minerals, natural vegetation and even wild animals; the sea and the fish in it; even natural elements, sun, wind and rain; also all natural forces, such as gravity.

8. The second category is man himself.

9. The third category comprises all the things man has made. It includes objects that owe their very existence to man, such as household goods, buildings, bridges, etc. and objects that have arrived at their present state as a result of man's intervention, e.g. cultivated plants, domesticated animals and even wild berries etc. after they have been picked.

10. The first category could be given the general term, nature, the second, man, and the third, man's Products. Economists, however, do not use these actual terms. They have given these categories the labels, land (nature), labour (man) and wealth (man's products). Capital is wealth used to produce more wealth. These terms will be used throughout this brief. If we tax Labour, it is discouraged. If we tax wealth, the cost to the consumer is increased and Labour is discouraged. The taxation of the third factor—land—encourages its use and encourages labour.

11. Land cannot be increased in quantity; but productivity of labour, due to inventions and expertise, can be increased. This results in increased wealth. When labour employs capital, the resulting increase in wealth is tremendous. Land however, due to its location, can increase tremendously in value. For instance, as the community grows, the site value of the centres of the community increases. This increase in the value of the site has been caused by the presence and activity of the community.

12. Because the community caused the increase in the site value of the land, this increase rightfully belongs to the community. This increase in site value can be obtained for the community by taxation.

13. The main cause of our housing problems, is the phenomenal increase in land values, due in part to land speculation. Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, author of *The Affluent Society*, *The New Industrial State*, etc., during his recent visit to Ottawa, made the following statement, when dealing with rents and housing costs. "Land speculation is encouraged because urban land is undertaxed."

14. Our studies, during the last 30 years, have convinced our graduates that the root cause of a great many of our social problems is, that land values do not bear their proper share of the tax burden. If land were taxed sufficiently to make it unprofitable to hold

for speculation, it would be forced into productive use. At the same time if taxes on production, (buildings and improvements), were shifted to land values, it would increase productivity and tend to lower prices.

15. This method is used in several areas of our world today. Australia is a good example. The following report was recently received. "Studies, by the Land Values Research Group of Melbourne, of the effects of side value taxation in Australia, have demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt or difference of opinion, that imposing municipal taxation upon the unimproved, or site value of land, has a great effect in lessening obstacles in the way of production. In this way it brings about more rapid increase in wage rates and more constant employment." Australia has, today, one of the lowest rates of unemployment in the free world. The last report was slightly under one per cent. This is less than one quarter the rate of unemployment in Canada.

I have a book put out by the First National City Bank of Australia, called *Australia, an Economic Study*, and there are two or three items in it that I think should be mentioned. It says:

Relatively even distribution of income. Not only is the average standard of living high, the average level is close to being the typical level. The evenness of income distribution in Australia is surpassed only in New Zealand. This even distribution stems from a normally high level of unemployment and the availability of economic opportunity.

I may mention that New Zealand uses a larger percentage of site value taxation than Australia. Australia has no ghetto areas.

There is another point here:

The proportion of all private dwellings in Australia which are owned or are being purchased by their occupants rose from 53 per cent in 1947 to 70 per cent in 1965.

In education, too, Australian standards are among the world's highest.

16. If a home owner saves his hard earned money, upon which he has paid income taxes, and uses it to improve his house, he increases the value of neighbouring properties as well as his own and should not, in common sense, be fined for doing so by an increase in property taxation. His purchase of materials has aided production.

We heard in the last brief much about the Maritimes.

17. While in the Maritimes during the last war, many servicemen were surprised to see so many unpainted homes. We found that many were well appointed and furnished inside. The owners would not paint the exterior due to the increased assessment that would result. At the same time, many parcels of vacant, conveniently located and serviced land were being held idle for speculative purposes.

18. It seems sensible to us, that, if taxes were shifted to the vacant land values, and no penalty applied for home improvements, opportunities would be created for employment by forcing the vacant land into use for the building of new homes, as well as improving the appearance of the homes already built.

19. We understand that Halifax has improved somewhat since our visit, but the effect of the wrong application of taxes at that time was so apparent, that it afforded an excellent illustration of the taxation principle involved.

In Australia's own handbook there is a statement that I think should be of interest to us.

During this period the population of Australia increased by—

Talking about the population increase—

4,421,000; thus a new dwelling has been erected for every 2.6 persons added to the population.

In 1966, a total of 111,962 dwellings were completed. The number of dwellings commenced totalled 110,713. This high rate of construction has been the result of the combination of Government and private initiative.

Now, these figures are based on a population in Australia of approximately 12 million people. Using that as a ratio Canada should have been able to build 200,000 houses or dwelling units per annum which has been our objective. In 1966 Canada built 134,474 so we are away behind them in that.

20. In the centre of Toronto, there are parcels of land where old buildings have been demolished, and the land is now used for parking lots. The assessments of these virtually vacant lots have been reduced by the absence of the tax on improvements, and the

owners are holding these parcels for speculative purposes.

21. Were these parcels of land assessed at their true market value, the owners would have to either build, or sell the land to someone who would build. Building creates employment. The purchase of materials increases productivity.

22. Thus, site value taxation would force owners of dilapidated rooming-houses to improve their buildings. They would know that they would not be penalized by an increase in assessment on the improvements.

23. You will realize that site value taxation will force the productive use of land. With this considerable amount of land being made available, hold-out owners will seek to sell their land.

24. One would assume that the application of site value taxation in cities would reduce the cost of land. Experience has shown, however, that this is not always the case. It happens in some cases and in the ultimate it would, but immediately it does not. The increased demand for land due to the increased building, keeps prices from falling. The increased production makes it possible for producers to pay high prices. This increase in production means increase in employment, with the resulting beneficial effect on poverty.

25. The Government of Ontario has undertaken a re-assessment program and may assess land and improvements at their market value. This is a move in the right direction, and may somewhat discourage land speculation. However, by maintaining the taxation on improvements, the government will continue the depressive pressures on incentive and production. The Ontario government may be beginning to perceive the benefits of site value taxation; but to the extent that the government continues to tax improvements it discourages production and employment.

26. Enclosed with this brief are copies of current articles on site value taxation. In the U.S.A., Time Magazine's issue of October 31st, 1969, indicates that site value taxation is a much more just and practical method of productive taxation. There are copies of this Appendix "C" in your brief and I will read one paragraph to you.

Local governments should reform the tax administration of property assessment and revise their real estate tax laws in

order of tax buildings lightly if at all and land heavily—instead of vice versa. That would significantly alter the whole economics of property ownership. Speculators would have to develop their land or sell out; it would be too costly merely to hold on to property and make no improvements, while waiting for prices to rise. Landlords would no longer have reason to neglect the upkeep of old apartments, except where rent controls persist. A recent study in Milwaukee shows that such changes should force cities to build up instead of out, end the need for urban renewal subsidies, and very likely depress the price of acreage on the suburban fringes.

27. The survey of South African application of Site Value Taxation should be of great interest to this committee. You will note by the Australian Planning Institute Journal of July 1969 (Appendix "B") that as recently as 1967 the local government of Durban has made another step toward the taxation of Site Values only. They now rate six times as heavily on land values as on the value of improvements. At the same time, the greater number of the municipalities have for many years taxed the Site Value of land only. South Africa has a booming economy.

On pages 1 and 2 of this appendix there is an item which should be brought to your attention.

The Secretary since its inception of the Transvaal Peri-Urban Board, Mr. H. B. Phillips, after whom the Board's modern new building in Pretoria has been named, expressed the emphatic view that the Board's considered policy of rating on site values only had done much to encourage the better development of the primarily residential areas placed under the Board's control.

Further, he said, where as had sometimes happened the Board had taken over the administration of Health Board areas which had rated land and buildings there was a marked and noticeable improvement in the number and type of homes built after the Peri-Urban Board had changed these areas to the side rating system.

Later, in the absence of Mr. Phillips, the Treasurer of the Peri-Urban Board, Mr. R. P. Rouse, confirmed this in writing stating:

"I am of the opinion that the policy of the Local Area Committees and of the Board over the past twenty years to levy rates only on site values has been one of the main factors that have encouraged and assisted development in the peri-urban areas under the control of the Board. Another factor has, of course, been the provision by the Board of essential services such as piped water supplies, sewerage, electricity, etc., and macadamised roads and streets and stormwater drainage.

"...the city of Johannesburg has for very many years levied rates on site values whilst the City of Pretoria, which hitherto levied rates on both site and improvement values, has followed suit by levying rates only on site values for the 1968/69 financial year."

That is, this last year. Included in this is an indication of how taxes can be shifted from disincentive taxes to incentive taxes.

28. Appendix "A" written by Ernest J. Farmer, B.A., A.T.C.M., one of the founders and now the patron of our School, gives details of the effect of different methods of taxation, which I trust you will include in the Record—the chairman tells me that there is a difficulty in this respect—and I hope you will read in full. I would like to read one or two paragraphs that bear on this part of the brief.

At page 6 of this appendix there is:

Observed effects of municipal site value taxation upon urban blight:

Few cities of more than a quarter of a million population have escaped the development of blighted areas, or slums. As a rule, these occupy central areas, where the land is of high value. In western Canada, it appeared for some time that the cities might escape such development, but in 1966 Dr. M. M. Cantor, chief coroner of Alberta, quoted statistics to show that a small area near the centre of Edmonton was responsible for 45 per cent of the city's fire costs, 55 per cent of its juvenile delinquency and 60 per cent of its tuberculosis cases, while contributing only 6 per cent of the city's tax revenue. Calgary, and, more particularly, Vancouver are afflicted with similar areas. It is evident that the partial adoption of site value taxation, as now practised in these cities, can do no more than mitigate the slum evil. Slums in other Canadian cities, especially Toronto, Montreal and Halifax, have not been seriously studied,

but are known to be a serious evil. Surveys in other seventy cities in the U.S.A. have shown that in these cities blighted areas contributed in taxes less than one-seventh of the civic expenditures in these areas.

In the first decade of the present century the slums of Sydney, Australia were notorious, even at this distance. In 1925 Mr. J. R. Firth, who had been a member of the city council for a considerable period, visited Toronto. He stated that prior to 1910 Sydney had spent millions of pounds on slum clearance without effecting any improvement. "Then", he said "we got rid of the taxes on buildings and the slums just melted away."

Observed effects of municipal site value taxation upon public expenditures:

In most of the American cities in which surveys have been made, a substantial part of the civic revenue is spent in comparatively small blighted areas which contribute negligible amounts to the revenue. Ever since Sydney, N.S.W. adopted site value taxation, and by that means rid itself of almost all of its slums, its tax rate has been extraordinarily small as compared with that in Canadian cities.

Summary:

To sum up: site value taxation, wherever adopted, has had these effects:

1. It has reduced hindrances to production, and so has effected more rapid increase in production. The increase brought about is not only greater than the amount of the taxes levied upon land rather than buildings, but greater than the entire municipal revenue of the areas involved.

2. It has particularly increased the incomes of the poorer citizens—those who have been paying little or nothing in income tax.

3. It has made employment more plentiful, lessening the number of unemployed and giving steadier employment to many intermittently employed.

4. It has resulted in a great increase in the number of wholesome dwellings, with decrease in the number of substandard dwellings.

5. It has added appreciably to the expectation of life in the areas affected.

Then I go to paragraph 44 on the last page.

Canada and Australia Contrasted:

The reason for the contrast between Canada, in which since 1923 the practice of site value taxation has greatly decreased, and Australia and New Zealand, in which it has greatly increased, is little understood; but it is actually plain. In Canada the electors have hardly any power in this matter. Once councils are elected they may do as they will. So in Saanich, B.C., the electors in 1927 voted 1751 to 466 against reimposing a tax on 15% of the building assessment, but the council passed it. The council of Port Alberni imposed a tax on buildings in disregard of a petition signed by three-fourths of the ratepayers.

In many cases in which taxes were reimposed upon buildings, or in which the percentage of building assessment taxed was increased, every council member was heavily involved in land speculation.

In Australia, except in Tasmania, and in New Zealand, the electors have final control although it is not exercised without a good deal of difficulty. If ten per cent of the electors sign a petition for a poll on site value taxation, the council must not only grant a poll, it must furnish each ratepayer a statement as to what his taxes will be, assuming the same total expenditure, under each system. If a majority (in South Australia sixty per cent) favour site value taxation, its adoption becomes mandatory. No reversion is permitted without a further poll, which may not be taken within three years.

In Victoria absentee land holders are permitted to vote on this question by postcard. As may easily be understood, this vote is generally unfavourable, and in some cases has determined the result of the poll. But in several recent polls, including one in the important borough of South Melbourne, even this vote has been favourable.

I return now to the main brief:

29. We have, over the years, used many reference books, but have found that *Progress and Poverty* by Henry George gives the best explanation of Site Value Taxation and the method to cure Poverty. In consequence, I am taking the liberty of presenting each member of the committee with a copy of Henry George's great book *Progress and Poverty* which you will find interesting and enlightening reading. Included with the book, are copies of supplements to *Progress and Poverty*, the copies of lessons used by us in the study of this great book.

30. If productivity can be considerably increased, the resulting improvement in employment will greatly reduce poverty. Therefore, every incentive to increased production will be helpful. By shifting from "Depressive Taxes on Productivity" to "Incentive Taxes on Land Values," we will have two potent forces working to fight poverty.

31. The Ontario Department of Municipal Affairs report that their present assessment of land and buildings in all municipal areas in Ontario is 49.487 billions. The taxes on this huge amount are approximately 1.173 billions or about 2.3 per cent. If the assessment were shifted from buildings and improvements to land values only it would improve productivity. Labour and wealth, capital, would have a real incentive to increase their activity knowing that they will not be taxed for improvements.

32. The total derived from the 5 per cent Ontario sales tax is \$486 million as of March 31, 1969, and forecast, year ending March 31, 1970, \$631 million. If the tax on this land assessment, an incentive tax, were increased by 1.2 per cent and the sales tax, a disincentive tax, abolished, the resulting pressure on the promotion of production would be tremendous. Natural laws would be unleashed.

33. After the study of site value taxation, you will realize that genuine farmers will find they will be paying less tax than by the present method.

In the Australian book on economic study they have a part that would be of interest to you. In 1962-63, for example, the gross product per person employed in Australian agriculture was in American dollars, \$4,448, as compared with \$3,482 in manufacturing and \$2,578 in tertiary activities. Thus, the movement of labour out of the rural industries, as Australians significantly call their agriculture, tends to reduce rather than increase national productivity. In other words, the rural industries which I heard you talking about before can be very, very productive.

34. When Senator David A. Croll, your Chairman, tabled the interim report to the Senate on Tuesday, October 28, 1969, he made the following statement:

I can perhaps best describe the general theme recurring throughout the hearings in this way: in order to eradicate poverty we need conditions of a stable rate of

economic growth, high employment and stable prices.

To take these objectives one at a time:

A stable rate of economic growth. By shifting taxes from production to taxes on site value, will reduce the dampening effect of taxes on production. Unused land and underused land would be released for fuller development. Production will be greatly increased.

High employment. As in the case of Australia, this increase in production will create much more employment. An objective of less than 1 per cent unemployed is possible.

Stable prices. Were sales taxes removed or drastically reduced, it would be a big factor in reducing prices and stabilizing them. The increased production would decrease the cost of production to further decrease prices.

35. The increased production and the increase in employment would decrease welfare payments. Decreasing welfare payments further decreases the need for taxation on production. The valuation of land alone is a simple and accurate method of assessment. It has been estimated that an equitable assessment of land values only can be accomplished by a much reduced assessment force. There are not nearly enough assessors graduating to fill our present needs.

36. These skilled assessors, relieved of the difficult task of trying to assess improvement buildings, could become a positive agency for advising land users of the maximum use of their site.

37. As production increases, employment increases and many opportunities in industry will develop for the employment of our skilled civil servants. There need be no mass layoffs of civil servants because natural attrition of pensioning, transfers to industry and death will gradually reduce these staffs.

38. One of the criticisms of site value taxation has been that the tax base of site value taxation of an urban area would not be nearly as broad as that presently used, taxing site and improvements. A survey of Whitstable, a representative town, in Kent, England was conducted in 1961 in order to compare the two systems. An independent professional land valuating company was employed for the task. The results show that a competent assessment using the site value method produced a total assessment only 13 per cent less than formerly when the assessment was on their land values and improvements com

bined. This does not mean that taxes will be raised on occupied sites because the increased assessment on vacant land will take up the slack. We have copies of this report and we will gladly make these available.

39. In the suggestions received from your offices as directions on preparing our brief, you asked for our recommendations or observations on a variety of subjects. Practically all of these measures listed could be classed as palliatives, rather than cures. Dr. Arthur Smith, Chairman of the Economic Council of Canada during his evidence before this committee on November 12, to us, was quite definite in his opinion that items like guaranteed annual income, increased minimum wages, et cetera, would not cure poverty. We agree.

40. During your investigation, according to reports in *Hansard*, it was shown that practically every submission, although presented in all sincerity, would require more public money and consequently additional tax restraints on production. Both of these methods will further increase the poverty of Canadians. We are not asking for more restraints, we are asking for less. By presenting each member with a copy of *Progress and poverty* and a means of simplifying its review, we have offered the Government of Canada a gift. This gift, we implore you to accept and to study.

Also in the book there are two articles. The article by Professor C. Lowell Harris of Columbia University, is of particular interest. His illustration of results of shifting taxes of improvements to land and the encouragement to build would create employment. This increased employment reduces poverty. The chronology of the Roman New Deal measures brings to mind the old saying, "If we do not learn from history we are bound to repeat." The parallel between their economic experience which led to their downfall and the course we seem to be following is frightening. I have other copies of these available.

41. Our school members have the utmost respect for the august Senate of Canada. We believe that individually and collectively you have the best interests of Canada at heart. After studying *Progress and Poverty* and the supplements, we have every confidence that you will realize that there is real substance to this philosophy. Our school, which is dedicated to a better life for Canadians is prepared to co-operate in any way within our means.

42. The condition of the poor in Canada is such that immediate action is required. Some short-term measures should be undertaken immediately to assist the poor but these should be discontinued when the shift in taxes becomes effective.

All of us are sorry to hear of Senator Roebuck's illness. It was his fondest wish to be here when I made this presentation. He has been a believer of our philosophy for 50 years and has done everything in his power to bring it to fruition. I trust that you will study this book for his sake.

42. The condition of the poor in Canada is such that immediate action is required. Some short term measures should be undertaken immediately to assist the poor but these should be discontinued when the shift in taxes becomes effective.

43. If this committee of the Senate, will thoroughly study our proposals, this Committee can be of great assistance to the Provinces and Municipalities.

44. The people of Canada will be able, in time, to enjoy a larger share of the results of their labour on the natural resources with which Canada has been so richly endowed.

Thank you very much.

Senator Carter: Mr. McCarthy, I read your brief, too, and I have heard you read it again. If I understood you correctly, your theory is that if we tax vacant and unoccupied or unused land, if we tax it sufficiently, we will force the owner to sell and that will increase production in some way and by increasing production it will create more jobs and the more jobs that are created the more poverty will diminish. Is that a fair summary.

Mr. McCarthy: It is, to a degree, sir. The problem is that when we talk about land, it is all natural resources and we are not only talking about natural vacant land around cities or farms, we are talking about the site value that has been created by the activity of the community and this is evaluated by natural sales.

Senator Carter: That is what I want to get at. I am not clear what you mean by land. Do you mean all land?

Mr. McCarthy: All land.

Senator Carter: Whether Crown land or whether it has natural resources?

Senator Inman: Or woodland?

Mr. McCarthy: Yes, all land, including all woodland. All this is depending on the resale value and that is the measure by which you tax the property.

Senator Carter: That is what has me troubled, because surely there is a law of supply and demand?

Mr. McCarthy: Yes, and this is the one that comes into effect.

Senator Carter: But if you increase taxes. Put up taxes every time, until they are three or four times the present rate, everyone wants to sell land. How are they going to get rid of it?

Mr. McCarthy: This does not happen. You will see in this survey that 90 per cent of the homeowners had their taxes reduced and farmers have their taxes reduced. This is the difficulty about this philosophy. It requires you to take time to study it, to understand that land is one of the factors of production; it is the one factor that is encouraged to use by taxation, whereas the other two are discouraged.

Senator Carter: I can see that in theory, but in practice...

Mr. McCarthy: In practice we could take Australia and South Africa. I can show you many parts of the world. I have only a little bit of material here.

Senator Carter: Take myself. I own a house, I own a piece of land. What are you going to do with that?

Mr. McCarthy: What is your present assessment?

Senator Carter: You are going to tax the site value of this land and house.

Mr. McCarthy: We would have to see a picture of your street. Do you live in a street—in Ottawa, here?

Senator Carter: I live here in Ottawa, I live in Newfoundland, too. In theory it should be the same everywhere.

Mr. McCarthy: That is right. If you are in Ottawa and your house has an assessment of, say, \$7,000, on your present assessment rate, which includes the land and the building, what difference does it make to you if your assessment stays at \$7,000 and that is charged

to the land. But next to you there is another piece of land of the same measurement that has all of the same services paid for by the community, why should it not be assessed for the same amount that your piece of land has been assessed for? That is where the increase in assessment comes.

Senator Carter: The piece of land you are talking about now is another piece of land with no house on it?

The Chairman: Vacant.

Mr. McCarthy: Yes.

Senator Carter: You are going to force that person to sell his land? He is going to be taxed a lot?

Mr. McCarthy: He is going to have to build a house on it.

Senator Carter: He is going to sell it. He gets a buyer for it. Someone has to build a house on it. That is the only thing you can do with it—or build a factory there?

Mr. McCarthy: Yes.

Senator Carter: By forcing him to sell his land, do you automatically force somebody to buy?

Mr. McCarthy: Not necessarily. It will not force someone to buy, but someone will buy that piece of property, who wanted that piece of property, and will either build a house on it when they buy it, they know they are not going to pay a higher assessment for the building they put on it.

Senator Carter: That type of situation is not really typical today, because if the land developer is going to build houses he is not going to build one house here and leave a vacant lot next door. He will utilize the land. So you have to get at the land developer who would buy up a hundred or a thousand acres, and you have to start with him?

Mr. McCarthy: The beauty about this is that all that you need to do to create a thriving city or country is to change the basis of taxation and you create an incentive that is necessary to improve the form of a great number of the conditions in the core of the cities, without any expenditure on the part of the Government, and it is not penalizing anyone, either.

Senator Carter: If the piece of land next door is vacant and you sell it to somebody,

else, he has to put another house on it. He has to go to the mortgage company or bank. Does your theory automatically loosen up money from the mortgage company or bank so that he could go ahead and build the house?

Mr. McCarthy: Interest on capital is part of the whole philosophy. The creation of productivity and the building of this house then changes the pressures on capital so that capital then becomes more competitive. It will in the long run bring capital to a competitive situation.

Senator Carter: How does it do that? Because of the fact that money is tight it does not have any relationship with competitive capital. We have got banks competing for loans with trust companies competing for loans. But the federal Government has said we must have a tight policy and has told the Bank of Canada to restrict the supply of money to these people. So the insurance companies restrict the supply. Suppose that man gets a piece of land and wants to build a house, where does he get the money? How does your theory take that into consideration?

Mr. McCarthy: I cannot answer all of your questions and that is why I wish you would read this book. Please read the book and I am sure that if you read it with an open mind you will understand each one of these things. You talk about the Bank of Canada and insurance companies. These are all developments as a result of the vested interest in land. The improper method of taxation. This all stems from the same theory. We have three factors—labour, capital and land. If you tax labour or capital, you discourage them. If you tax land you force it into productive use and encourage productivity.

Senator Carter: I would like to take the second part of your theory that if you force the owner to sell land and it could be put to productive use, one may even put a factory on it, that immediately you increase jobs you lessen poverty.

We had another brief before us this morning which was not read in its entirety and some parts of which we did not question, but one of the points raised in that brief was that we now have technical abundance and so we have to get a different idea about work—that man is no longer forced to work to provide for his needs because they can be provided in abundance and the only problem today is

distribution. So we now have to revise our ideas about work so that it does not necessarily follow that because you increase production you also increase jobs. And even if you do increase jobs, you are up against this problem of the natural increase in population which automatically takes up the extra jobs created. So how do you get rid of poverty?

Mr. McCarthy: In this previous brief that was heard this morning and part of which I heard I was impressed by the fact that they felt it was necessary to create incentives. This was the feeling that I got—that incentives should be created on the part of the people who want to work and to enjoy what they are doing and to enjoy a better life. The only way I know that our philosophy teaches is that if the incentive is created, people will enjoy life much more fully. Does that answer your question?

Senator Carter: I don't think so.

Senator Cook: I am very interested in the brief and I enjoyed it very much, but what can we do about the taxation of land? That is a provincial or civil matter.

Mr. McCarthy: That is why I put in that particular paragraph.

Senator Cook: I do not think it is a practical matter for us to consider.

Senator Carter: There is a constitutional question coming in here. Those points you quoted about Australia were all imposed by municipalities or states.

Mr. McCarthy: No, that was a federal imposition originally.

Senator Carter: Well, they may be able to do it there under their constitution but we could not do it under ours. Have you any idea of how the federal Government could influence provinces or municipalities to do that? Mind you, I agree with you about the taxation of sites. I think we should be doing that and I agree with Hellyer. But now I think it is a little late in the day and, as I said, there is the constitutional question. How do you suggest we can get over that?

Mr. McCarthy: In the Toronto papers not too long ago I read an article by Mr. Fink about the stature of the Canadian Senate. It said that the Canadian Senate is now questioning some of the laws that are being passed and doing an investigation that is in the interests of the Canadian people. If this

Senate committee will investigate this philosophy, we can show you means by which this information can be made available to provinces and municipalities in such a way that you will be doing a tremendous service to Canada as a whole.

Mr. H. Bronson Cowan: Mr. Chairman, if I may butt in here for a moment. I am Research Director for the International Association of Real Estate Taxation. This is one of our reports. The chairman of our Canadian committee was Mr. George S. Mooney, Executive Director, Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities. He, of course, accepted all the resolutions that took place. We have an immense amount of information which evidently you do not have and I can see that you have a great deal of information that we do not have so if we get together and do a little comparing it will be beneficial to us all.

There are simple methods by which a city can find just what the broad, general effects will be. It is as simple as this. The total assessed value of improvements is so and so. The total assessed value is land values. Divide them. There you have got the key. All the properties in this city above that key benefit. All those properties in the city have taxes increased. When that is given, it does not take the taxpayers long to get out the tax bills and see what the ratio is. If the ratio is high they know the tax will come down. If it is low, they know that it will go up. That simplifies it very greatly.

I feel that if we can get together for awhile it will be very beneficial to us all.

First of all, our committee represents five different countries. We have been working for 20 years on this subject. We have committees in England, the United States and in Canada, and this was the procedure we followed.

The Prime Minister of Canada wrote to the Prime Ministers in the other countries and explained that we wanted to conduct a survey in their countries and we asked them to give us every assistance. We were surprised and delighted that in every case they gave us their full co-operation. We could ask them for any kind of information we wanted and we would get it right from them. Before leaving we had them examine our results and our estimates and in every case they approved our surveys.

I think that is enough for just now. Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Cowan.

Senator Pearson: I was just wondering what would happen, Mr. McCarthy, if we took the large areas of northern Ontario, and similarly for the rest of the country, and put an increase in the taxes on those areas in the same way as you have done in the cities? Would it bring them into production? They will be brought into production years from now, but they are not in production now. I suppose they cannot be.

Mr. McCarthy: It depends on the value. Suppose some big company owns a large tract of land on which the provincial taxes are ten cents an acre—which has been the figure up until just recently when it was increased slightly. This land is never assessed at its value, at its potential value or what another company would pay for it. If the value of that land were adjudged in that way, it would make a difference. And I might point out that there is a science of so adjudging and a group of scientists who have developed a method which is called, in Australia, the evaluator generals office. They value these hinterlands, and on the basis of their evaluation the tax is imposed.

Senator Pearson: But the taxation you are talking about would bring the land into production.

Mr. McCarthy: This would bring it into production.

Senator Pearson: I can't quite see that, because they are outside of areas where you can't get connections. There are no roads and such like. It is up to the municipalities or provincial governments to put those roads in. They don't want to do that because it costs a lot of money.

Mr. McCarthy: But if they do the value of the land increases and the land would pay the tax for the facilities that were put in.

Senator Pearson: Right.

Senator Carter: A mining company may own a piece of land with a certain ore body on it, but the grade of ore is low. Suppose somebody finds a few miles away another ore body with a better grade of ore. That lower grade ore certainly is not going to be produced until economics make it worth while

when compared with the higher grade ore. How can you force this lower grade ore into production by taxing the site.

Mr. McCarthy: Are you familiar with the taxing method used in Alberta in respect of the oil industry?

Senator Carter: I cannot say I am too familiar with it, but I have an idea...

Mr. McCarthy: They tax it on a royalty basis—in other words, on the value of the ore that is extracted. The low grade ore will be paying less taxes than the high grade ore, and it will be equitable.

Senator Carter: That is not what I am talking about. Senator Pearson made the point about bringing it into production. How can you bring anything into production until the economics are satisfactory for it to come into production?

Mr. McCarthy: The value of the ore is that which is extracted from the land, and it is a tax imposed, as in Alberta, on the quantity taken from the land.

Senator Carter: But that is on a completely different basis.

Senator Pearson: Do they tax the mining areas in the mountains which are possibly submarginal in respect of their ore content, but which still contain some ore, on a royalty basis?

Mr. McCarthy: Yes, it is on an extraction basis. They do not tax the improvements on the surface. They do not tax the buildings for instance.

Senator Pearson: What forces that mine into production?

Mr. McCarthy: The knowledge that the minerals are available there underground, and that they have to pay only a percentage of what they obtain from the ore. They do not have to pay taxes on the improvements—the smelter and all the structures—above the ground. They pay a royalty on what they take from the ground.

Senator Carter: But that would apply equally to the high grade ore.

Mr. McCarthy: In percentage value.

Senator Carter: Therefore, the high grade ore is going to be developed first.

Mr. McCarthy: Yes.

The Chairman: And this would be applied equally to the rest of Canada. There is nothing new there. Years ago I read that book but I did not understand it, and I must admit that I am no better off now. Senator Roebuck has been drumming at me for years on this subject, and I have listened to him, but I am not sure that I understand it yet. However, there was an allusion in Mr. Hellyer's report on housing that one of the methods of forcing these large developers in urban areas to improve their land was to give consideration to one-site valuations. That is exactly what Senator Carter was talking about. If you have those large areas tied up, and you are sitting on them, then this might move them, but, as Senator Pearson points out, when you get up into Northern Ontario you find that you have not any ready customers for the land.

Mr. McCarthy: But that land has no value.

The Chairman: I think the committee sees the point.

Senator Inman: In your brief, Mr. McCarthy, you mentioned that farmers would be better off by reason of this method of taxation. I would like to know how they would be better off.

Mr. McCarthy: Senator, I pointed out that Australia has used site value taxation in its rural areas for a good number of years, and the percentage income there is higher than it is in the cities. There is no need for taxation on the buildings. This is the important part of it, as well as the method of taxation of the land.

Senator Pearson: We do not pay taxes on buildings on the farm in Saskatchewan now.

Mr. McCarthy: I know that is true of Saskatchewan—and Alberta, partly, and Manitoba does; but Saskatchewan does not. That is the only part in Canada that enjoys site value taxation to any degree; whereas in Prince Edward Island there is a tax on buildings.

The Chairman: You must agree we are getting there slowly. Here is Senator Pearson from Saskatchewan who says that they are enjoying some of these benefits now. It takes a long time for the good Saskatchewan ideas to permeate down. I did not know that, but he does; he is a farmer.

Senator Macdonald: Being a P.E. Islander, we have not what we call a land tax system;

it was abolished years ago. How would you tax buildings? There is no residential property tax, only for school purposes.

Senator Inman: That is correct, in the rural regions.

Mr. McCarthy: I mention this site valuating scheme. In order to give you an intelligent answer, we would have to look at the actual properties involved, the amount of tax required, and then calculate the amount of tax that would be applied to each property, as this report has done. From this you will find the incentive will be created for the improvement of each property or home. I brought up the point about Halifax purposely. I think you see that illustration. . .

The Chairman: But you were quite wrong about Halifax. I do not know when you last saw Halifax, but you are talking about it perhaps 25 years ago.

Mr. McCarthy: During the war.

The Chairman: Not during the last war, but the one before!

Mr. McCarthy: No.

The Chairman: I was there during the last war, and Halifax has completely changed. Do you remember all that rundown area you saw?

Mr. McCarthy: Yes.

The Chairman: It has gone completely. They have nice public housing there, and even the very bad slum area in the city has almost entirely gone. Halifax has completely changed.

Mr. McCarthy: That is fine. This is what I said.

The Chairman: You said you hoped it would be better.

Mr. McCarthy: I said that we understand Halifax has improved since our visit.

The Chairman: That is not fair enough to them, because it is a change, not an improvement.

Mr. McCarthy: It is a change, but I am illustrating the fact that if taxes were changed there would be an incentive. This is the philosophy we are trying to illustrate. This is a perfect example.

The Chairman: Let me give you some consolation. About twenty-five years past you started preaching this philosophy. Mr. Hellyer's latest report gave it some thought it said "Take a look at this; it might work in connection with these large developers." Social progress comes slowly in this country; poverty what comes quickly. You have made a lot of progress in the meantime and you have now planted some ideas amongst members of the Senate whom you hold in high regard and who appreciate that, because they deserve it. These matters will be considered. They are more direct matters in connection with poverty than the problem you bring before us; nonetheless you have planted an idea amongst people who are thinking of methods of working a way out of poverty. You have therefore had a very good morning.

Senator Pearson: I would like to say something about Saskatchewan. In the rural area there is no taxation on buildings, but in the small towns there is a heavy tax on buildings and if there is any improvement the assessment goes up and you pay more taxes. This is the reason that we have a school problem; that the property tax pays for the school and the education of the districts.

The Chairman: Regional or municipal?

Senator Pearson: Yes, municipal.

Mr. McCarthy: Incidentally, there were two things and one is the article that mentioned about Mr. Hellyer. That was in the *Hamilton Spectator* and his remark was that he had seen so many suggestions, but the only one that intrigued him and that he could see the possible future use was in site valuation taxation.

The Chairman: We did not wait for the *Hamilton Spectator*, but got the origin report and read it. It is a real problem in this country.

Senator Carter: I was looking for a lot the other day; one was \$12,000 and the other was \$20,000. I can see that site valuation taxation would bring that down considerably. What about a capital gains tax on this? The owner probably bought that piece of land for about \$1,000 and is selling it for \$20,000.

Mr. McCarthy: If the city assessed him \$20,000 for that piece of property and charged taxes in that proportion I am sure he would either build or try to sell it or if there were a lot of homes and lots available with people

trying to sell them because the tax was high, then the price would come down.

One other point I wanted to mention was that in Toronto we have had this subway built. If the capital or at least if the unearned increment of the lands bordering on that subway was taken for taxation the subway could have been built for that increased value alone and no charge to the people.

The Chairman: The unearned increment on the land?

Mr. McCarthy: Along the lines.

The Chairman: Is that not desirable land alongside the subway?

Mr. McCarthy: You can put up buildings.

The Chairman: High rise?

Mr. McCarthy: High rise buildings. The land just skyrockets. It may be worth \$500 and it goes up to \$50,000.

The Chairman: The only one that they have built is at the corner of Eglinton and Yonge: They just talk about the other ones.

Are there any more questions? I wish to thank Mr. McCarthy for coming here and so fluently and clearly speaking to us. He did one other thing which he should be complimented for. His brief was in both languages, as we requested, and it was prepared in Toronto, by the way.

Mr. McCarthy: Incidentally, I have *Progress and Poverty* in French, if there are any senators who would prefer it.

The Chairman: Thank you again, Mr. McCarthy, for your fine presentation and the printed material you have left with the committee.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX A

B R I E F

submitted by the

Canadian Council on Rural Development

to the

Special Senate Committee on Poverty

Ottawa, January 30, 1970

FOREWORD

The Canadian Council on Rural Development was established in 1965, by the then Minister of Forestry and Rural Development, to act as an advisory body with regard to the formulation of national policy on rural development. The Council continues to serve the Minister of Regional Economic Expansion in a similar capacity.

There are currently thirty-two members of the Council, from all parts of Canada, either representing associations and organizations active in rural areas or distinguished by specific professional knowledge of rural problems. No other body speaks for so wide a range of rural interests.

A list of the Council's members is appended to this brief.

*David Kirk
Chairman*

*Tom Espie
Executive Director*

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INTRODUCTION

As we move forward into the 1970's we find ourselves in a paradoxical situation. A brilliantly innovative technology is making available to broad sections within our society an affluence previously only enjoyed by small elites. And yet - as the existence of such bodies as this Special Committee of the Senate indicates - we find ourselves more and more preoccupied with the problems of poverty.

This is true internationally and domestically. On the world scene, the persistent poverty of the less developed countries continues in spite of the very considerable programmes of economic aid mounted by the wealthier nations and by the U.N. At home, the existence of pockets of poverty in the midst of plenty represents, perhaps, the biggest challenge that we have to face as a nation.

Why is this?

Why should poverty figure so prominently in our national agenda?

After all, it might be submitted, there is nothing new about poverty. The poor, as we have frequently been reminded, are always with us.

The fact is that although there have always been poor people dependent for sustenance on the charity of others for the simple reason that there was not enough to go around", in recent years, at least in the modern industrial nations, the new technology has at last provided us with the productive capacity to ensure, if we wish it, that nobody goes without, that poverty and deprivation are things of the past.

Yet poverty is still with us - an affront to the efficiency of our whole social and economic system.

It is ironic that, having at last overcome that most difficult and perennial problem, the problem of

productivity we find ourselves stultified and frustrated by the inherently far less demanding problem of distribution.

It is also disillusioning. We have come to cherish as an implicit premise of much of our thinking regarding the operation of society that the answer to most of our problems, including the problem of poverty, was to be sought in achieving and maintaining a high level of production. Recent experience has brought it home to us that although a high level of production may be a necessary condition for the eradication of poverty, it is not a sufficient condition.

We are not well prepared for this conclusion. Traditionally, economics has proceeded on the assumption that the only route to the general material betterment of mankind was via the creation of wealth and that, apart from occasional pathological aberrations, men acted rationally, i.e., economically, in pursuing a share of the wealth created by society. Our new experience with the stubborn continuance of poverty in a generally wealthy society has somewhat impaired the validity of both these assumptions. Although we are creating wealth at an unprecedented rate, many of our citizens have been completely by-passed by it. Although many, perhaps most of us, do act rationally in our pursuit of wealth, large numbers do not and probably never will.

The time is ripe for new thinking. In fact, we know very little about the basic problem with which this Committee is concerned - the problem of poverty in the midst of affluence. Clearly, there is a need for research. And let it be hoped that one of the results deriving from the work of this Committee will be the allocation of funds to underwrite an adequate programme of properly coordinated research into the underlying causes of poverty.

Unfortunately, we do not have enough time to wait until the results of all the research are in. The problem of poverty is not academic. It is brutally real.

We live in an age of confrontation, in which, progressively, public disorder is becoming the common coin of political discourse. This lesson has not been lost on the poor. If those responsible for framing public policy do not address themselves to ameliorating the lot of the poor with a clear and evident sense of urgency, then, there is every probability that the poor themselves will introduce that sense of urgency by violence.

It is true that a long-term counter-poverty strategy can only be based on adequate research. However, we do have enough information already to hand, to put together and implement an immediate short-term strategy which would at least serve to prevent the spread of poverty and contain it at no greater a level of intensity than that now pertaining. It might even be possible to ameliorate the situation somewhat.

Certain specific groups within the total population can be identified as standing in chronic need. The Canadian Council for Rural Development, by definition, has a particularly close involvement with one such group - the rural poor. This in no way is intended to detract from the claims of other groups - for example the aged, the urban poor, the native peoples - all of whom face problems of extreme severity and are in urgent need of assistance. Nevertheless, it is with the plight of the rural poor that this brief is primarily concerned.

THE DIMENSIONS OF RURAL POVERTY

Canadians, of late, have become progressively more concerned with the problem of economic disparities. In general, this is thought of as centring on the gap in incomes and standards of living between people living in different regions. The Maritimes, for example, seem to lag some way behind Ontario in nearly all the amenities of modern living. This concern with such inter-regional disparities is entirely justified and proper. However, it should not detract attention from the fact that the biggest economic disparity today is that between urban Canadians, on the one hand, and rural Canadians on the

other, wherever they may live.

Incomes

Poverty is not a simple necessary function of low income but low income is inevitably a potent factor in the generation of poverty.

Chernick has produced figures contrasting income per worker in agriculture - employed and self-employed - with income per worker in nonagriculture which indicate considerable gaps between the two. (See Table I).

According to Chernick, in every province, there is a big disparity between agricultural wages and nonagricultural wages. Further, this disparity is most marked in the poorer provinces. For example, the agricultural worker in Nova Scotia earns 27% of the nonagricultural worker's wage in Nova Scotia, whereas the agricultural worker in British Columbia earns 68% of the British Columbia nonagricultural worker's wage.

Cross-provincial comparisons are even more striking. The agricultural worker in Nova Scotia earns 21 cents for every dollar earned by the nonagricultural worker in British Columbia!

The conclusion is unavoidable. The most striking disparities in Canadian incomes are not so much between provinces as between the agricultural sector and the nonagricultural sector, in every part of the country.

Figure I graphically presents the disparity between rural non-farm incomes and the average Canadian urban income.

In every province, rural non-farm males earn less than urban males, and rural non-farm female workers earn less than urban female workers.

Female non-farm workers as a group must be

TABLE I

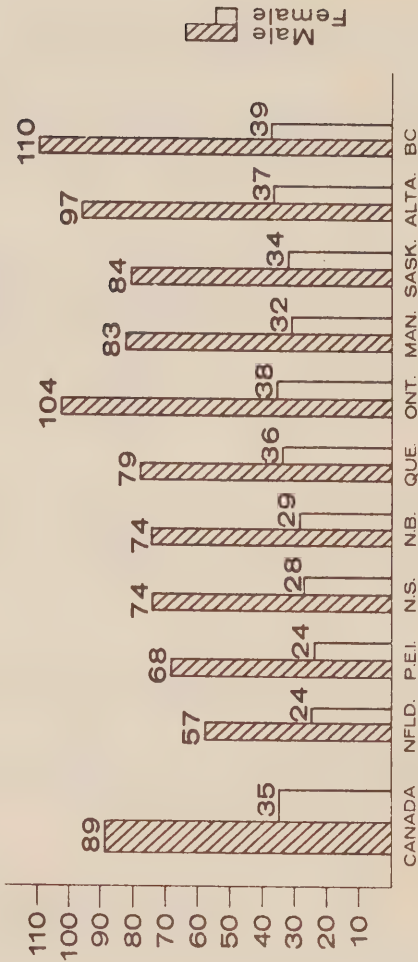
PROVINCIAL DIFFERENCES IN INCOME PER WORKER BETWEEN
 AGRICULTURAL AND NONAGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY, 1960-1964 AVERAGE

	1	2	3
	Income per	Income per	1 as a
	Worker in	Worker in	% of 2
	Agriculture	Nonagriculture	
	\$	\$	
Prince Edward Island	1,100	3,333	33
Nova Scotia	937	3,495	27
New Brunswick	1,000	3,150	32
Quebec	1,481	3,645	41
Ontario	2,536	4,242	60
Manitoba	1,984	4,015	49
Saskatchewan	3,008	4,091	74
Alberta	2,698	4,978	66
British Columbia	3,080	4,537	68
Average for Provinces	1,882	3,811	49

Note: Agricultural income is the sum of net income of farm operators (from the National Accounts DBS) and wages paid to agricultural labour (from Quarterly Bulletin of Agricultural Statistics DBS). Nonagriculture is earned income less agricultural income defined above. Workers refers to employed persons.

Source: Adapted from S. E. CHERNICK, Interregional Disparities in Income, Ottawa, Economic Council of Canada, 1966, p.31

FIGURE 1
Percentage comparison of rural non-farm incomes
to the canadian average urban income (\$3,298)
by sex, year ended May 31, 1961.



SOURCE: Calculated from DBS, 1961 census of Canada, 'incomes of individuals', cat. no. 98-501, table A2.

among the lowest paid in Canada, earning only 35% of the average Canadian income. In Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, female rural workers earn less than 24% of the average Canadian income.

The position of Canadian farmers is unique and for many the future seems bleak.

A Federal Task Force on Agriculture, in a Report to the Minister of Agriculture, recently estimated that, for 1967, on a national net farm income of \$1,529 million, and assuming a wage rate of \$1.25 per hour for the "unpaid" work of farmers, the national average return on capital invested to the farmer was 1.2%.

Conversely, assuming a 6% return on capital, the "wages" of farmers worked out at about 40 cents an hour.

In certain areas the problem was particularly severe. For example, in 1966, net farm income of farm families in the Atlantic Provinces was about half of that in Ontario and about 40% of that in the Prairie Provinces. About two-thirds of farms in the Atlantic Region had gross farm sales of less than \$2,500 in 1966.¹

Employment

The employment situation, also, generally speaking, seems to be far worse in rural Canada than it is in the cities.

Such figures as are available have been compiled on an experimental basis and can only be regarded as approximate. They indicate that, for 1968 in communities of 15,000 population and over, for Canada as a whole, 57.7% of the population 14 years of age and above participated in the work force,² compared with only 50.9% in small

1 Federal Task Force on Agriculture, A Report to the Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa, Department of Agriculture, 1969, pp.3-6.

2 Excluding inmates of institutions, members of the armed services, Indians living on reserves and residents of the Yukon and North West Territories.

urban and rural areas. Participation rates for all regions of the country followed the same trend being substantially lower in small urban and rural areas than in communities of 15,000 population or over. Participation rates for communities of 15,000 and over were 53.2% for the Atlantic Provinces, 55.8% for Quebec, 59.1% for Ontario, 60.0% for the Prairie Provinces and 57.1% for British Columbia, compared with participation rates in smaller urban and rural areas of only 44.0% for the Atlantic Provinces, 50.0% in Quebec 53.5% in Ontario, 53.0% in the Prairie Provinces and 53.1% in British Columbia.

With regard to unemployment the picture, generally, is again one of comparative rural disadvantage. Communities of more than 15,000 population had unemployment rates of 4.5% for Canada as a whole, 5.2% in the Atlantic Provinces, 5.9% in Quebec, 3.5% in Ontario, 3.3% in the Prairies and 5.6% in British Columbia. Unemployment rates in the smaller urban and rural areas were higher for Canada as a whole at 5.7%, for the Atlantic Provinces at 9.5%, for Quebec at 8.4%, for Ontario at 3.7% and for British Columbia at 6.9%. Only in the Prairies was the figure lower, running at 2.4%.

Disturbing as these unemployment figure may be it is likely that underemployment is a worse problem in rural Canada than unemployment. Certainly, underemployment, as was pointed out by the Privy Council's Special Planning Secretariat, is a major factor in rural poverty.¹ More recently, the Federal Task Force on Agriculture, commenting on the employment picture in rural Canada expressed, the same thought thus:

"... the implication of very serious underemployment in the small farm sector cannot be escaped."²

American data point to very high rates of rural underemployment in the U.S. The President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty reports that the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture estimated that for 1960 underemployment was 18.3% for all rural residents, 16.3% for males and 23.7% for females. For rural farm females

1 Special Planning Secretariat, Meeting Poverty, Ottawa, Privy Council, 1965, p. 2.

2 Federal Task Force on Agriculture, Low Income Sector in Canadian Agriculture, Ottawa, Department of Agriculture, 1969.

the rate was 36.6% and for rural farm males as high as 37.1%. While clearly there are considerable differences between the American and Canadian rural situations, there are sufficient similarities to make it likely that underemployment in rural Canada is also much higher than generally realized.

Low incomes, high unemployment and underemployment rates tell only part of the story. In every category of day to day living rural Canadians are disadvantaged.

Take for example the availability of adequate health facilities.

Health Care

Of all health indicators perhaps the most significant is the rate of infant mortality.¹

Figure 2 makes clear that, on a national basis, and in every province except one, the rural infant mortality rate exceeds the urban infant mortality rate.

The figures for the Yukon and the Northwest Territories reflect an appalling situation. Whatever disparities in health facilities are suffered by rural people as a whole, they are apparently minor compared with those endured by the inhabitants of Canada's Northland.

Table II gives an indication of the relationship between the degree of urbanization existing in the provinces and the distribution of hospital beds and of physicians. In both categories rural people lose out.

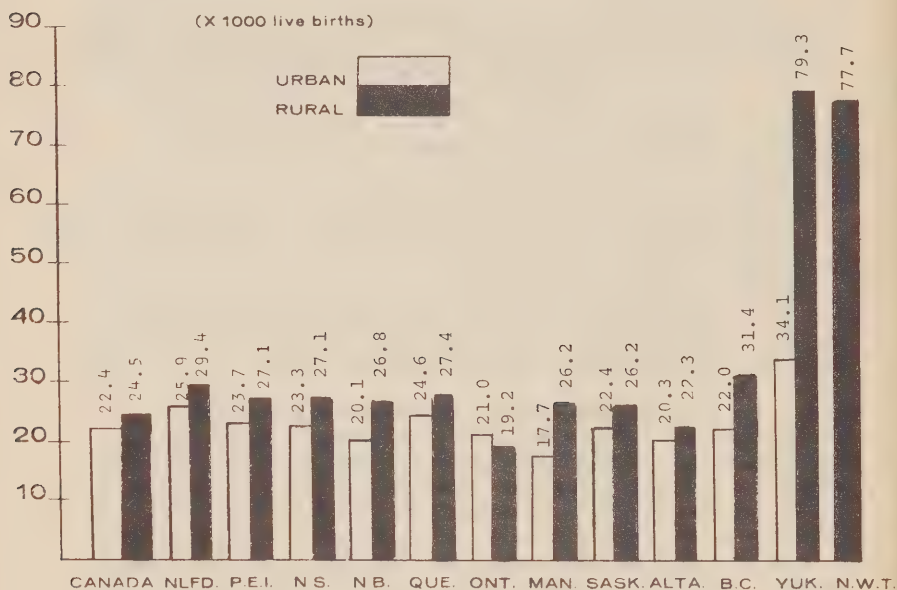
Rural Canada is short of doctors. It is also short of nurses. The Royal Commission on Health Services talks of a "constant drain" of nurses from less urbanized

¹ See for example I.M. MORIYAMA in E.B. SHELDON and W.E. MOORE, Indicators of Concepts and Measurement of Social Change, New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 1968, who writes referring to the infant mortality rate:

"This statistical measure is of special interest because it has long been regarded as the most sensitive index of the level of living and of sanitary conditions", p. 573.

FIGURE 2

Infant mortality rates by Urban* and Rural Areas per 1000 live births for Canada and the Provinces 1966.



*Includes incorporated cities, towns and villages (as well as certain other urbanized municipalities in some provinces) of 1000 population or over, as of 1961 census.

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics Vital Statistics Section.

TABLE II

PROVINCIAL PHYSICIAN-POPULATION RATIOS, HOSPITAL BED CAPACITY PER PERSON, AND PERCENT OF URBANIZATION OF POPULATION, BY PROVINCE, 1961.

Province	Physician- Population Ratios	Hospital Bed Capacity Per 1,000 Persons	Per Cent of Urbanization of Population
BRITISH COLUMBIA	1: 758	5.6	72.6
ONTARIO	1: 776	5.5	77.3
MANITOBA	1: 823	6.0	63.9
QUEBEC	1: 853	5.0	74.3
SASKATCHEWAN	1: 973	7.4	43.0
ALBERTA	1: 982	6.6	36.7
NOVA SCOTIA	1:1,044	4.9	54.3
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	1:1,149	6.8	32.4
NEW BRUNSWICK	1:1,314	5.2	46.5
NEWFOUNDLAND	1:1,991	3.8	50.7

Source: Report of Royal Commission on Health Services, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1964, p. 28.

provinces and regions.¹

The situation with regard to dental care is no better.

Dr. W.J. Dunn, Dean of the Faculty of Dentistry at the University of Western Ontario, describes the situation thus:

"In so far as dental care is concerned, the rural population does not fare as well as the urban population.

¹ Royal Commission on Health Services, op. cit., pp. 209-276.

In some regions and for certain sections of the social strata, e.g., old people, it is a desperate plight. Even with children, the situation is bad; not enough schools have a dental care programme and, when they do, it is sometimes of poor quality."

In Dr. Dunn's view, an "ideal" dentist-to-population ratio would be 1:2,000. Even this would not compare well with an existing ratio of 1:1,900 in the U.S.A. and 1:1,000 in the Scandinavian countries.

In rural New Brunswick the ratio is 1:4,781, in rural Newfoundland a staggering 1:13,277!¹

Education

Nor do rural Canadians fare well with regard to educational facilities.

This is true even for Ontario, one of the wealthier provinces, where, according to the recent report of the Special Committee on Farm Income:

"... the educational requirements of rural young people remain unsatisfied in several respects. Rural people are in many cases the last to receive the benefits of good education and significant gaps between rural and urban communities still exist."²

For the poorer provinces, of course, the situation is far worse. Handicapped by continuing shortage of money, even by diverting funds from other essential services, they still are able to provide only sub-standard educational facilities.

It is extremely difficult to find really satisfactory measures of educational quality or performance.

However, other things being equal, the best qualified

¹ The Royal Commission on Health Services, op. cit., pp. 259-260 even cites certain rural areas in Ontario where the ratio is as high as 1:20,892!

² Special Committee on Farm Income for Ontario, The Challenge of Abundance, Toronto, Ontario Department of Agriculture, 1969, p.41.

and best paid teachers will offer the best education.

As Table III makes clear, in the nine provinces for which information is available, a considerably higher proportion of urban than rural school teachers possess a university degree.

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE OF RURAL AND URBAN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY
SCHOOL TEACHERS WITH UNIVERSITY DEGREE FOR NINE PROVINCES. 1967-1968

Province	Percent of Urban Teachers with Degree(s)	Percent of Rural Teachers with Degree(s)	Percent of All Teachers with Degree(s)
NEWFOUNDLAND	24.3	11.1	18.2
P.E.I.	25.9	14.5	19.1
NOVA SCOTIA	40.7	25.4	34.5
NEW BRUNSWICK	30.3	14.3	23.6
ONTARIO	35.9	15.8	35.1
MANITOBA	38.5	19.3	33.4
SASKATCHEWAN	38.9	20.2	30.3
ALBERTA	49.0	30.2	44.2
BRITISH COLUMBIA	52.3	37.2	48.5
TOTAL	39.0	22.9	35.9

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Education Division.

Note : Comparative information not available for the Province of Quebec.

The same picture of relative disadvantage holds true with regard to teachers' salaries.

In every province for which data is available, rural secondary school teachers' salaries are less than the average for all secondary school teachers in the province.¹

¹ See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Cat. No. 81-202.

Less well qualified and less well paid teachers in rural areas may play a determinative rôle in producing comparatively low levels of educational achievement among rural people.

If we compare rural farm populations with urban populations, we find that in 1961, for Canada as a whole, in urban areas, 18.84% of the population were High School graduates and 3.71% were University graduates, whereas only 8.40% of rural farm people were High School graduates and only 0.48% were University graduates.

Only in the two wealthiest provinces, Ontario and British Columbia, was the proportion of High School graduates to total rural-farm population more than 10%. Only in British Columbia was the proportion of graduates to total rural-farm population more than 1%.¹

The relationship between low educational standards and the relative poverty of many rural Canadians is impossible to ignore. The recent report to the Minister of Agriculture in fact flatly asserts that the poverty, "so prevalent in rural areas is a function of low educational attainment."²

Housing

The Report of the recent Task Force on Housing and Urban Development mentions:

"the small farms and the large families which industrialization too often has swept aside, leaving them to scratch the most meagre of existence from land often capable of different and more productive use. In most cases, the physical setting reflects the economic barrenness. Houses are old and dilapidated. Gardens and lawns have become muddy bare patches intermixed with weedy scruff. In a few exceptions, the landscape belies the overall economic problem. Here one finds well kept houses and neatly tended fields

¹ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Cat. 92-557.

² Federal Task Force on Agriculture, A Report to the Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa, The Department of Agriculture, 1969, p. 18.

to disguise the facts of low income and economic underdevelopment. But these are the exceptions and not the rule."¹

This depressing picture is no exaggeration. Rural housing and rural living conditions are in a dire state in comparison with urban conditions. The housing conditions of the Indian and Eskimo peoples the Report simply categorizes as "abysmal!"²

It is true that because of the migration of country people to the cities, from the Prairies to the outports of Newfoundland, rural Canada is dotted with the desolate and empty shells of structures that once were homes. There is no shortage of these. But the houses in which country people actually live tend to be much older than urban houses and, because older, more dilapidated, harder to run and more uncomfortable to live in.³ For Canada as a whole, in 1961, 38% of rural houses were built before, 1920 compared to only 28% of urban houses.

The picture is the same when we consider the question of overcrowding. 22% of rural dwellings have less than one room per person compared to 14% of urban homes.

Not only are rural homes older and more overcrowded. Many of them - far too many - lack those simple comforts and conveniences which are, to most of us, an intrinsic part of modern living.

In 1961, for example, only 23% of urban Canadian dwellings had no central heating, compared with 57% of rural dwellings. In rural P.E.I. 75% of dwellings had no furnace; in rural Newfoundland 93%. In the same year, according to D.B.S., 49% of rural Canadian homes were without exclusive use of a flush toilet, compared with only 10% of urban Canadian homes. The figures for rural Newfoundland were 81%, for

¹ Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, Report, Ottawa, Queen's Printers, 1969, p. 22.

² Ibid. p. 60.

³ See for example Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Cat. 93-529.

rural Saskatchewan, 85%.¹

In 1968, only 6% of urban Canadian homes were without a gas or electric stoves. For rural Canadian homes, the figure was 38%; for rural homes in the Maritimes, 76%.²

Summary

It may be objected that much of the data we have been considering relates to 1961 and is therefore several years out of date. However, because of the regrettably long ten year period between major censuses, it is the most recent information we have. The circumstances of rural people may have improved in the interim. But what is more significant is that the circumstances of city dwellers have, with little doubt, improved far more. The gap between the living conditions of rural Canadians and urban Canadians not only persists but shows signs of increasing year by year.

Rural people earn less than city people. They have less chance of employment. When employed, they are more likely to be underemployed. Their general level of living is much lower. The health and educational facilities available to them are not of the same standard as those available to urban people. Their housing tends to be older and more crowded and the level of domestic comfort and amenity they enjoy is far lower than it is for urban dwellers.

Of course, there are many compensations for the relative poverty endured by rural folk. The delights of pastoral scenery and fresh air draw Canadians every year from the cities to enjoy some of the most attractive country in the world.

But the division between "urban" and "rural" is now rapidly disappearing. Tastes and aspirations and expectations are progressively becoming more homogeneous and that means more urban. The pioneer virtues, to many, are only a picturesque memory.

¹ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Cats. 93-525 and 93-526, 1961.

² Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Special Surveys Division.

Every year rural Canadians flow to the cities. This is a selective emigration. Mainly, it affects only those of working age. This has resulted in remaining rural population being highly skewed towards aged. Often, because of this kind of loss, rural communities are reduced below that population at which they are functional, viable, social and economic units. For those remaining, the only option open is often subsistence on welfare.

The rural people, forced to the cities because of low rural incomes and high rural unemployment, often lack the necessary skills to become properly assimilated into urban society and urban occupations. In fact the majority of rural migrants to the city fail to make a successful adjustment to urban living.¹

This is not to say that the emigration of rural people to the cities is invariably a mere substitution of urban poverty for rural poverty. Many rural people land on their feet and make good in their new urban life. But for too many, migration to the city means only a continuance of familiar deprivation compounded by the bewilderment of a new setting.

A ROLE FOR GOVERNMENT

Recent Legislation

Government, of course, has not been unmindful of the problem of rural poverty. The Agricultural and Rural Development Act (1960-61), ARDA, originally administered by the Department of Agriculture, was subsequently transferred to the newly formed Department of Forestry and Rural Development and under that jurisdiction became recognized as the chief instrument to be utilized by the Federal government in fostering rural development.

In the main, the initiative in generating specific projects of rural development was left with the provinces. A considerable proportion of the funds allocated under ARDA were utilized in projects of physical resource development.

¹ See J.A. ABRAMSON, Rural to Urban Adjustment, Ottawa, Department of Forestry and Rural Development, 1968, pp. 106-110.

ARDA did much for development in rural Canada. However, there were three shortcomings in the programme as originally constituted. Firstly, projects financed under the legislation were scattered and often had little functional relation one to another. Secondly, the accent on physical development seemed to imply an inadequate emphasis on human resource development. The poor thus only received indirect benefits from the programme. Lastly, ARDA funds were reserved for development projects in rural areas only.

The Fund for Rural Economic Development legislation (1966-67), FRED, did much to correct these shortcomings. Under FRED the development unit was not the individual project but the "special rural development area" not "exclusively" rural, but "predominantly" rural. Development in these areas was not to be conceived in terms of scattered, unrelated projects, but in terms of an overall "comprehensive" plan for the whole area. Human resource development was assigned an enhanced priority and attempts were made to involve local populations in the making of the area plan.

The FRED approach represented a considerable improvement over ARDA and indeed incorporated some extremely sophisticated development thinking.

FRED agreements with the provinces concerned were signed for the North East and Mactaquac areas of New Brunswick, the Inter-Lake region of Manitoba, and for the Lower St-Lawrence, Gaspé, Iles-de-la-Madeleine area in Quebec. Later a similar agreement was concluded covering the whole of Prince Edward Island.

In 1968 the Department of Forestry and Rural Development disappeared and the new Department of Regional Economic Expansion took its place.

The new Department was intended to rationalize development efforts in all parts of Canada. Such assorted components as PFRA from Agriculture, ADA from Industry Trade and Commerce and ARDA from the previous Department of Forestry and Rural Development were brought under one roof. The change in the title of the Department from

"Rural Development" to "Regional Economic Expansion" was not merely a matter of words. The development unit was now the "region". Economic expansion was conceived as meaning industrial or agricultural or fisheries development, depending on the geographical context.

Certainly there is nothing in the new legislation which signals a neglect of rural people. Spokesmen of the Department are on record on several occasions stating that no such neglect is intended.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that, thus far at any rate, the new Department has assigned prime emphasis to its programme of industrial incentives. These are intended in the main for secondary industries locating in urban areas in regions of slow growth. In so far as rural people are willing to move to the cities and in so far as they possess the required skills, they may, of course, benefit from the enhanced levels of employment thus produced as much as anybody else in the region.

But the aim of the new Department is quite literally "regional economic expansion". To the degree to which the Department achieves its goals it may well serve to ameliorate the problem of rural poverty but the amelioration of rural poverty, as presently considered, is not one of the primary goals of the Department.

This has been made clear by the Minister, The Honourable Jean Marchand.

"It is not", he has said, "a direct objective of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion to look after poverty but, indirectly, what we will do will help solve the problem of poverty. But it is not as such that we will tackle it. We have no special jurisdiction in that field. However, we feel that if we succeed in certain areas.....in creating economic activity and producing employment, this will have repercussions on the problem of poverty".¹

¹ Standing Committee on Regional Development, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 3, Ottawa, November 22, 1968, p. 32.

Some Shortcomings:

Who then, the rural poor may well enquire as they look to Ottawa, is primarily responsible for the problem of rural poverty?

Since ARDA was moved to the Department of Forestry and Rural Development the Department of Agriculture has, in the main, been commodity oriented.

The new Department of Regional Economic Expansion, as we have seen, has only a secondary concern with rural poverty.

Who then is responsible?

The answer must, sadly, be that no single department or agency in Ottawa has the problems of the rural poor as one of its prime responsibilities.

This is not, of course, to say that government has not made legislative provision for disadvantaged populations living in rural areas. Several departments have some involvement in this area. But to none is it a matter of central concern.

The problem is further compounded by the fact that in Canada responsibility for development planning is divided between Federal and Provincial authorities. There is tendency for both levels of government to proceed on the assumption that the other is going to accept responsibility for rural people. This may result in both levels of government assigning rural problems a low place in their list of priorities.¹

This has not gone unnoticed by rural people.

Last year, the Canadian Council on Rural Development organized a Seminar at Geneva Park. Rural folk from every province were invited. These were not administrators or experts or professors but ordinary Canadians who gained their livelihood directly or indirectly from agriculture or the fishing industry.

1

A tragic example of this kind of situation is the almost total neglect by both levels of government of the "non-status" Indians.

In the course of the Seminar, it became evident that many of the participants from rural areas felt that the government had no real interest in the prosperity of rural Canada. They felt neglected by government and excluded from the process of government.

As the Report of the Seminar puts it:

- "(a) In very simple terms, the participants felt themselves threatened. A combination of economic circumstances and apparent government disinterest had combined to place in jeopardy, not only their economic destiny, but the institutions of which they were a part and, indeed, their very way of life. In speech after speech, the note of crisis came through loud, clear and unmistakable...
- "(c) There was considerable dissatisfaction and resentment amongst participants regarding the substance and manner of government plans and programs designed to bring about rural development. Many participants felt themselves to be excluded from those strategically important areas wherein were made decisions likely to affect every aspect of their lives. They wanted to be "in" on the decision making process".¹

Now, of course, it is simply not true that the Federal government neglects rural Canada. Nevertheless, many rural Canadians presently do feel this to be the case. That in itself is intolerable.

In simple terms, a break-down in communications has produced a crisis of confidence.

What can be done to correct this situation?

In the view of the Canadian Council on Rural Development it is imperative that the people of rural Canada be given unequivocal reassurance by the Federal Government that it accepts the responsibility of countering the spread of rural poverty.

¹ CCRD, Report of a Seminar held at Geneva Park, Ottawa, CCRD, 1969, p. 28.

The Department of Regional Economic Expansion is possessed of broad and flexible powers. Its present emphasis on the use of industrial incentives as a central development strategy has been taken by many to imply a down grading of the Department's concern with rural affairs. It would do much to dispel this misapprehension if the Minister were to make an overt declaration regarding the Department's continuing concern for the social and economic development of rural Canada, as well as for urban industrial growth. It would add to the impact of such a declaration were it matched with the establishment within the Department of a section or division to be solely preoccupied with ensuring that, in plans of comprehensive development put together by the Department, the interests of rural people in general, and the rural poor in particular, would not be overlooked.

Guide-lines For Future Policy

What kind of strategies might be envisaged as offering the best chances of success in countering the poverty, which, as established in the previous section, is so prevalent among Canadians working in the fishing industry or in agriculture.

The present context is not an apt one for the detailed delineation of specific programmes. Nevertheless, it is submitted, certain guide-lines must be adhered to if counter-poverty policies are to be effective.

In the first place a firm distinction must be made between welfare programmes and development programmes.

Clearly, there are large groups of individuals who are simply unable to make any meaningful contribution to the economy - the aged, the ailing, single women with young children and so forth. Their right to welfare support cannot be challenged.

On the other hand, there are large groups of individuals who, although capable of making an economic contribution are prevented from doing so by the absence of one or more enabling factors, for example, able workers whose skills have been made redundant by technological advance or farmers and fishermen who cannot meet market

requirements for lack of processing facilities and others. In such situations, disbursement of funds to provide training for the redundant workers or processing facilities for the farmers and fishermen cannot properly be regarded as a welfare payment. This is investment in the development of national resources.

The cases thus far considered are relatively simple and straightforward. There are other situations in the intervening "grey zone" between welfare and investment in development. In these situations, expenditures overtly classified as investments in development are, frequently, merely wasteful forms of welfare payment.

For example, relatively elderly redundant workers are often retrained for occupations in which their age will in fact act as a disqualification when they come to seek employment. Often, government subventions are made to a firm or to an industry so as to maintain in employment workers who produce goods which are only "competitive" on domestic or world markets because of batteries of other disguised government grants and subsidies.

Why do we persist in this expensive kind of ritual?

The answer lies in the value our society has, over the years, come to assign to work - not just to what is produced, but to the process of work itself. This transfer of value from the end to the implementary means was natural enough in our nation's past. In the pioneer farming communities of not-so-long-ago, for any able-bodied person not to be working was to invite shortage and hardship.

In our society, "idleness" is still a word with strong negative overtones.

But we have come a long way from the pioneer past. As pointed out earlier in this brief, we have overcome the problem of productivity. Nobody today goes short of the necessities because we cannot produce them. Those who go short do so only because we have not yet evolved efficient and equitable processes of distribution.

In spite of this, our attitudes to work are still rooted, irrelevantly, in the past.

The time is ripe for us to bring them more into line with present realities. We must learn that, generally speaking, work has value only in so far as what it produces has value, that there is no moral worth inherent in merely "looking busy". True, some work engages the creative energies of those who perform it, which is satisfying to those concerned and sometimes aesthetically rewarding for others. But in the modern industrial world, less and less work has this creative quality.

Once we have learned this lesson our whole approach to the problem of poverty can be modified for the better. The veiled implication that to be in receipt of welfare involves some moral stigma could be dispensed with. At the same time, we may cease to feel any obligation to keep many of our population in "work" by means of subsidies far in excess of the value of what they produce.

By obviating this kind of wastage, funds could be made available for welfare support where it is truly needed and for genuine development investment.

In the view of the Canadian Council on Rural Development, the real answer to the problem of poverty lies in the latter of these two alternatives. This is not in any way to detract from the obligation of government to provide fully adequate welfare support where a need exists and there is no alternative. But where there is a choice, because, in the final analysis, welfare can only be a palliative, however necessary, preference must go to programmes of real - not specious resource development.

What should be the characteristics of the kind of development programmes envisaged?

In the CCRD view, an essential part of any such programme is that it is planned. This does not imply that government should assume a directive rôle so far as the total economy is concerned, only that the individual projects from which the development programme is made up should relate to each other rationally and functionally, and that a development programme evolved for anyone region should, by the same token, integrate with development programmes evolved for other regions.

The concept of the "region" is important, embracing as it does, both urban and rural sectors. In a country such as Canada development must be balanced, assigning due weight to urban and rural interests, not only because this is equitable, but because it is functional.

The key to the dynamic development of any economy is flexibility. Only if labour and capital are sufficiently willing to adapt to altered market conditions and sufficiently mobile can economic growth be maximized. Of course, the process of adaptation and redeployment has frequently in the past proved painful for both labour and capital. Naturally enough, because of this, when market dynamics have signalled the need for such adaptation, the cry has gone up from labour and capital in the sector concerned for special assistance in the form of protective tariffs or quotas, or even direct grants, so that the pain of redeployment can be at least postponed. To the extent to which these demands are acceded to, the economy can only suffer damage.

A properly rounded development plan, as well as assigning equitable and judicious weights to urban and rural development, will complement positive development in growth sectors with planned and coordinated phase-out in sectors where potential is diminishing.

This implies that relocation programmes and training and retraining programmes must be assigned central importance as integral components of any overall development plan not tacked on later as peripheral after thoughts.

Such human resource development programming not only has an immediate effect on the problem of poverty, but, by removing much of the pain from the process of redeployment, lessens the demand from threatened sectors for government subventions which, by damaging the efficiency of the economy, can only serve to produce secondary waves of poverty elsewhere.

In the view of the Canadian Council on Rural Development, if our national development effort is to succeed, it must be "people-oriented". The goal should not be merely to maximize the production of material

goods, but to improve the living conditions of the people, particularly, in equity, the poor.

Of course, in very general terms, these goals are entirely consonant. Increased production means increased employment and incomes and this broadly can only have a beneficial effect on people's living conditions. But, it is important to remember that increased industrial production is only an end to a means, not an end in itself.

When a new industry is established in a particular area, it may well provide jobs and prosperity for local people. But, frequently, the jobs created demand skills not possessed by local people, so that workers are imported to fill them from areas where unemployment is not a problem. The new industry may cause new pollution, thus damaging established local resource based industry.¹ Sudden demand for a special category of labour - female workers for example - may cause unforeseen disruption of social patterns in the localities affected.

A sophisticated development plan must be evolved with due regard being given to the close interdependence of economic and social activity. Finally, the criterion by which the success or failure of such a plan is to be judged must be social.

The essential question to be answered centers on the manner and degree to which the plan in question has affected the life of the people.

In the CCRD view, because a development plan must be considered in terms of its effects on people, it is essential that the people whose lives will be intimately affected by the plan actively participate in its formulation and in its implementation.

Though it may have been the practice in the colonial past for government to put together plans for the development of the country without any consultation with the people, in an educated democracy such as today's Canada, it is neither morally acceptable nor practical.

¹ A recent example would be the interruption in the off-shore fishery in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, because of pollution caused by a new industrial plant.

In fact, of course, as development plans are evolved, there is considerable consultation with business and other organized groups. Necessarily, though, there is virtually nil consultation with the unorganized. Thus, the poor, who, characteristically, are not members of organized groups, are, for practical purposes, almost completely excluded from the process of plan formulation. And yet, of all sections of the population, because they are the most vulnerable, the poor are more likely than anyone to be affected.

The Department of Regional Economic Expansion, the department most centrally involved in the business of development planning, recognizes the need for public participation in the planning process. However, such participation is viewed by the Department as being more suitable for the implementation phase rather than the formulation phase. In the CCRD view, this does not go anywhere like far enough. Provision must be made to ensure adequate involvement of local populations in the preparation of development plans likely to have an effect on the areas in which they live.

This is particularly true of the poor. They are the most liable to be affected and, yet, at present, they are the least well informed about government programmes and the least consulted in shaping development plans.

Recent experience in the U.S.A. has spelled out the lesson very clearly that when large groups of people are subject to long term social and economic disadvantage, when they are uninformed about government policies and plans and uninvolved in decisions which cannot do other than have a critical effect on the way they live, all the ingredients of a social explosion are present.

In the context with which we are concerned, it is essential, if we are to avoid such an explosion, not only that funds be made available for plans of social and economic development to ameliorate poverty in rural Canada, but that rural Canadians are kept adequately informed regarding government thinking and actively involved in the formulation of plans likely to affect them.

For various reasons, including, if we are to give credence to the recently published report of the Task Force on Government Information, a lack of the right kinds of sophisticated expertise, government has thus far proved singularly inept at getting facilitative information to those who need it.¹ This was certainly borne out by the Report of the CCRD Seminar held at Geneva Park.²

As a first step, judicious exploitation of the mass media as tools of development could do much to fill the existing communications gap between government and people living in rural areas, particularly if utilized in conjunction with the continuing efforts of information officers in the field, as recommended by the Task Force on Information³ and also by the Canada Department of Agriculture in a brief to this Committee.⁴

It must be stressed, however, that, in the view of the Canadian Council on Rural Development, a communication policy based on the concept of information as a one way flow from government to people is outmoded and likely to be ineffective. Such a policy can only be restricted to telling the people what government has decided to do and what their rôle is in implementing government decisions.

In the CCRD view, this is not enough. A fully adequate policy on information must conceive of communication as a two way flow between the people and their government, facilitating a proper response of government decision making processes to popular needs and aspirations on a continuing basis. Of course, material and other practical restraints will place limits on this kind of response. The justification of these inevitable shortcomings would be another function of government information policy. This, surely, is what is meant by a "dialogue between government and people."

1 See in particular the section entitled "Government and the Unreached". Task Force on Government Information Report, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969, Vol. II, pp. 286-289.

2 CCRD, Report of a Seminar held at Geneva Park YMCA, Ottawa, CCRD, 1969, passim.

3 Task Force on Information, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 69-70.

4 Special Senate Committee on Poverty Proceedings, June 17, 1969, No. 11, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, pp. 430-1.

To foster such dialogue and to bring about a more meaningful and productive involvement of rural people in those development programmes which finally can be the only answer to rural poverty, the kind of information policy we have been considering must be complemented by properly representative participatory structures serving as a focus for public opinion on development issues.

Experience with these structures in the form of local or regional development councils has thus far been rather unequal. Some have proved remarkably effective. Some have languished.

In general terms the federal government has been sufficiently intrigued by their potential to support several of them by the disbursement of public funds, while at the same time insufficiently convinced of the degree to which they are properly representative to pay very much attention to them.

This latter reservation on the part of government has some justification. Too often, these bodies have been dominated by traditional local elites, the poor, who have most at stake, being largely excluded.

In the view of the CCRD, such local development councils have a very strong potential rôle as instruments of development in rural areas and the federal government must accept the responsibility, in conjunction with the provincial governments, not only of financially underwriting the establishment of these participatory structures where they are needed, but also of ensuring that they give full representation to all local groups, including the poor, so as to enhance the validity and weight of their recommendations.

It may be objected that the balanced and co-ordinated development planning recommended by the CCRD would prove costly in terms of time, effort and money, as would the complementary programme of public communication and participation which the Council envisages as an integral part of such an overall rural development policy.

This is no doubt true.

But the cost of the welfare programmes by which many of the rural poor are now sustained plus the cost to society incurred by the loss of the contribution to our total wealth which they could make were their energies and abilities properly utilized, are, in all likelihood, in excess of the cost of the kind of rural development policy we are suggesting.

In the last decade, Ottawa has espoused several different policy approaches to the problem of rural poverty. Rural poverty still persists.

It is submitted here that the "people-oriented" participatory approach to rural development proposed by the Canadian Council on Rural Development should be adopted not only because it is right, but because it is more likely to work, more likely to prove economical than the approaches that have thus far been tried and found wanting.

Development programmes must be tailored to fit real contemporary human needs. Those include the needs for clean air and clean water, the need for a sense of dignity and worth, the need for a sense of participation.

For any development programme to ignore these needs is to court failure and failure is a luxury the poor cannot afford.

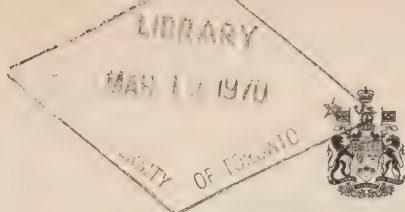
APPENDIX "A"

CCRD MEMBERS

Name	Association represented
Dr. Helen C. Abell Waterloo, Ontario.	National Council of Women of Canada
Dr. Jane A. Abramson Saskatoon, Sask.	Individual member
Mr. Roy Atkinson Saskatoon, Sask.	National Farmers Union
Dr. Harold R. Baker Saskatoon, Sask.	Canadian Association for Adult Education
Mr. Gérard Barbin Lévis, Québec.	Institut coopératif Desjardins
Dr. A.E. Berry Toronto, Ontario.	Conservation Council of Ontario
Mr. E.A. Boden Regina, Sask.	Canadian Federation of Agriculture
Dr. T.N. Brewis Ottawa, Ontario.	Individual member
Mr. T.R. Carter Kelowna, B.C.	Canadian Water Resources Association
Mrs. W.H. Clark Toronto, Ontario.	Indian-Eskimo Association
Mrs. Wells Coates East Angus, Quebec.	Federated Women's Institutes of Canada
Mr. Fenton Cryderman Thamesville, Ontario.	The Co-operative Union of Canada
Mr. Gordon Cummings Calgary, Alta.	Canadian Wildlife Federation
Dr. Marcel Daneau Quebec, Quebec.	Individual member

Name	Association represented
Dr. Gérald Fortin Québec, Québec.	Individual member
Mr. Gavin Henderson Toronto, Ontario.	National and Provincial Parks Association
Dr. W. A. Jenkins Truro, N. S.	Atlantic Provinces Economic Council
Mr. David Kirk Ottawa, Ontario	Individual member
Mr. René Laforest Joliette, Québec.	Institut canadien d'éducation des adultes
Mr. F. X. Légaré Rimouski, Québec.	Confédération des syndicats nationaux
Dr. G. A. MacEachern Ottawa, Ontario.	Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada
Dr. Jean MacKay Halifax, N. S.	Individual member
Most Rev. J. N. MacNeil Saint John, N. B.	Individual member
Dr. N. H. Morse Halifax, N. S.	Individual member
Mr. C. G. O'Brien Ottawa, Ontario.	Fisheries Council of Canada
To be nominated	Canadian Labour Congress
Mr. Robert Raynauld Montréal, Québec.	Canadian Forestry Association
Dean N. R. Richards Guelph, Ontario.	Individual member
Mr. R. L. Small Montreal, Québec.	Canadian Chamber of Commerce

Name	Association represented
Mr. Don Snowden St. John's, Nfld.	Individual member
Mr. Lionel Sorel Montreal, Quebec.	Union Catholique des Cultivateurs
Dr. Michael Wheeler Ottawa, Ontario.	Canadian Welfare Council



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 19

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1970

WITNESSES:

National Indian Brotherhood: Mr. Walter Deiter, Chief. *Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada*: Mr. Walter Currie, President; Rev. Adam Cuthand, President of the Canadian Metis Society; Mr. Allan Clark, Executive-Director. *Manitoba Indian Brotherhood*: Mr. Dave Courchene, President. *Family Planning Federation*: Mr. George Cadbury, Treasurer; Rt. Rev. E. S. Reed, Bishop of Ottawa; Mrs. Dorothy Keeping, Secretary; Mr. Gary Smith, Consultant.

APPENDICES:

"A".—Brief submitted on behalf of the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada and the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada.

"B".—Brief submitted on behalf of the Family Planning Federation.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> , <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Belisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

“With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Tuesday, February 10, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*), Carter, Cook, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, MacDonald (*Queens*), McGrand, Pearson and Quart. (10)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

NATIONAL INDIAN BROTHERHOOD, INDIAN-ESKIMO ASSOCIATION OF CANADA and MANITOBA INDIAN BROTHERHOOD:

Mr. Walter Deiter, Chief of the National Indian Brotherhood;
Mr. Walter Currie, President, Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada;
Rev. Walter Cuthand, President of the Canadian Metis Society;
Mr. Allan Clark, Executive-Director, Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada;
Mr. Dave Courchene, President, Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

FAMILY PLANNING FEDERATION OF CANADA:

Mr. George Cadbury, Treasurer, Family Planning Federation;
Rt. Rev. E. S. Reed, Bishop of Ottawa;
Mrs. Dorothy Keeping, Secretary, Family Planning Federation;
Mr. Gary Smith, Consultant, Family Planning Federation.

(Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.)

A brief submitted jointly by the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada and the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, and a brief submitted by the Family Planning Federation, were ordered to be printed as appendices "A" and "B", respectively, to these proceedings. A brief submitted on behalf of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood is on record in the evidence given before the Committee, as it was read in its entirety.

At 11.55 a.m. the Committee adjourned until 9.00 a.m. Thursday, February 12, 1970.

ATTEST.

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

ERRATA: On page 63, Volume 6 of Proceedings of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, reference is made to one "Tom Beaver" and to one "Joe Beaver". In both cases it should read "Joe Beaver" as both "Joe" and "Tom" are the same person.

On the same page, reference is made to "Manitoba Metis Reservation" which should read "Manitoba Metis Federation".

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Mr. Walter Currie is President of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. He was born in Chatham, Ontario, and attended Public High School in Chatham. He has a Bachelor of Arts Degree from the University of Western Ontario and attended London Normal School. He has taught in Kitchener and in North York. In North York, he served as Principal from 1963 to 1968. In addition, Mr. Currie is past Chairman of the Board of the Canadian Indian Centre of Toronto and is presently Chairman of the Indian Hall of Fame. He is married with three children and, during World War II, he served in the R.C.A.F. and the R.A.F. as a Radar Mechanic.

Reverend Adam Cuthand is President of the Canadian Métis Society and is a Member of the Executive Committee of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. Mr. Cuthand is a past President of the Manitoba Métis Association. He has been involved with the Social Planning Council of Greater Winnipeg and, in particular, the Indian and Métis Conference of which he has been part of for many years. Reverend Cuthand is a Clergyman of the Anglican Church of Canada. He has done extensive work in the Social Service Field as a Counsellor to inmates at the Headingly Jail.

Mr. Allan Clark is the Executive Director of Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. Mr. Clark has been with the Association since February 1966. Prior to becoming Executive Director, he was the Eastern Associate Director of the Association. Prior to his work with the Indian-Eskimo Association, Mr. Clark was involved with the Edmonton Social Planning Council and the Government of Manitoba Community Development Programme. He served as a Community Development Officer with the Community Development Branch of the Manitoba Department of Welfare. He is a Graduate of the University of Alberta in Sociology and is married with three children.

WALTER DEITER

He is Chief of the National Indian Brotherhood and a former Chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians. He is a former President of the Regina Friendship Centre and remains on its Board of Directors.

Right Rev. E. S. Reed—Bishop of Ottawa. A member of the Committee which prepared the well known resolution for the Lambeth Conference in 1952 in which the Anglican Church recognized the responsibility of parents to plan their families.

Mrs. Dorothy Keeping—of Montreal. Secretary of the F.P.F.C. Previously an officer of the Family Planning Association of Bristol, England.

Mr. George Cadbury—of Oakville, Ontario. Treasurer of the F.P.F.C., Chairman of the Governing Body of the I.P.P.F. Formerly Director in the Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations.

Mr. Gary Smith—of Kingston, Ontario; BA,MA, is a Teaching Fellow and Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Political Studies, Queen's University. He is a former Departmental Assistant to the Minister of National Health and Welfare.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, February 10, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, this is a joint brief by the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada and the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. Sitting on my right is Mr. Walter Deiter, Chief of the National Indian Brotherhood and a former Chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians. He is a former President of the Regina Friendship Centre, and is a member of the Board of Directors. He will introduce the others who are here.

Mr. Walter Deiter, Chief, National Indian Brotherhood: Honourable senators, immediately on my right is Mr. Walter Currie, President of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. Next to him we have Dave Courchene, Chief of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood; then Mr. Alan Clark, who is the Executive Director of the Indian-Eskimo Association; then the Reverend Adam Cuthand, who is President of the Metis Association of Canada.

The Chairman: Mr. Currie will make a short statement, and then Dave Courchene, who is President of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, has a short supplementary brief which he will read.

Mr. Walter Currie, President, Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada: Good morning, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. Over the past 20 years the people of Canada have begun to rediscover the native Canadian Indian, and much to their shock and dismay they are discovering the physical depths to which Canada's first citizens have been allowed to descend—shacks for homes, subsisting on welfare, limited medical services, extreme unemployment and less than adequate education: the poorest of the poor.

The poverty of the native people is not a regional thing but is to be found on every reserve, in every Indian community and every Eskimo community in this country of ours. Poverty of the native people is different in this aspect to the poverty of other peoples of our country; it is typical of the native peoples of the country, and it is a shame that it exists.

In the book which you have before you, we have tried to explain very briefly what in our estimation is the background to and what are the causes of the poverty facing the native peoples of our country. Physically, the poverty is very obvious and all too evident. We have tried to define what poverty is, and, although no one seems to agree, there are certain aspects of poverty which apply specifically to the native people which are different from those of the poverty afflicting others in Canada. There is a similarity in that we are all poor, but the difference becomes more evident when you ask why are the native people of Canada, the Eskimos, the Indians, the Métis and the non-status Indians, why are we poor? One of the basic facts is that a man can be poor in body; he can lack a job; his kids may be in rags and have a small amount of food on the table; but despite all these things he can still be rich in spirit and in soul. But the Indian people are poor both physically and in soul, because you, the people of Canada, have, because of your policies and attitudes, taken from us that which was once ours: pride—pride in self and pride in knowledge of self.

There has been a gross failure on the part of the people of Canada to recognize us as a people who have a being, who are and who do exist. Our dress has been taken from us by scorn and by derision. Our method of sustaining ourselves has been taken from us because of the hinterlands disappearing as the people have come into our country. Our religions have been taken from us, both by the action of the churches directly and by the acts of legislation indirectly.

A simple example of that was the doing-away with the potlatch custom by law in the 1880s, with the actual imprisonment of people for observing the potlatch custom as late as the 1920s.

Education has done a successful job of cultural genocide. This has been admitted in essence by the Department of Cultural Affairs as well as by others. The educational system does not provide for the "Indianness", which must be provided for if children are to grow up self-dependent and self-subsistent as Indians.

I notice that the Department of Indian Affairs persists in and insists on its policy of integration. Integration is personified as a failure and has been a failure for native people. There are many examples which we can discuss further, if you so desire.

Until education prepares children to grow up to remain Indian and to be Indian, this poverty of spirit will persist. Let me give you a simple example of how we have been losing or have lost this richness. A woman, arrested in Kenora for drunkenness, was sentenced to 90 days in jail and was sent to Toronto to serve her sentence. She was interviewed by the social worker from our friendship centre. Speaking with this lady, our court worker, Millie, said to her, "You are an Ojibwa, aren't you?" The lady said, "I beg your pardon?" Millie said, "You're an Ojibwa." The lady said, "I don't understand what you mean." Millie said, "You are an Ojibwa because of the language which you speak." This lady said, "Isn't that wonderful. I am an Ojibwa. I thought I was just an Indian."

There is an attitude across this land of ours based upon ignorance and poor teaching that we are "only Indians". We are not. We are peoples who belong to nations, which must be recognized as the nations of Europe are recognized. We are, in essence, as different from one another, the Ojibwa from the Cree, the Blackfoot from the Muskogean, as are the French from the Spanish or the English from the German, and, as such, we must be recognized. We cannot be just lumped together as one people under that gross misnomer, "Indian".

Changes like this must be brought about. These are some of the underlying facts of poverty facing the native people.

Talk to the native people and have them tell you that in their opinion they are second-class citizens, not as good as white people; Examine legislation over the decades and this is borne out. When did you give to the native people in this country the right as first citizens to participate in the elections of our country? Not until 1960—after two world wars and Korea. Quebec libre, the province to the other side of the river, has only just given the right to the status Indians to participate in Provincial elections as of April, 1969.

We are poor in spirit. The native people in our country lack identity. A man cannot have an identity if it is not recognized by his neighbour. This is a fact, and I think we all recognize that fact. The identity which we Indian people have is the one which you have given to us, and in too many cases it is demonstrated by a negative attitude. Unfortunately, the system under which we have suffered over the past 400 years has enforced this negative attitude.

There is a gross failure on the part of the native people to be aware of their rights as people in Canada. The paternalism of which the Department of Indian Affairs has spoken in its brief provided to this committee also reinforces that attitude. Examine the Indian Act and you find those things which because of paternalism have held down the native people and which have prevented them from exercising the

authority or accepting involvement or responsibility for their own futures.

For example, and I find this very intriguing, I just took this clipping from the *Globe and Mail* of yesterday morning. Here we have a group of the so-called silent majority, the middle class of Canada. They became concerned about something which faced them tremendously—the Benson White Paper. They have taken a full page ad in the *Globe and Mail* to ask for support and involvement. I wonder when and where poor people would ever have the opportunity or the availability of resources to make a plea like this to the rest of Canada.

The Chairman: Mr. Currie, I think at this stage it should be placed squarely on the record that that ad was taken by one man from London who paid for it himself. He was the same man who ran the ads against medicare. That was not paid for by those people, nor was it paid for by any group. It was simply paid for by one man.

Mr. Currie: That may be so, sir, but I don't know that and neither does another poor person who picks it up and reads it. This is just another example of those who have being able to have, and those who have not never being able to have. It is just another example of the things that go against the poor people of Canada. Another example taken from yesterday's *Globe and Mail* has quoted our Prime Minister, when approached by some student Liberals over the last weekend, as referring to the Indian problem being "kid stuff" compared to that of the Negroes in the United States. It is kid stuff, I wonder why the Committee on Poverty is even hearing us today. We should be able to get rid of this in a matter of a few moments. I find it very intriguing that such things can be said about the native people of Canada.

Senator Pearson: Who made that statement?

Mr. Currie: This is reported in yesterday's *Globe and Mail* and it is supposed to have been said by the Prime Minister of Canada at a student Liberal meeting last week—"kid stuff"! Maybe it is in his estimation, but in ours it is not kid stuff. This is what I mean by the lack of identity. It is the negative attitude that faces the native people of Canada. We feel it. We are aware of it and it affects our attitudes and our aspirations.

We have spoken of our education in our brief and what can one say about education except that statistics are the proof of the pudding. When you consider that only one in eight of Indian children go beyond grade 8, surely there must be something wrong with the system. In my own province, Ontario, where there are 14,000 status Indian children going to school, half of them are in the provincial school system and yet of those 14,000 last year there were only 35 in grade 13.

Three per cent of those who had started out in grade 1. In Ontario it is usually 30 per cent who end up in grade 13.

Surely this shows that there is something wrong with the system, and yet the system persists without change and without adjustment. There is much that we can talk about. The problem facing the native people has been spelled out here quite plainly for you. Research has been done by others far more capably than we could do it, and it is an accepted fact that the problem is: what can and what will be done about it?

The Chairman: Mr. Currie, you talked of a potlatch. Do you mind taking a moment to tell the committee about it? I am not knowledgeable about it, and I am sure some other members of the committee may not be.

Senator Fergusson: I was going to ask that, because I have been reading the book *Guests Never Leave Hungry* in which reference is made to it and I did not understand what it meant.

Mr. Currie: Potlatch was a custom among the people of the west coast whereby there would be a bringing together under the auspices of one family, and they would in essence give away everything they had. It was a form of insurance, because you knew when you gave away everything that somebody else down the coast would have the same type of program; it was a sort of on-going thing. This was considered to be a debilitating factor by the missionaries working amongst the west coast Indians, because in their opinion these parties became debaucheries, or orgies and so on; they thought they could not have this going on among these "red heathens" and they changed things.

Senator Fergusson: Was this only on the west coast?

Mr. Currie: Yes, only the west coast. The people of North western Ontario and Manitoba also legislated against it.

The Chairman: How long ago?

Mr. Currie: The 1890s. It was repealed in the fifties, I think.

The Chairman: It was repealed in the early 'fifties.

Mr. Currie: Yes. They put everybody in jail in the twenties, of course. When you are poor you cannot have a potlatch.

The Chairman: Dave Courchene, President of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, has a supplementary brief. I have one copy and he has the other, but I will see that copies are provided.

Mr. Dave Courchene, President, Manitoba Indian Brotherhood: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Honourable senators, this brief is presented as supplementary support to the brief submitted by the National Indian Brotherhood and the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada through Walter Currie.

The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood strongly supports the aforementioned submission, of which you have copies. In addition, however, we would caution the Senate Committee on Poverty that economic poverty is not the only form of poverty with which they must concern themselves. It is imperative, if programs are to be developed that will effectively combat the tragic effects of continued suppression and poverty, that such programs recognize the inter-related elements that are symptomatic of the poor.

THE CULTURE OF POVERTY

Contrary to common belief, all men are not born equal. The ability to progress within the larger society is often inhibited by the environment within which one lives. All people live within a boundary of reasonable expectation, a boundary that is restricted by life experiences and the functional valves one attaches to such matters as education, finance, the ownership of property et cetera.

In the past, proponents of social change have largely isolated curative programs to specific areas of problems identified. Education has been held out as the panacea of Indian problems. This decision having been made, government promptly attacks the problem of schooling as opposed to education in its broadest sense. Economic development proponents see the solution in an economic revolution that will upset the balance of poverty and provide instant social opportunity for the economically depressed.

There is a psychology of poverty that is brought about, not by the lack of education or economic opportunity, or any of the other isolated factors by themselves, but by the collective pressure created by the lack of an integrated attack on all the elements which together constitute poverty in the larger sense.

POVERTY IN ISOLATION

For many years, it has been the practice of public policy to maintain the Indian people of this Nation in almost complete social isolation from the mainstream of Canadian society. This isolation has been so complete that it has created a generation of almost totally dependent people.

The Indian's reliance on external resources extends to even the most elementary decision making factors

affecting his everyday life. The basic disciplines of society—inter-dependence and communal inter-relationships have been replaced by Government dependence and social breakdown.

Independence cannot result from continued isolationism, from isolated planning, from Government Policy unrelated to the Indian fact.

A conscious effort is required to rebuild within Indian society that which a century of Government paternalism has torn down. That relationship and understanding between man of his inter-dependence one upon the other for moral, social and economic well-being. To bring this about, programs designed to strengthen local decision making on a communal level will have to be devised. In addition, programs to accommodate effective economic development that will enhance internal inter-dependence and external inter-involvement, must be developed.

The Indian, through a better understanding of his own society, will soon learn to relate and participate with the larger society. Greater sums of money will have to be invested in such programs as "Social Animation", programs that are intended to stimulate a greater awareness by Indian people of their own society and of society as a whole.

POVERTY OF THOUGHT

As has already been mentioned, Government has attacked the problem of poverty in isolated segments, education today, economic development tomorrow, social development the day after.

The net effect has been to subject the Indian to program instability that is directly related to the degree of influence of one "expert" or another. The consequent swings in program influence leave Indian people unsure and frustrated.

The lack of an integrated approach to poverty in all its elements reflects strongly "The Poverty of Thought" that is represented by Departmentalized thinking on the part of Government.

To bring about a greater degree of integrated total programming will require a significant shift in policy orientation. Current consideration of social programs in the context of "Public Cost" programs should be changed. Programs leading to social and economic advancement should be viewed as "Public Investments".

It is our contention that investment in the Human Resources of this country is equal if not more important than our investment in the Natural Resources of the Nation. A continuation of the existing "Public Cost" concept will only result in continuing increases in "Public Cost" commitments in the future.

CONCLUSION

The time has come for a radical rationalization of Public Policy with respect to social change and the problems of poverty. A continued de-escalation of emphasis by the Federal Government in the field of Indian Affairs will do little to solve the problem.

Decentralization of responsibility to the Province will not bring about greater independence for Indian people; it may only multiply our dependence a hundredfold. At no time in the last century has Government, through the Department of Indian Affairs, been in a better position to develop a concerted attack on all the problems of Indian poverty than today.

Indians are prepared to participate in partnership with Government in seeking and applying programs within the framework of the "Total Approach" to problem solving. What we are wondering is: is Government equally prepared to respond?

Senator Fergusson: Thank you very much, gentlemen. I think your presentations have certainly given us a great deal to think about, and we thank you for coming.

There are some things I would like to ask you. One thing you say is that the recommendations the many surveys are not implemented. Are not many recommendations in the Hawthorne Report being implemented in recent policy statements of the Government? Maybe not, but from what I have read it seems to me they are—and this is not casual reading, because I have studied them.

Mr. Deiter: The basic recommendation in the Hawthorne Report was not recognized at all when they made the recommendation about the status of Indian people, because the policy statement that was set out in the White Paper of the Government completely killed the recommendations contained in the whole Hawthorne Report.

Senator Fergusson: There are a great many things contained in the Hawthorne Report. He recommends consultation, negotiations and self-determination, with funds for economic development. All these things are contained in the policy statement, are they not?

Mr. Deiter: Yes, but the problem is where are they? Where are we going to get this consultation and these funds to develop the way we see development should take place?

I have lived through this process of actually living on a reserve. Among the recommendations we make, we make one that the standard of poverty should be set at \$3,500 a year. The Hawthorne Report states that there is one reserve that gets only \$55 per year

per family or wage-earner. My golly, when I look at the poverty line, if \$3,500 is set as the poverty line, I would be satisfied. If I could bring the national earning power of those Indian people up to \$2,000 or even \$1,000 that would make a heck of a big difference because when they talk about people getting \$3,500 a year, I know what it is to live on a reserve and look for a dollar or something to do so you could earn a dollar—actually earn it yourself instead of receiving a donation.

These are things that are not really looked at in the Hawthorne Report. There are many things in the Hawthorne Report that are good recommendations, but they still do not serve to provide for pride in people. What does the Hawthorne Report recommend for royalties out of the reserves for oil and things like that? They say this should be treated as welfare. So they throw the royalties into a welfare fund and they give the Indians welfare cheques. This completely ruins the whole idea of getting royalties. If a white man were to own it he would get royalty cheques which are honoured, but if an Indian owns it he gets a welfare cheque which is dishonoured.

Mr. Courchene: I wonder if I may interject here to deal with the senator's question. The first round of consultation was a complete farce. We did not have the kind of resources necessary to be able to consult amongst ourselves as Indian people with the expertise we needed because there are legal complications involved in the matter about which we have to have consultation with the government. We said to the government "help us with financial resources so that we can do a meaningful job in presenting to our government a direction that we can travel together" and we were denied this in the first round of consultation. In the final meeting of the national body representing the registered Indians of Canada in Ottawa the only resolution passed by the body specifically requested the government to give us financial resources so that we could do the research that was needed on the legal and moral obligations that we as Indians have to our government and to our country as Indian people. What has happened since then? The government has acted on the setting up of a commissioner. The commissioner's terms of reference as stated by the government are that they will not recognize aboriginal rights of Indian people. Three-quarters of this country is not paid for yet. You are living on land that does not belong to you, and today we have to settle with you. We cannot carry on the way we have been carrying on between the larger society, the government and its representatives and ourselves as a group of people. If we are going to close the credibility gap, then we must sit down on equal terms and negotiate. Consultation is not enough; we are going to have to be able to have the resources so that we can negotiate for a new future. Otherwise the whole thing is a farce.

Senator Fergusson: I don't quite agree that it is entirely paternalistic, but have you a plan of your own that is better than we have?

Mr. Courchene: This is the reason, honourable senator, that we are asking for the funds to do research. There has been a lot of past injustices that should be corrected, and we do not want to live in our own country as we have been living for the last four or five hundred years. We want to build a new future together, and unless we have access to the kind of funds needed for us to hire the expertise and the experts to match the expertise of government and of the larger society so that we can come up with a comprehensive proposal to government, there will be no future for us.

Senator Fergusson: Do you think you will have a better survey than many of those that have been done in the past if you have some money?

Mr. Courchene: Yes, very definitely. We have no hesitation in saying that because for the first time Canada will really hear the Indian people.

Senator Inman: In what way did these other researches fall down? What did they lack?

Mr. Courchene: In the past all research done was basically statistics which we have reviewed in our statement on poverty. The kind of research we must do is with regard to the legal side of the way in which the country was taken over by the larger society. Some things have been done which were illegal. To give one example, the Hudson Bay Company sold most of western Canada, and they did not have the right to do it. It was not their country to sell. But they got paid for it and we got peanuts. A further example is to be found in Alaska. The Russian Government sold Alaska to the American Government but now the American Government recognizes the aboriginal rights of the people there and are now prepared to settle, I am told, for \$500 million in Alaska. Canada must recognize this and settle this once and for all. Why should we be the poor of the country when we owned a country as large as Canada? We should be as well off as any other group in Canada.

Senator Inman: Do you wish to be reimbursed with money or through the establishment of industry?

Mr. Courchene: After the research is finished and documented, we will come up with a comprehensive proposal. I cannot say offhand at this stage what the specific proposals will be.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I had a question on research, Mr. Chairman, but it has now

been explained to my satisfaction. Mr. Currie, during your statement you said something about poverty and you said in your definition of poverty that no one seems to agree about it. Would you elaborate a little bit on that and tell us how you define poverty?

Mr. Currie: You can define it physically, emotionally, socially or mentally and I would like to make it clear that we are dealing with something far more important than mere physical poverty. Many of you have been poor. I understand from the Press that many members of this committee have been on welfare.

The Chairman: I never said that.

Mr. Currie: Sorry, I promoted you then.

The Chairman: It is true to say that nearly all have tested welfare. We have done that. What I said was that some of the members have known poverty and have been poor in their time.

Mr. Currie: What I am getting at is the fact that the Indian is poor physically in the "bread-alone" concept, but even worse he is poor spiritually and this is because being an Indian in Canada is not a good thing. This has been proven by the history books, by what is taught in the classrooms, and what is taught to the non-Indian people about the Indian people. It is proven by what we see and hear on radio and television about the Indian people. This is a poverty of the most degrading kind and is the kind that holds us back for generations. When I was young I thought I was just an Indian which was a wrong concept. We are not "just Indians", we are a proud people who belong to proud nations as we once did but society no longer recognizes us as such. This is the kind of poverty of which I speak.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): That was a good answer. Among the witnesses here we have all well-educated people and I would like to ask a general question of these gentlemen. During your educational stage and at the time you went to college, university and so on, did you feel you were Indians and did you live under any kind of inferiority complex? What was the feeling of being an Indian at university?

Mr. Deiter: Well, I went to a white school but I was boarding at an Indian school and we were even dressed differently. I was given an old army shirt and a pair of blue jeans and army boots to go to this school while the white kids were dressed in their usual dress. Furthermore we did not have the opportunities that everybody else had. I never had any spending money. Of course I was sent to a school where all bad boys were sent, but I was going to a

high school because we didn't have an Indian high school in Saskatchewan at that time. I learned the tricks of the trade and naturally I found ways and means to get spending money the same as anybody else. Of course, I was quite a trafficker in tobacco at this school. But the main point is that when I started to go to the white school my greatest ambition was just to get out of school. As soon as I was 16 I did not wait around for exams. My birthday came on the 31st May and I was gone.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Why did you want to get out of school?

Mr. Deiter: Because of the situation and the conditions in which I was living.

Mr. Courchene: Unless you could have experienced the life I had in school you would not believe some of the things I would have to say. Nevertheless, I was taken from my home when I was seven years old—because that was the law of the government—and placed in a residential educational institution where I had no access to family life for eight years. I was called a savage day after day, month after month and year after year for eight years.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): By the white people?

Mr. Courchene: Yes.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): By the white students?

Mr. Courchene: Yes. I was in an Indian residential school, but was taught the history of the white man. I learned about Jacques Cartier, Christopher Columbus—everybody else was so proud of their own nationalities. Nowhere in my history lessons did I learn about my people except in a derogatory sense. I was a scalper, a Jesuit killer and a savage. When I left there after eight years of that kind of training I felt inferior. When I first started going to the next town, a white community, I honestly and sincerely felt inferior, and it has taken me years to get over it and to be able to speak as I am speaking today. Had I been allowed to come here the day after I left home I would have had my head bowed down and I probably would have been ashamed to talk to you. That was how inferior I was made to feel.

Reverend Mr. Adam Cuthand, President, Métis Association of Canada: Mr. Chairman, I would like to say something about this question of education. I was brought up on an Indian reserve until I was about 14 years of age. I never went to a boarding school. During the hungry thirties I went to a public school and high school in the City of Prince Albert.

I also received good training at home from my father, who had a great deal of experience travelling with Buffalo Bill's show. He was able to give me all the support I needed to see me through as a student. This was in the "hungry thirties" when the whole country was facing poverty conditions. I later went to college for four years.

I became very much dissatisfied with Indian affairs and I became enfranchised. This is a legal process by which you leave an Indian reserve and go into a larger society. One of the problems facing some of the Indian population is that some who have been enfranchised and are no longer registered Indians are living in poverty because they have not been able to look after themselves financially. Anybody who applied for enfranchisement was allowed to leave the reserve without even his ability to look after himself in a larger society being assessed. There are thousands of these people now living in poverty. We have not looked at this question seriously.

Mr. Currie: I was born and raised in an urban community, mainly Chatham, Ontario, which I would say is one of the most prejudiced towns in the country. As a boy going to school in Chatham I found nothing in my teaching to make me proud of being an Indian. I too was ashamed of being an Indian. My parents taught me nothing because our history is not a written one. If you parents do not know it, then who is there to teach it to you? Our teachers could only teach us what they found in the white man's books. As Dave said, we are known as cruel and bloodthirsty—"Look at what they did at Huronia to the poor Jesuit missionaries!" As a child I went to the movies and watched the red man lose every battle to the white man. It is the same today on TV, the Indians lose every time. This is not easy for an Indian child to accept. Today I can chuckle about losing all the battles, but put yourself in the place of a 10-year old boy. It gets pretty damn sickening to lose all the time. Today I get picked up on this when I mention it to a group such as this. They say, "Come on, the Indians are winning nowadays." But have you ever noticed why the Indians are winning on television today? It is because the "good white" people such as the Ben Cartwright family are helping them. The good guys in the white hats are now on our side, helping us to beat the bad guys in the black hats. We are no stronger, no more powerful; we just have the good guys on our side.

I remember the day that I became ashamed of being an Indian. This was in Junior 4 which is Grade 7 today. I can tell you the day and where I was sitting in the room, because it stands out as clear as a picture. The teacher said to me, "Walter, are you a full-blooded Indian?" I was 11 years of age. I knew I was an Indian because we went to the reserve to visit my grandmother every Sunday. I knew I was a full blooded Indian. What does this mean? This is

how white people characterize us. We are full blooded or Metis or mixed blooded or half breeds. We are not people, we are categorized and this leaves a stigma upon us. As Dave said, it takes a long time to grow out of it and many of us never do. Some of us do, but unfortunately too many of us have failed to make it. Yes, we suffered from prejudice and discrimination in school when we were growing up. It was not easy. I would say that fundamentally the people you see here today, and many of the other leaders across the country, are unique and far from the average.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Perhaps you can forgive, but it is hard to forget some of those things. This has been a very interesting statement. I have another question to ask and then I will pass to somebody else. We were talking about the Eskimos. Do we have any Eskimos in this group?

Mr. Deiter: No, I tried to get one.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): What is the relationship between the Indians and the Eskimos? Do you share the same problems?

Mr. Deiter: Yes, we share the same problems. But there is a serious problem facing the Eskimos in Northern Quebec right now. A few years ago a large number of Eskimos were transferred from northern Ontario and northern Manitoba to Quebec. They all speak English and Cree along with their own native language. Now the schools are going to make them speak French. So they want to come back out of there, and there are 3,500 of them. Then they passed this game act, and I have the discussions of that Quebec parliament here, and I can say that even today Quebec parliamentarians cannot talk about Indians without calling them savages. I just wonder whether the French language does have a word for Indians, because even in their writings and books they always refer to Indians as savages in the French language. In the debates they were having in their parliament they referred to us as "Les Sauvages", or whatever it is. They are going to stop them from hunting and they are going to have them under the same law as the province for hunting game as anybody else. This really puts a damper on some of those people and their way of living.

Six years ago I met with Government people on the migratory birds act deal, and I said it was not the Indians who were disrupting or killing the population of the game birds. It was the chemicals and stuff that they are using in the air, because we used to find alongside the highways ducks and birds that were killed by chemicals. The little bit that Indians take in wild game is a very small percentage of what is done by chemicals and stuff like that.

Senator Quart: You have mentioned the province of Quebec. I am from Quebec. Would you not say that the Indians were given a fair deal in Quebec? After all, the first Indian elected by white men in the legislatures of Canada was in Quebec. He was not living on a reserve at the time. This was quite a few years ago. He was elected by the white men, as you call them, of the county of Quebec, which is a very large county. He was elected.

Mr. Deiter: There are exceptions but they are very few exceptions. The Indians in Quebec are now really concerned about their situation. And what about the English-speaking factor? Are they going to learn a third language or a fourth language? Many of them already speak two or three languages.

Senator Quart: Then why, when the Indians were given the vote in 1960, was it so difficult to get the Indians to participate at all? Why didn't they vote?

Mr. Deiter: They did not want to vote. This was forced on the Indians. They did not want to vote, so long as the Government did not give us a fair or concerted effort in settling our claims. This is the big thing in the whole deal. It is the attitude of the people. If you refuse to look at the attitude of the people, then you are not going to do a thing for the Indians. This is why we did not want to vote. I have never yet voted in an election.

Senator Quart: Would it not be a step forward anyway?

Mr. Deiter: It might be, but then it would put me on that side of the fence that I am not dealing with my people justly.

Senator Quart: I am very favourable to many, though not all, of your pleas.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, in my questioning, perhaps I could follow along the line of education, since we were talking about education. It might be just as well to do that. You say in your brief, Mr. Deiter, that the education that has been available to Indians has not been available to Indians has not been relevant and is still not relevant. You also say that the old ways of life are disappearing. The opportunity for earning a livelihood from hunting game and trapping and so forth is disappearing. You say, if I understand your brief rightly, that you are looking to the future for what can be developed through the economic development of your land, of your reserves.

Now, I don't quite understand what changes you want in the educational system. That is, apart from the changes in the text books and history books,

which portray the Indian in a bad light. I can understand your wanting changes there and wanting something to bolster your pride in your culture and in your ancestry. That is perfectly understandable. But apart from that, what changes do you want in education? Do you want separate schools completely? You say you don't want integration.

Mr. Deiter: This is a freedom that everybody should have, the right to choose what you want. We have language barriers. It has been proven in other countries such as Denmark and Sweden and others that they teach the kids up to a certain grade in their own language. Well, in areas where we have this language barrier they should take this into consideration.

Senator Carter: Do you have teachers qualified to teach all the Indian children today in your own language?

Mr. Deiter: No.

Senator Carter: Are there facilities for training the teachers to do so?

Mr. Deiter: No. We have no facilities. You fellows have everything and you have always had everything.

Senator Carter: But looking to the future now, since the past is behind us, we are trying to find what you do want in order to solve your problems or at least meet them in the future.

Mr. Deiter: This is what we are trying to do now. We are making recommendations and setting up schools, but for every dollar that we try to get from the Government to set up this kind of school or situation, we have to fight a big battle to get it.

Senator Carter: Let us just take one point at a time. You don't want segregation. That is out. Is that a fair statement?

Mr. Deiter: There is no such thing as not wanting anything. The right that we want is the right to be able to choose what we want. If we want integration, or if there is a group of Indians that want an integrated education, it should be their right to decide whether they will have it.

Senator Carter: All right. Let us take the ones that choose integration. They are willing, then, to accept what the facilities already existing have to offer. They go into that . . .

Mr. Deiter: Only to a certain degree.

Senator Carter: You mean the ones who want to be integrated would want something different from

what is already available? I cannot quite figure out in my mind what you want. I spent a lot of time in education and I am trying to figure in my mind just what kind of set-up you do want.

The Chairman: Perhaps Mr. Currie should answer your question, senator, since he is a former school principal from one of the municipalities in the Toronto area.

Mr. Currie: Yes, from North York. I am with the Department of Education of Ontario at the present time. I have a very strong feeling about this, and what I am going to say reflects the thinking and speaking of the natives across this country. Integration does not work because, as it has been created, it is a street with the arrows pointing in one direction only. If you are going to have true integration you must make the street a two-way street and have the arrows pointing in both directions. A child must be able to go to school and find in that school that which is relevant to him as an individual, to him as a member of a community, and to him as a member of a people. This does not exist in any integrated school system any place in Canada. Everything says: "Become a brown-skinned white man".

Senator Carter: What would you add, then, to the present curriculum in the integrated school?

Mr. Currie: This is so fundamentally easy that it is amazing that everyone of our goddamned provincial school systems has been so fatheaded and so muddled-headed. All you have to do is talk to the kids and teach those kids relevant to themselves. You put into the libraries facilities which say "Indian". It is that simple and yet it is that complex. You begin to utilize the people from the reserve communities to come in and talk about themselves, about their history, about their knowledge, about their crafts, about their dancing and about their songs. You do all of these things. You teach the children in the context of the vernacular in which they are raised. That is a simple example. To a child in many Indian communities, whether it is a reserve or Métis community, if you say the word "rabbit" you have a different concept than you have for the word "rabbit" when it is thought of by a city child. For the child from the city a rabbit is a pet, a sweet, lovable pet. To the Indian child the rabbit is food.

Senator Carter: You are still talking in generalities though.

Mr. Currie: No, these are specifics.

Senator Carter: Let us take a school with ten classes. Say in Grade 1 you have 25 whites and 5 Indians, in Grade 2 perhaps the same thing, or you may have more, and you get to Grade 7 and 8 and

you probably get one Indian out of 40 pupils. How are you going to interrupt the time table? Are you going to take them out of classes and put them in separate groups for that kind of training? How are you going to work the children into the time table?

Mr. Currie: It is the other way round, you work the time table into the kids and not the kids into the time table. You adjust the system to fit the kids, and you do not adjust the kids to fit the system. The only way to change the educational system, if you are not going to fail those Indian children, not only the Indian children but every child who walks through the door of a school is that the Procrustean bed must be done away with. You know about the Procrustean bed which was made to fit every traveller who came to the inn. If the traveller was too long you cut off his legs, and if he was too short you stretched him to fit the bed. It is not as simple a matter as that.

Senator Carter: It is simple to say, but how do you work it out? Do you let every child progress at his own rate? You still have physical problems and problems of resources, teachers and all the rest of it. How can you utilize those resources?

Mr. Currie: One of the things that can be done, which has never been done, is to take teachers and prepare them to work with children of native ancestry.

Senator Carter: But that has not been done. You have to prepare the teachers first, that is where you have to start.

Mr. Currie: Yes.

Senator Carter: You say the Indian should be free to choose. Some choose not to be integrated. What kind of set up are you going to have for them?

Mr. Currie: A flexible educational system which provides the opportunities of choice.

Senator Carter: Are you going to have a duplicate system on the reserves now?

Mr. Currie: No, an educative system. There are many reserves in Canada which could never be integrated because they are so far out in the bush you cannot integrate them. There is a complete educational system, at least to the end of Grade 8, within these; but they can be taught awareness of self and security in self. If you teach them in this manner they will knock on doors, knock doors down and say, "I want to know what is behind this door. Teach me and help me to learn." These children then come out of there and go to high school in the integrated system and will stand up proudly as native

people. But until we can send him out so that he can say, "I am a Cree; I am an Ojibway. I am no better and no worse than anybody else, but I know who I am and I have pride in my people. I can stand up straight among white people," this kid will not go ahead.

Senator Carter: But if the child does not get that in the home up until the age of 5 or 6, how is he going to get it in school?

Mr. Currie: We should make the resources available to put that sort of material into our schools.

Senator Carter: What resources?

Mr. Currie: We take a new system of text books and resource books in school. In Ontario we have made available to all teachers a multi-resource list for Indians and Eskimos. Ontario did it last year for the first time anywhere. In the Indian-Eskimo Association we get 150 requests a week from schools, both inside and outside the province of Ontario, asking for the material. This sort of thing will help tremendously. Involvement of the old people in the schools is one way. Another basic way is involving parents in the school system. The native people have neither responsibility nor involvement in the education of their children. Involve people, make them responsible and give them a chance to be responsible in this way. The whole thing on education is involved with that, there is no one simple aspect to it.

This is something that can be discussed for quite a considerable length of time. Maybe I can put it best in the words of a seventeen-year-old boy I met in Kenora a year ago this February in a high school class room. We were sitting in a small room of 22 students, and he turned to me and asked, "Can you help me?" I said, "Certainly, I will try to. What is the trouble?" He said, "I have been to the principal and guidance counsellor, and I do not know." That was his problem. This is the problem of so many of our young Indian people across the country.

The Chairman: Is that any different from the problems other seventeen year olds are having?

Mr. Currie: Yes, because it is compounded by the colour of his skin and by what he is taught or not taught in the text books.

Senator Carter: You are talking about attitudes in people. To expect the school to eradicate that is expecting almost too much from the school system. It does not originate in the school; the school is only a reflection of the larger society.

Mr. Courchene: It originated from education. The concept you have of Indian people originated there.

I was Chief of one of the larger Indian communities in Manitoba. When we have teachers coming to Indian reserves like this, they know all about Italy and the Chinese and every nationality in the world, but not a damned thing about Indians. That is how stupid the educational system is.

The Chairman: Be careful, because Mr. Currie is part of that educational system!

Mr. Currie: I agree with you; it is a shame. It is a shame though there was no history in Canada before 1492 and as if anything that has happened involving native people since is not worthy of writing up. If a native child went to France and said to a French child, "I am a Canadian," and the French child asked him "Tell me about your native people," he would say "They burned Brébeuf and they lose every Saturday and Sunday on T.V.!" If that is all he can tell them, it is a pox and shame on our education system.

Senator Carter: You ought to be able to use some of these funds to build up a whole package of literature and background related to the Indian culture, textbooks giving the history of his culture to build up his pride in his Indian ancestry. Are you doing some of that now?

Mr. Deiter: I hate to see money wasted on things like this brief. This is really gross.

Mr. Alan Clark, Executive Director, Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada: There are a number of studies or experimental projects under way in the educational field. I think one of the recommendations of the brief calls for a hard look at what the Danish Government is doing in Greenland or Iceland and at what the Navahoes are doing in the southwestern United States. There are many good examples around of experimental projects in the educational field to try and ease some of the problems you are raising. How do you educate teachers? How do you develop curricula that make sense to the Indian community? The frustrating thing is that this material is around and yet nobody is looking at it. The power that be seem to ignore it. When you come forward with it, they say, "This does not fit the Canadian situation and we will have to have more research done on it." Why not avoid the situation where you find a teacher teaching in the Arctic talking to a classroom of Eskimo children and instructing them on what a red light, what a green light and an amber light mean, when they have never even seen one? Or they open an official government publication on taking a driver's test in the Northwest Territories and open up the centre fold and find detailed instructions on how to make a left hand turn off a four lane highway. This is kind of ridiculous, but it is fed into the system.

Senator Carter: You realize this is a provincial matter?

Mr. Currie: Not with regard to native peoples.

The Chairman: Not up north.

Senator Carter: But certainly if you are going to integrate schools, it is in provincial schools.

Mr. Currie: Yes, but if the Department of Indian Affairs is going to purchase something for the good native people they ought to talk to the people and ask what they want, and go to the schools and make sure the kids are getting what they need; but they have gone ahead and have produced a package with no examination of its relevancy or long-range effect upon these children. I notice in the brief on page 95 they say that the integration of education of the native people will be completed within three years.

Senator Cook: The question I have, Mr. Chairman, has been to some extent covered before by Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche), but I will ask it in a slightly different way. The witnesses here comprise a very distinguished group of citizens. So I would like to ask them if there were any advantages that they had over other Indian people which helped them to beat the system. Each one of these gentlemen has made his mark and I would like to know what advantage each one of them had over his fellow citizen.

Mr. Deiter: I never was able to beat the system, senator, and I am still trying. But I have lived in the white world and I have learned a few of the white man's tricks and it is only through this that I have been able to push the organization that we now have. They say there is no discrimination. Well, I lived with white people for 25 years and I have experienced it, with the result that I had to move out of one community where I lived because the kids started scrapping with other kids. One day I saw my baby girl who was four years old with a bunch of white kids who were dancing around her and yelling "she is an Indian." This makes a man feel rather annoyed so I sold the house and moved to another area. I taught the children as much as I could to take their place among white people, never stressing the fact that they were Indians, but that they were human beings and that they should be treated and should treat everybody else as such. I remember another occasion on a Sunday evening when we were watching television and two of my girls who were six and seven years of age at the time were watching at the same time. There was an Indian show on and the Indians were being given a terrific beating and I heard one of them whisper to the other "do you know Daddy is an Indian?" There are not many of us on the reserve who have been able to make the

breakthrough, and one of the things I was trying to do was to get some money so as to organize a conference of those Indians who had made the breakthrough to see if we could come up with something, but I have not been able to find the money. It may be possible to raise a certain amount, but to get a really general consensus of opinion I would have to take in a pretty big area.

Senator Cook: I wonder if some of the other witnesses would like to comment on this point.

Mr. Courchene: Well, senator, I had a very hard head. As I look at myself and what happened to me from the day I entered school and during the entire course of my education I think of the degradation I went through as a person, when I left the community. Fortunately I had very strong parents. My father was a leader in the community and so was my grandfather. Through the process of working with my family, the pride which had been almost destroyed was built back. With the help of some white friends I was helped again in the process because, once again I was going through an educational process which this time was more meaningful. I came to the realization that I was somebody; that I was a human being and that I had capabilities to do something for myself and my family. I was taught much by the educational system in the schools but I was taught also by my parents and perhaps I was fortunate in leaving school early enough so that I was not totally destroyed by the kind of educational system I was going through. I learned the language in school—that is your language—and I learned about mathematics and other subjects in the educational system. But I did not learn to be proud in the educational system. I learned that after I left school.

Rev. Mr. Cuthand: I have been through the process too, senator, and one of the first things you have to do when you go into the larger society is first to accept yourself as you are, secondly, you have to force your way into the society, thirdly you have to have a thick skin and fourthly you have to have the religious conviction that you as an Indian have been made in the image of God. Those four points have been my guide.

Senator McGrand: I have a number of questions which have been discussed earlier. Going back to the question of Indian pride and so on, I do not believe that the Indian child will avoid this imposed inferiority simply through being taught the worthiness of Indian tradition alone. This will only be accomplished when the white children are taught the traditions of the Indian as well and when the white man has learned the true history of North America. That is where the whole process must start. However, going back to the more urgent problem, in your brief you speak of

the isolation of the Indian and the process of integration with the white. But you also mention on page 14 the question of "full and meaningful employment" and on page 15 you say "...enable the native communities to initiate industries and employment." Now, where the Indians are in small numbers, as they usually are, how would you proceed to develop the Indian as an individual in education and employment without integration with the white population and perhaps bring about the loss of your Indian identity. How can you accomplish these two things?

Mr. Courchene: We look at the past and at the present and when we talk about integration it is just another arrow going one way. But when we talk of industrial development in our northern sections, particularly where a large proportion of our people live, we find that they only end up as a cheap labour force. They are not a part of the process of integration and they are simply part of the technological advancement which is taking place. What we are saying now is that we can help to develop those resources. We can hire the expertise to develop more mineral resources in the north, to set up the pulp operations in the north and to set up fish operations in the north run by Indian people. We are still part of that total experience, but we are doing it ourselves as a group of people and in the process we hire non-Indians. But for a change now we do the hiring instead of somebody else doing it and exploiting our people.

Senator McGrand: You speak of the resources of your reserves. If oil is found on a white man's land, the white man is entitled to royalties but the Indian is not, even though it is on the reserve. Now the amount of reserves with oil or mineral resources that could be exploited for the benefit of the Indian amounts to a very small area of Canada. You would only touch a few reserves and you would certainly not touch any reserve in eastern Canada.

Mr. Courchene: Yes, I think we fully realize the resource potential we have in our communities, particularly in Manitoba where I come from. Why cannot we get access to resources within that regional area? This is what we are saying now to both our federal and provincial governments. Let us develop the resources instead of bringing somebody from down east or west to develop them. Give us access to the capital so that we can develop our provinces.

Senator McGrand: Who possesses those resources now? Somebody has got to go out and do a lot of investigation in order to find out if there are resources.

Mr. Courchene: We realize these facts and that just saying resources should be developed is certainly not going to do it. There have to be feasibility studies

and we recognize that there has to be a potential expertise involved. Why cannot we hire them? It is because we have the lack of capital resources to do it.

Senator McGrand: It is easier for Imperial Oil and I suppose, Noranda to hire them.

Mr. Courchene: Imperial Oil gets richer and richer and we get poorer and poorer.

Senator McGrand: Going back to that \$500 million, if you had that amount which you mentioned, how would you proceed to spend and invest it for the benefit of the Indian?

Mr. Courchene: As far as Manitoba is concerned, can only say that we have already done a number of feasibility studies with the expertise we have ourselves, from the public and private sector. We can develop tourist development potentials which would benefit that province and in so doing it would benefit Canada. We can develop the service industry in quite a large number of areas in our province which would benefit the province and Canada. We can develop the fishing and the forestry industries. We are thinking of the mineral areas in Manitoba. With \$500 million we could do a great deal. We could do it and there is no question about it, because we are human beings with the capability.

Senator McGrand: Going back to the reserves and the land now occupied by the Indian reserves, it has always been my opinion that these Indian reserves were the lands that the white man did not want to take from you in the first place, that he let you have them. Is that not right?

Mr. Courchene: Particularly in the northern communities, you are quite right. They pushed our people farther north and they did not need the rock and the swamp. I agree with you, but that does not mean that we should only be in the rock and swamp; we should have access to the resources in that regional area. The northern section of Canada is fantastically rich, and it is only recently that some people, particularly the mid-Canada development corridor people, have started to look to the north. What we are saying is, do not bring in people and leave us on the sideline again, as you have done in the south. Let us be part of the development, but we need capital resources.

Senator McGrand: You have to set up a \$500 million corporation.

Mr. Courchene: Yes, we are talking about corporations.

Senator McGrand: "This is your company; here is your money!"

Mr. Courchene: Yes.

Senator McGrand: And you will use your expertise in developing them, is that it?

Mr. Courchene: Yes.

Mr. Currie: May I add one item to that. The native people need to be given the opportunity of failure. I would stress those words "the opportunity of failure". At present the civil service is hampered by his fact. The civil servant daren't fail in anything he tries so, therefore, he does not try very much.

The Chairman: You read MacDonald's brief to this committee. Never did a man make so clear a confession of failure. You have a copy of that. It was only the second time that has happened before us. Never before had a civil servant admitted failure, and preparedness to take another look at it and correct mistakes of other days.

Mr. Currie: They are prepared to take another look, but are not prepared to turn the responsibility and involvement over to the people for whom they have been created. I am sure they are admitting failure because, surely, with such a spotlight focused on the Department of Indian Affairs over the past 20 years, to deny the failure would be challenging the credibility of the people of Canada. They do not dare do anything else. They are not that stupid—not that way anyhow.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I think it is a little late.

The Chairman: I will give you 10 minutes if you like.

Senator Fergusson: When I wanted to speak we were discussing the errors and failures that Canada has had in dealing with our native population. I thought it was time that we looked to the future. What I particularly had in mind was Recommendation 4 on page 16, in which there is reference to the Danish approach to Eskimo education in Greenland and the Scandinavian approach to the Laplanders. In Recommendations 4 and 6 it says that a visit to Greenland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia and certain points in Mexico should be made to find out what has been done. Maybe my colleagues know more than I do. I do not know what has been done in those areas.

Mr. Currie: It has been briefly pointed out what is fundamentally being done in those European countries. They are recognizing the native people as

people existing, their cultures, and that these people have something to give which must be kept alive. In broad terms, they teach the children for the first three years in their own languages. The books are printed in their languages.

Senator Fergusson: Is that in all of these countries?

Mr. Currie: Yes, the teachers are of their own language. For example, in Greenland the Eskimos for the first three years are taught in Eskimo. At the end of the third year they are introduced to a second language, which is Danish. These people now form an integral part of the country, and they have been recognized and accepted. They have been truly integrated because not only have they been brought in, but those who have just come to the country have absorbed some of their way of living and culture. There has been a total recognition. This is being done, as we said, in Denmark and in the other Arctic countries. It has also been done in Mexico and Arizona, but not in our country. This proof has been available through UNESCO for 20 years, but north American countries have failed to make use of it.

Senator McGrand: No one but a Laplander can herd or slaughter a reindeer in northern Scandinavia. The herds are slaughtered and the meat is sold under the kind of supervision you have here, and it is well inspected. They have their Lap schools and they are teaching the Lap language. In Norway there is a training school for teachers to teach the Lap children. I happen to have been in one of them.

Senator Fergusson: Is that not a segregated school?

Mr. Courchene: Yes.

Senator McGrand: It is not segregated; it is to preserve the identity of the Lap. Half the Laps are not herding reindeer any more; they are fishing and working in mines.

Mr. Courchene: You seem to be disturbed that we would consider them as "segregated" children. We do this constantly. We have opportunity classes, classes for special learning disabilities, and we have classes for children who are of the bright range. These are segregated, yet you are not amazed or disappointed at that.

The Chairman: You are talking about a different kind of segregation than Senator Fergusson.

Mr. Currie: Segregation is segregation whether you take the kid one block or 50 blocks from home.

The Chairman: If you read the studies, and there are 40 of them, segregation means the segregated classes.

Mr. Currie: Certainly this is segregation. You have divorced the kid from the rest of the school. When you send a child by bus, for example, across 15 blocks or three school territories, into a fourth school, you have segregated that child. He does not go to school with the kids he plays with or lives with.

Senator Fergusson: This is a different definition of segregation from my definition, which has been based on racial segregation.

Mr. Currie: Segregation occurs in many forms and varieties and is accepted and supported.

Senator Pearson: I should like to ask a question of Mr. Deiter. Referring to the province of Saskatchewan, how many reserves are now fully developed? The farming areas on some of those reserves are not suitable to be used as farming areas, but with respect to those that are used, are they fully developed?

Mr. Deiter: None of them are full developed. Senator McGrand asked a question about areas for development. Well, we have some of the best playground areas in Saskatchewan adjacent or close to big urban centres. But it would cost \$3 or \$4 million to set them up for recreation purposes. They could be used. The Indians could do that. But when, in fact, an Indian made up a plan with respect to developing one of these areas into a recreational area—and his plan was almost the same as a professional did—the Government would not accept his plan.

Senator Pearson: Who would not?

Mr. Deiter: The federal Government. So the thing is still sitting the way it has been for the last six years.

Senator Pearson: I was thinking of the reserves outside of Palo Valley.

Mr. Deiter: Those are the ones I was talking about.

Mr. Currie: Before we break up, could I ask a question of you, Mr. Chairman, and the committee? And what I am going to say is of grave concern to me and to many people. I have read your terms of reference and you recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of more effective structure of remedial measures, and my concern is this: the poor people, and above all, the native people of this country are very cynical about meetings like this. We are very concerned about just what are your powers. What will happen because of meetings like this?

Consultations like this? What sort of a ripple do you create when you toss your stone of information knowledge and understanding into the pool? What will happen? Nothing? Or will it take another 30 years for something to come out of this? This is of grave concern. Time has run out. The native people have had it up to here. We are sick and tired of platitudes and meetings and consultations and conferences. What the native people are looking for is action. What the poor people of this country are looking for is action. Can committees like this come up with something or will this, once again, be a paper tiger?

The Chairman: I am rather glad you asked the question.

Mr. Currie: It is of grave concern to me.

The Chairman: Already you and your presentation here this morning have indicated that our approach is a different approach from that which has been taken on other occasions. You said that these problems had been studied in bits and pieces and there had been fragmentation. Part of the brief you presented this morning suggested that. But if you take a look at our reference you will find that there is a totality of approach so far as the problem of poverty is concerned. We are looking at it from every conceivable angle. That you cannot do overnight. There are ten provinces and we have to listen to the people from each one of them. We have been to see four provinces so far.

Last week we visited an area here in Ottawa and had the local people come before us with their problems. We are doing the same thing in some of the other provinces in order to hear from the people. We are involving the people and the people have considerably involved themselves. In Halifax they also questioned the credibility of this committee. The people in Prince Edward Island, the students, involved themselves. The poor in Manitoba and the Métis were there before us, too, in Manitoba. In British Columbia it was the same.

For us to say to you that we will find the solution to the problem of poverty across Canada is a bit premature, but, if you have been watching the Canadian scene you will have noticed that since the committee came into existence much has changed on what is meaningful to the Canadian poor. You will have noticed that there is an involvement of the poor at various levels. The Department of Health and Welfare is going out of its way to involve the poor on representative bodies and setting up studies in various parts of the country. There is the general acceptance of the concept across this country of a maintenance income for the poor, which is very vital and almost the beginning of what needs to be done. Some serious studies of the problems of the poor are being

made by serious people who are not running away from this problem. We are trying to find out what they are doing in the United States. We are attempting to find out what they are doing in other parts of Canada about helping the poor. When we have an accumulation of information and are able to come to some conclusion, we will make a Report to the Government. We hope that it will have acceptance from the Canadian people. We think that it will.

We have on other occasions been rather fortunate in the studies that we have made. We made a study in the Senate on unemployment. That was seven or eight years ago, and from that came the Department of Manpower, which is a very vital department. If you will remember, we had a study on costs of food and costs of lending, and from that came the Department of Consumer Affairs. We had a study on aging, and from that came the old age security allowance for a guaranteed income.

Our record has been an excellent one over a period of time. Perhaps it has been unnoticed by the people, but it should not have been unnoticed.

In that atmosphere we are continuing studying the problem with the hope that the country will accept again the recommendations that we think we ought to make.

Have I left anything out?

Senator Cook: There was a committee on land use.

Mr. Clark: Mr. Chairman, may I ask one question which has been uppermost in the minds of our people across Canada over the last couple of years as a result of meeting with other Indian leaders across Canada? The question that I should like to ask is how long this committee is going to be functioning? Are they going to allow us enough time to do the research we are now starting on the legal and moral obligations of our government?

The Chairman: You are asking us a question that really is not a part of the scope of our inquiry. We are dealing with people. We could not care less whether they have blue eyes or red eyes; it does not make any difference. We are dealing with people; the legal aspects do not enter into it. Whatever we recommend is for everybody, we are not going to make any adjudication on the rights or wrongs. We say, "This needs to be done in order to bring people out of poverty."

Mr. Courchene: I think this is going to be very relevant to any poverty program that we have in Canada, and I am sure it would be relevant to this committee.

Senator Pearson: Is this a brief you are preparing to present later on?

Mr. Courchene: Yes, all the organizations across Canada are now starting their research.

Senator Cook: Well, I suppose if we are still in existence we will hear it.

The Chairman: We will be around until the end of the year, and if you have anything further to say we will be delighted to hear from you.

Our time as how run out, but let me just say this on behalf on the committee. I have said to you that we deal with people, and this morning you Canadians of Indian and Eskimo ancestry have presented an excellent brief. You have made a very good impression upon the Committee; you are fine advocates. It is a thoughtful brief, and you can rest assured that we have a very deep and abiding concern for the native peoples of this country. We have a bad conscience about it too. We are devoting ourselves to the study of poverty as it affects all people, and we are very hopeful that we will be helpful to the people who are immersed in poverty at the present time.

On behalf of the committee, gentlemen, I thank you.

Honourable senators, the next brief we have for consideration is from The Family Planning Federation of Canada.

On my right is Mr. George Cadbury, who is Treasurer and Chairman of the Governing Board. He is a former Director in the Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations. He will introduce the delegation and then speak to the brief.

Mr. George Cadbury, Treasurer, Family Planning Federation of Canada: Thank you, Senator Croll. This is Mrs. Dorothy Keeping who is the Secretary of our Federation and comes from Montreal.

Bishop Reed is known to everyone here, I am sure, coming from Ottawa.

Mr. Gary Smith is at present a doctoral candidate at Queen's University and is with us because he does all the hard work in writing the brief.

I have apologies to make. Dr. Frank Fidler, the President of our organization, was unable to attend, as was Dr. R.B. McClure, the Moderator of the United Church of Canada, both of whom were anxious to be present but were unable to attend.

I am particularly sorry that Dr. Yves Lefebvre from Montreal is not here, because we like people to realize that one of our strongest sections is in the Province of Quebec. Dr. Lefebvre and others who represent that section should be here, but they have a doctors' strike on in the Quebec hospitals, and Dr. Lefebvre has been assigned a duty today in the absence of some of his colleagues and is unable to attend.

We hope that our brief is brief enough so that it is not too burdensome to everyone who has the problem of reading all the paper that I am sure comes before you. It is brief because we think our points are fairly simple, and I will go into them in a moment.

I heard you say to the previous delegation that if they had further information to submit you would be pleased to receive it. In fact, we have other studies going on that might be interesting to your research staff and, with your permission, we will send them along to you later. They underline the points we are trying to make.

The first point I would like to make is that in all family planning business—and this is true of Canada just as it is of the rest of the world—and if I may be so immodest to make a small extra point on your introduction of me, I am not only concerned with Canada but I am Chairman of the International Planned Parenthood Federation which has eighty countries as members, and from that I am able to see the Canadian problem in the context of the world problem, and I think it is very much related and quite relevant.

The main point that we in the family planning business want to make is concerned with two things. It is concerned with the family. We mean a real and positive concern with families, not just some kind of negative concern about limiting families, limiting children. That is not our approach. That is incidental to the fact that we believe families are the core of our communal life and a positive life, that the family is the basis of everything we want to do.

The second point we would always want to make is that our concern is with children, a positive concern with children, and that the essential thing for happy childhood life and eventual life is that that child comes into the world wanted, wanted by its parents and not wanted by the community into which it comes.

We believe that in this new age of technological advances we have to strive to achieve both these objectives. I am no technician and we do not have doctors with us but I am quite prepared to discuss with anybody who is interested, the incidence of this technological impact. We have the means and we have the objectives to achieve happy families where every child is wanted. It is a sad reflection on our society that this is now not always true. I am not saying that people do not love their children; they do, but unfortunately the situation exists among large segments of the population where services are not available and this in turn creates problems of children being born where they may be wanted, or on the other hand, where they may not be wanted and the problem may be more or less one of survival. I emphasize that because it is not always appar-

ent to everybody where we stand. And this has relevance to something we heard from the previous delegation this morning. We feel that everybody should be given a choice and not have things imposed upon them and we believe that what we have to offer is something that will give people a choice in the governance of their lives. I say this because it forms to a very great extent the background in the discussion of poverty. Poverty as we define it is a poverty of material as well as non-material things. It is a matter of the family and its circumstances in total, and we suggest, Mr. Chairman, that an essential element of the successful construction of a family involves very careful thought by those concerned outside as well as by the parents for the number of children they are going to have and take care of.

Having said that, we begin to look at the statistical information to see whether it is true that there is any relationship between poverty and the number of children that many people are trying to bring up, and I think it is self-evident that it is true. One cannot be quite certain at times whether it is poverty that causes large families or large families that cause poverty, but the fact is that the people with the largest families are by and large the people who have the least chance of staying out of the area defined as poverty.

It is equally true that the people having a hard time and who are in poverty seem on the whole to be blessed with larger families than those who are better off. There are reasons for this which we should like to look at, but we do think there is obviously quite a close relationship. There is a statistical relationship in the fact that the poor have larger families than the rich, and that this is a feature of poverty in Canada as we see it today. The reasons are not too difficult to find. For one thing the well-to-do have access to information. They have access to private doctors and they have access to the simple things that are needed to give them that control of their family life while those who are in poverty do not have private doctors and they have to depend on public health services and other means of getting medical information which is not as readily available to them as it is to the rich.

We have in our great cities very large groups of people in poverty who do not have access to the information on family planning which would give them the control which we suggest is essential. I could illustrate this to you. We in our organization have gone sometimes into the districts of our great cities like Toronto and placed notices in Italian, Portuguese or Greek or other languages for the benefit of the people in the district around the laundromat, suggesting that the woman need not have pregnancy every year. I do not understand Italian, but I think the sign reads that they do not have to have a pregnancy every year. Below that we give them a telephone number where they can call and get

information from a social worker or a doctor. It is amazing the number of women who take down the notice, take it home and phone us up. They considered that it was fate that they had to have a child every year. They did not realize that this information was available to them.

Then there are huge areas where poverty has become what is known as "hereditary poverty" and areas where new Canadians have not had a chance to find out all that Canada has to offer in this field. We believe that there are considerable areas where they can take this control of their destiny into their own hands if more services were available, and we hope, Mr. Chairman, that you will agree with us and that you will make some recommendations to get these services to the people who are liable to be in poverty.

In our brief you will notice that we use the word frequently "democratization" and this is carrying forward the theme which I have just referred to. You may have wondered what was meant by that. We meant by that making these services and this information available to everybody and not just to the rich. It is a word that has a simple meaning, and that is what we mean by that.

Then, Mr. Chairman, may I make some other suggestions; we suggest as recommendations, because if I am right that there is this close relationship between poverty and the family, that if people are born into poverty, their children will also grow up in poverty. Somewhere along the line we have to cut through this process and break the chain because a chain is what it is, and I suggest this situation leads from poverty to more poverty. As I said, we have used the phrase "hereditary poverty" and this is again evident. A poor family which has so many children that they cannot really give all of them a decent opportunity and which cannot get them the tools they need to take up a trade or the machinery now necessary to become a farmer of any consequence—that family is sending a group of children into the world in that condition, whereas if they had only two children they may have been able to help them more adequately while, because they have ten, it is impossible. There are children now being born into poverty in large, poor families for whom there is very little hope and they themselves will in turn be dragged down by that poverty and in consequence their children will in turn be dragged down. We suggest that that is not necessary, and that the chain of disadvantage can be cut by giving them control of the number of children they have in this generation and, after this one, in the next.

So that our recommendations, Mr. Chairman, are that action should be taken to reach disadvantaged people and give them that choice. We have heard from the earlier delegation this morning about the chance of failure. We agree with that because if you

do not have that chance of failure, you do not have the voluntary principle. We believe in people taking and making the choice and having the information available on which to make it. Here we think there is a great deal of scope for further help and service. We all know that up to last year the Criminal Code made advertising or sale or advice concerning matters of contraception illegal. The well-to-do have broken through that barrier many years ago, but we also know that the poor did not break through it because they could not, and this is just changing.

It was only in August that the law was changed. This seems a very important moment for people to be considering this problem, and I am very grateful that this came forward in such a psychological time. We must grasp it, because if we do not do so during this psychological moment and let it pass we will not be able to have an impact with quick and effective results.

Therefore, our recommendations are that there should be much more action by governments, because I do not think results will come from the puny efforts of voluntary people like ourselves. We know that we cannot cover the whole waterfront, but only a limited part of it. We do think it would be relatively easy for governments at all levels, federal, provincial, and municipal, to play a very large part in this with comparatively little effort and expense.

The public health services which are dealing with women who have just had children only see them for a short time. If they spent a few more minutes with them they could show them how unwise it might be to have another baby too soon. Just a simple decision like that would be halfway to the answer.

I may say that I have daughters who work in this field too. One of them spends her whole time in London, England, visiting the maternity wards in hospitals. She is a trained social worker. Her job is to talk to women who have just had babies. She goes to them and says, "That is a lovely baby. Don't you think she should have a couple of years as the baby of the house, without having another one coming along and treading on her heels? Is that not the way to give her a good start in life? What do you think?" She finds that many of the young mothers have not thought about this. They are only seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen years of age. They got married and had a baby. They did not think ahead to the next stage. When a trained counsellor advises that it might be a good idea for the new mother to think about the next baby and not have one too soon, invariably the young mother agrees. She is ready to visit the family planning clinic and have her next baby in perhaps two years' time. That is what we mean by family planning.

At the present time in Canada there is an inadequate system of information for people in order that

they might make these decisions. We think this has a very direct bearing on the poverty level of the family to which those children may be born.

I will close, Mr. Chairman, by saying that what I am talking about now has been underlined before your committee many times, not by people who call themselves family planners by many young mothers. I have read the proceedings of your committee in Winnipeg. A review of the evidence shows why many of these people are in their present difficulties. Here is a quote from a young witness who testified before your committee in Winnipeg on November 17:

I got married awfully young. I was only 15 and right now I am only 19, going on 20. My husband has left three times, each time when I was pregnant, when a woman needs her husband most. I had my first child right after I turned 16 and had to get assistance from welfare.

She goes on to say:

By this time I was expecting again and he left me when I was three months pregnant.

I don't know this couple, of course, and I don't know whether they are intelligent or stupid. The fact is that their problem resulted from their not having made any decision as to whether they should have had each of those children. A recent survey in the United States among young mothers showed that while they loved their children very dearly they had to admit—35 percent of them—that they really had been unwanted. In other words, they realized that had they acted as responsible parents in the full sense they would not have brought those children into the world. Surely that is a choice every parent should have. In the cases of these Manitoba women—I only read one of many—it is evident that the total size of the family is directly related to the status of that family in any categorization of poverty you or I can think of.

Senators, I naturally could go on talking forever, but I suggest that others may have a few words to say.

Reverend Mr. Reed: Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I do not have very much to add to what Mr. Cadbury has said. This is my first appearance before this particular committee, and I have been invited to appear again. I may not be able to, but I wish to say how deeply grateful we are for the time and attention which you, Senator Croll, and the honourable members of your committee are giving to what is one of the most urgent problems in Canada.

One quarter of our population lives below the poverty line. We, and the churches, are realizing something of what this means in human degradation and perhaps we should have been more vocal long before this.

I would like to say in general terms, Mr. Chairman that some of us who are watching your work from the outside are also grateful for the fact that you are not just listening to people like ourselves, but that you are listening to the poor people. In several experiences which I have had recently in Montreal and other places, I listened for two days to people who are on welfare, and to those who are trying to look after a family with single parents, because of desertion and other factors. One is aware of the difference it makes between an intellectual appreciation of a problem such as poverty and the feeling that you get when the facts are interpreted to you by people who are, in fact, suffering. For that reason as a citizen I would like to express gratitude to you and your committee for not only listening to people like us but for becoming directly involved with poor people and their problems. What has been so well described by Mr. Cadbury is, of course, one facet of this, because the people who are concerned tell us their problems. Surely to be a human being is to be responsible and yet we often make it very difficult for people to be responsible. Poor people are subjected to strains and stresses which prevent them from being responsible human beings and certainly from being responsible citizens.

One of the avenues of hope in Canada just now is the fact that many poor people are becoming articulate. Perhaps one of the important efforts which may result from your deliberations and your recommendations is that money will be provided for poor people so that they will be able to express themselves and bring their needs more quickly and more sharply to the attention of those who can be of help. In this particular matter I think what is sorely needed is an easing of attitudes and of certain legislation.

After many years, as Mr. Cadbury has said, the restriction in the Criminal Code was removed last year against the sale and dissemination of information regarding contraceptives. Surely now it is possible for those who decide on budgets, in the Department of Health and Welfare, both federal and provincially, to proceed with a free mind. All of us have been taught to respect the law, and because the law for so long imposed this restriction I imagine many people did not act with the freedom they otherwise would have.

I am thankful to say that some people were doing it and were helping people because the law sometimes takes a long time to be changed. But now that the law has been changed, the Criminal Code has been amended, what is required is that money be spent from federal sources and provincial sources and municipal sources to make available the kind of information that Mr. Cadbury has described to people who otherwise cannot get it.

May I just in conclusion say, Mr. Chairman, that I have noticed that since information on family planning has been made more accessible to some of our young people, I have noticed a very responsible attitude towards having children among them. Contrary to what some people had thought would be the attitude of these young people concerning having children, namely, that they would simply enjoy the benefits of married life without recognizing the importance of children, that has not proven to be the case. I am deeply interested in the young couples I have been in touch with, and that my clergy have been in touch with, who have had, as we know, access to proper information on family planning for some years now and have proven to be responsible with respect to having children. They are not out to not have children but they are out to have children in such a way that they can give them the benefits which all of us would like to see children have. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, the brief makes one very obvious point, that the poorer the people the bigger the family. That point was also emphasized in the brief which the Indian people put before us. Although the Indians have the highest infant mortality rate and the lowest span of life, yet they are increasing faster than any other segment of the population in this country today.

Bishop Reed: They are increasing faster than anyone else in the world.

Mr. Cadbury: They are increasing faster than anybody in the world except the people of Kuwait.

Senator Carter: Have you had any experience of family planning among Indians at all?

Mr. Cadbury: Yes, indeed. We have had a lot of activity in that respect. There is some hesitation among some Indians to accept what we say. You may have heard this earlier, but it has been suggested by some Indians that ideas on family planning comprise a plot on the part of the white man to eliminate the Indian population. In fact, the word "genocide" has been used. As a result of that, there has been some hesitation in some quarters of the Indian population to listen to what we have to say. Apart from that, however, and that is by no means a universal position at all, the Indian people are as responsive and responsible as anybody else. They don't want families that they cannot raise. Given a chance and a free choice—as Mr. Deiter pointed out, the choice to fail—the decision they would like to make is to have the information and the means. In fact, in Alberta and in Manitoba we have had very considerable activity in this regard.

Senator Carter: Mr. Cadbury, in your brief you made no mention of the possibility of family allowances being a factor in poorer people having larger families. Are family allowances in fact an incentive to poor people?

Mr. Cadbury: I lay no claim to being an expert in this field, senator, and perhaps Mr. Smith would like to comment on that in a moment. I don't think there is much evidence that family allowances have affected the size of families. I think family allowances are very valuable to people with large families, but I don't think they are enough to justify bringing a child into the world. They don't make that child a self-supporting addition to the family in any case. I would greatly doubt that they had much influence on the size of families.

Mr. Gary Smith, B.A., M.A., Department of Political Studies, Queen's University: In this respect Mr. Smith is not an expert either, but perhaps what you have in mind is some of the things that have been said by critics of family planning in the United States. In the present climate of the United States, being interested as they are in a family allowance plan and owing to the fact that there is quite a lot of activity at all levels, there has naturally been a certain amount of criticism to the effect that family allowances should not be given because they prove to be an incentive to having larger families. But so far as I know, no evidence exists that a family allowance program increases the incentive to have more children.

The Chairman: Mr. Smith, before you were born the other senators and I heard that very argument used in Canada when the family allowance programs first was available. There is nothing new about the argument, except that it is not true now just as it was not true then.

Senator Inman: I do know of three instances where it did have a bearing.

Mr. Cadbury: Senator Carter, the one province that seems to think that family allowance is most important is the one province that has had the largest drop in birth rate. That is the province of Quebec, and it has practically the lowest birth rate in Canada.

Mr. Smith: Mr. Chairman, I have two small points I should like to express in order to expand on Mr. Cadbury's comments on the excellent study done in the United States. Mr. Cadbury mentioned a 35 per cent figure that was the estimate of unwanted children, as they say, or unwanted fertility. Breaking that down into three categories, it comes out as 17 per cent of births to the non-poor were unwanted compared with 26 per cent among the near poor and 42 per cent among the poor, under the classification used in the United States.

The Chairman: That is very similar to ours.

Mr. Smith: It is almost exactly similar.

Just on another point, several studies have been done in the United States emphasizing family planning there. Perhaps it would be of most interest to legislators to know that of all those mechanisms or plans or programs existing in the health field today family planning has been shown to be the most cost effective. That is just an economic measure of it. Several studies in the United States have demonstrated that to be the case. That would appear to be of interest to legislators, I should think.

Senator Pearson: I happened to see a television program on Sunday in which welfare people and poor people were going at it rather heavily. I am wondering if you find in your work through the cities and rural areas that there is a lot of impatience among the poor people with the officials or associations such as yours coming into their homes and talking to them.

Bishop Reed: Senator Pearson has touched on a very interesting development in our Canadian life, Mr. Chairman. If we ever did expect the poor to be quiescent, I think we can no longer do so. There is now a great deal of a sense of frustration, and this is not only with governments but it is also with private social agencies and no doubt with churches. It is because, while many important measures have been adopted and many services are available, nevertheless none of these seem to deal with the whole question, and that is what you are dealing with on your committee. In listening to poor people themselves, we find that often times they have to wait hours, even days—they are told they cannot get an appointment for some days, and they have a crisis situation in their family. We can understand from the other side that welfare agencies are limited by their budgets and their personnel. We are aware of that, but in the crisis situations that face poor people day by day it is very important to have access immediately to somebody with whom they can talk. We listened, for instance, to poor people who told us that they had to wait literally all day queueing up to reach the wicket to get their welfare cheque. They often have to take their children with them to that office because they have no way of leaving them, and you can imagine young children in that situation, waiting around with their mothers for two or three hours, or, in some cases, all day. I think it is that kind of treatment which is being accorded some poor people in Canada that has made them feel very bitter.

On the other hand, I think it is really important to say on behalf of them that one feels that they want to be responsible. I have noted that even though they suffer from this kind of treatment they will say, "How can this be changed?" I have even heard them say they do not blame the people behind the wicket, the

welfare or governmental people, because they know they are very often on low salaries and are working with limited personnel, but they point out this problem to us. I think what Senator Pearson has said is very true, that there is a great sense of frustration and in some cases, bitterness.

Senator Pearson: The committee, in travelling across Canada, has found the impatience of the poor very marked. We saw it this morning with the Indian delegation. They cannot wait for us. They say, "When are you going to do this? We want action now!"

Bishop Reed: That is right.

Senator Pearson: I do not blame them, because they are living in that condition, but how are we going to appease them until we get this report out?

Bishop Reed: That is the question, and I think that it means that one would hope some measures would be carried forward before the final report is made. In other words, I think some of the findings which you are discovering . . .

Senator Pearson: . . . could be acted on?

Bishop Reed: Yes, could be acted on. I would hope so, because I think there is quite rightly impatience and that is partly due to the fact that people have access to a knowledge of the way in which other people live, and ask, "Why cannot we have a share in Canada's affluence?"

Mr. Cadbury: I think it would be rather a shame if your thunder were stolen, but interim measures could be introduced. The fact there are senior officials of the Department of National Health and Welfare in the room today may mean that the time we have spent with you has been very useful.

The Chairman: There is no question about it, that the Department of National Health and Welfare and the Government are following the proceedings of the committee and are taking note of the tenor of thinking of the people of Canada. They are very much aware of it, I think they are very much aware of what Senator Pearson is speaking about at present, the idea of confrontation, the uneasiness there is in the country, the almost rebellious spirit of welfare people. We are aware of it too, that in a problem such as this you must not make speed. This is not the sort of alusion you can jump into and correct later and say, "Perhaps this should not have been done." When you make up your mind on it, it has to stand up, it has to be right and Canadian people must be willing to accept it. Emergency action will not do.

I did not say anything to you about what is happening in a couple of the provinces because I want to discuss it with the steering committee first. However,

some real progress has been made since we have commenced these studies.

Now, you have a captive audience in this committee today. I am not speaking for the members of the committee; this is a personal matter. By the way, just very quickly, I took a look at page 5 of your brief where you said:

... such families were larger than the Canadian average by 1.1 persons.

I have taken a quick look at the senators sitting in front of us and we average four.

Mr. Cadbury: Good, and I am sure they are all children who have a great opportunity.

We are not against children. Please do not misunderstand that. We are asking that help be given to those people who do not want to have children, by their own decision. That is all we are asking. I do not think there is any need for very much delay in that. All we are asking is that sound scientific information be available to people to make their own choices.

The Chairman: It is all right to say it in your terms, but spell it out. What do you want? You are attempting to get a story across to the public.

Mr. Cadbury: Yes.

The Chairman: How do you want it done?

Mr. Cadbury: In my opinion, the solution is for the public health services of Canada to have, as an ordinary part of the service they give, advice and information on family planning.

The Chairman: At all levels?

Mr. Cadbury: Yes, at all levels. This has not been the case. If you take the metropolitan area of Toronto, the Borough of Scarborough has had such a service for the last five years. Anyone in the Borough of Scarborough going into one of their clinics automatically has the information available. Nobody else—Toronto, North York—none of these boroughs do it. The County of Kent has it, and the next county does not. It is not yet available universally in Canada, and probably it will not be until there is some sense of leadership from the top.

The Chairman: What you are saying is that Scarborough Council says "Yes," and North York Council says "No"?

Mr. Cadbury: It does not even say "No"; it does nothing.

The Chairman: It does nothing?

Mr. Cadbury: Yes.

The Chairman: You are asking for the federal government to take this waste in hand and have the Service available to everyone across the country?

Mr. Cadbury: That is right.

The Chairman: Now, how do we reach the municipalities that say "No"?

Mr. Cadbury: Perhaps I should elaborate a little—and we have put some of it in our recommendations. Right now the training of doctors and nurses in this country does not include adequate instruction in what to do on family planning; it just is not there. I talk to classes of nurses, and other people do, when we happen to have a chance, and odd groups we get to meet. However, the doctors will tell you they do not have it; the medical schools do not have it, largely due to the fact of the law that existed previously in the country, and it has not yet the approval which you are giving it by listening to us today. It is a very important thing you are doing. This is the number one thing.

Let us have the information available and then the doctor and the man and woman can decide whether they want to use it. It is not available for them, even to make that decision, at present. The medical schools are not giving it, and responsible heads of medical schools will agree with me.

Senator Cook: Not only available to people, but people must know it is available. That is most important.

Mr. Cadbury: Yes, indeed.

Senator Pearson: How did Scarborough get started on this? Do you know?

Mr. Cadbury: It is a little difficult. My colleagues and I have been active in Toronto since 1961, or thereabouts, and some of the Scarborough people joined our Association, and the mayor and the medical officer were among them. I do not know whether they learned it from us only, but they said, "Why don't we give this to the people of Scarborough?" and they gave it.

Bishop Reed: I think Mr. Cadbury and the organization can take a great deal of credit for this, and I think it is that kind of information and education which is very important.

One of the areas Canada is beginning in now is family life education. There are very few schools that have any real family life education, yet families are considered to be the basic unit of our society. It would seem to me that the federal Government, in its cost-sharing programs with provincial governments, might well give attention to the whole question of

family life education, of which family planning is a very important part. This is something they should begin, of course, long before people come to be married. But, unfortunately, sometimes it is not considered to be the kind of thing you do, and I think it is that kind of change of attitude which is so important in our time, that people should face these great questions responsibly and with the best kind of knowledge available. We know that there are tensions in our country about this question and this is why it took so long for the Criminal Code to be amended. But now we have reached a new point of understanding of the fact that in the realms of personal and social morality, these questions must be looked at in terms of the knowledge given to us as part of the great creativity. I think there has been a very great breakthrough with regard to attitudes, and this is why some appropriation of funds for the program of dissemination of information and making available information to people on behalf of the federal of other levels of government would make a great deal of difference.

Mrs. Doroty Keeping, Secretary, Family Planning Federation of Canada: Perhaps you might like to hear how the Family Planning Association in Montreal has tackled the problem of getting to the really poor people and giving them birth control information.

When I first came to Montreal three years ago I started working for the Child Health Association and women were coming to the clinic with 8 or 10 children and were receiving no birth control information at all. They were not receiving it from the nurses working there. I suggested that it would be a good idea to have this information given to them so that they might limit their families and the answer I was given was that it was against the rules and that they could not do that. So a golden opportunity was lost. With the changing of the law, it is now possible for a group of women volunteers to come into the clinic each week and set up a discussion of family-planning methods in groups of five or six women. They sit down together to discuss the various methods of contraception and spacing their families, and I think in that very small way we have probably got through to an enormous number of people the information that they needed badly.

I think also that domiciliary services are another way of conveying information to the poor woman who never gets out of the house. This can be done by social workers, doctors and clergymen and other people who are interested in the welfare of poor families. If the consent of the woman is obtained she is often very happy if the doctor and nurse will go to her and talk to her about family planning and provide her with a contraceptive device. For some people this is the only chance they have. I have seen some figures from England in regard to work done in the greater London area, Birmingham—11 places altogether where the

birth rate was reduced by four-fifths in the extreme problem families by domiciliary services. This is on way of getting information to the people.

Senator Quart: Mr. Chairman, why is all this directed towards the woman? What about the men's organizations? Maybe by speaking to them we would get a little more self-control instead of this rather dangerous birth control.

Mr. Cadbury: That is a perfectly proper question and I say that because three of the delegates here at the moment are men. However, I would point out that the condom is the most widely used contraceptive in the world. Now that does not mean that men are always as responsible as they ought to be, but it does mean that they are showing some sense of responsibility.

Mrs. Keeping: May I say in regard to this point that I have spoken to the Kiwanis Club in Montreal and I really had to screw my courage to the sticking point

Senator Quart: Mind you, I am not going along too much with this. I have visited the Planned Parenthood Association of New York and I remember at one meeting the High Commissioner from India said that planned parenthood was not working too well in India despite the money being spent on it. He suggested that the money might better be spent on giving the people transistors. This came as quite a surprise to me and he said "why transistors?" and he said that even though he believed in information on planned parenthood being available, his own son had kept on having children and he said that by giving them transistors it might give them something else to think about in the evenings.

Mr. Cadbury: I think it is very important that the information and the right techniques should be made known to people so that they will know what to do. Very few people know that there are 12 different methods of contraception so that different people can try different methods.

Bishop Reed: I wonder if I may just make an observation on this point, Mr. Chairman. It has to deal with the whole question of population which is very much a part of the whole question of poverty. I do not know if members of the committee have seen the addresses currently being made by the United States Ambassador in Canada. He has been referring in these addresses to the problems of Ottawa and other parts of Canada and to the whole question of population as it refers to the entire continent. We think of this country as a land that is great and spacious and that we can go on adding to the population without rationale. He said the President has set up a commission to look at this question because they are under the impression that the time has come to take a different attitude with regard to this question of

population. There are many places on this continent where people cannot live and therefore the places where people choose to live are now becoming overpopulated and so the entire question of overpopulation seems to be insoluble. The contention is being made at the moment that this is a question which has to be looked at very carefully on this continent. We think of this as being a problem concerning India and other places but we do not always think of it in relation to the United States and Canada. To me at least it was a great surprise to hear that kind of thinking being expressed. It does point to the necessity for being responsible in our attitudes.

Mr. Smith: If I may interject here, Mr. Chairman, and read a quotation from one of the officials of the American Government. This is from an article by James Reston who said there is a change taking place in the language of politics. We tend to look at the United States and Britain as being our testing laboratories for new ideas. We look to see if what they have done in those places has been successful. In this article there is a quote from Dr. Roger O. Egeberg where he says:

We talk about family planning. . . . We champion the principles of free choice—freedom of conscience, freedom from coercion of any kind. . . . but what does freedom of choice in family planning imply in the present state of society? It implies enormous population growth for the simple reason that the typical American family, if it can, will elect to have three children, not two. Thus family planning in the present state of things, will lead to intractable population growth—to 300 million Americans by the year 2,000.

Of course he is speaking now of the American society and we are not suggesting that we should just take that set of figures and transport them to Canada. What I am suggesting that we take a look at is, what is going on in this country to get an inkling of what the situation will be several decades from now. The question of the population explosion is not just a matter of concern for developing countries. It is also very important for industrialized countries like our own and the United States, and it also applies to such things as pollution and all sorts of crowding on highways and other places.

The Chairman: Mr. Smith, our problem and the American problem is a little bit different. We are desperately in need of people.

Mr. Smith: There centres the question: are we going to increase the number of people living in poverty in Canada? We would like to have people who would be socially responsible—if I may use that word—or productive. We have to look at this wide question and the impact of family size on poverty. We need skilled people in our country, and possibly poverty does not

lead particularly to the production of skills in occupations.

The Chairman: One of the things, which will alleviate poverty is skills, providing there is education and technical training. That is our hope.

We have lived with the problem and have talked about it for years and years. What suddenly brought it to a point where you have a great measure of success?

Mr. Cadbury: There is a considerable technological advance with different methods which are easier to handle and cheaper. Are you asking me about the world or Canada in particular?

The Chairman: Cover a bit of each.

Mr. Cadbury: The technological advance is one of the important things. I have travelled a great deal with the United Nations, and I am astonished so often to find that half the world is still illiterate and undernourished and does not know anything about the possibility of family planning. We broke through that barrier of silence and ignorance during the last 10 or 15 years, but not before. May I say this and I will use Canada as an example: do you realize that until 1965 you could not mention family planning or birth control on radio or television. This was prohibited? It was due to one or two important people, such as Pierre Berton and others, who insisted and finally got permission. That was only five years ago.

You ask me why have things happened fairly suddenly. The dams went down due to common sense and public opinion. That is what happened in Canada. In the world at large the information was not available generally for the great masses of people until a period starting in 1958. It certainly was not available much before that. That was when there was a beginning of some kind of international responsibility and action.

Mr. Chairman, I do not know how much longer we ought to keep you. I would like to come back to something I was going to say at some point in the meeting. I have only been a Canadian for 25 years, but I am a Canadian and feel very great affection for Canada. I had a great deal to do with Canada much longer than that. As a Canadian it has been a source of considerable embarrassment to go into a world where family planning is accepted, but not in our own country. Canada has a lot of catching up to do. I am not lecturing anybody, but I am stating facts. I am afraid that I do not agree with you that this is something which we need to take a long time to think over. Why should Canada not be on a level with responsible people in other countries in having this kind of facility available to its own people? It seems to me that it is not necessary to have any delay about it. It is a matter almost of national pride to try and catch up, because we have just been out of it. I told you that I am a Chairman of an international body of 80 members, of

which Canada is one. The others who are on that body look at me and at Canadians and sometimes ask me what we are doing in this country? I have little to tell them compared with the Swedes or Indians. They are doing something about it. Therefore, I rather want to argue with you that it is not necessary for Canada to delay its action. It will be in good company, well based on a well-informed right of way if it wants to join.

Senator Inman: Do you find any religious inhibitions among people regarding family planning?

Mrs. Keeping: Yes. Sometimes people are stilted and feel inhibited about asking advice, particularly if they are Catholic. But the first two clinics, started in Montreal, were located in the basements of Catholic churches. This was brought about because the priest recognized that the people had some problems. I find that women gather strength from each other, and if a group of Catholics get together and one goes ahead with contraception it helps the others to follow. If I am talking to Catholic women I am always very careful to offer them alternative methods of contraception, and the rhythm method is included. I still think that I have a big barrier to cross.

Senator Inman: It is not always Catholic or Roman Catholic but other religions as well.

Mrs. Keeping: Yes. I have not had any connection with any others.

Mr. Cadbury: Taking a world-wide picture we have no opposition from any world religions except the Catholic religion and some smaller areas of very orthodox Moslems. In this country it is only the Roman Catholics and Jehovah's Witnesses who take any stand on it. However, the majority of Catholics do not take a stand any longer. There are people who do not feel free and that is their privilege.

The religious problem simply does not matter any more. I will give you an illustration. We had a meeting in Santiago, Chile, and there were 1,200 people from all over the world. I was in the chair. We discussed every aspect for a week with regard to family planning. There were priests in the audience and on the platform. The question of religious objection to family planning was not mentioned. The Latin Americans do not consider it a relevant question. They were talking about something else. I think this was an indication that the great body of people feel free to take action.

Bishop Reed: I agree, Mr. Chairman. I think it is important to emphasize what Mrs. Keeping just said, that no church, and certainly not the Roman Catholic Church, is against family planning, but against certain forms of family planning. While some of us would want people to have access to other forms of family planning, which they think are very important and

some of those which may be restricted in official statements by the Roman Catholic Church, yet the Roman Catholic Church is not against family planning. There are marriage preparation courses and counselling which are for family planning. I think it is very important to mention that.

The Chairman: Mr. Smith, did you have something more to say?

Mr. Smith: I was wondering if Senator Inman was interested in the public opinion survey on this topic?

Senator Inman: Yes.

Mr. Smith: This is by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, dated December 18, 1968. The question is: "Do you think birth control information should be available to anyone who wants it?" The answer to this question in Canada was yes for 69 per cent of the Catholics and yes for 85 per cent of the Protestants. Fifteen per cent of the Catholics and 8 per cent of the Protestants answered no. Under "No opinion," there were 16 per cent Catholics and 8 per cent Protestants. If we go by this and put together the "no opinions" and the "yeas", we are on pretty solid ground.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I have been pretty quiet here, as you have noticed, but I have listened very attentively. As a Roman Catholic I cannot agree with everything that was said here. I am not going to embark on long discussions, but there are some things that were mentioned with which I cannot agree. I do not condemn other people for what they are thinking. As you know, Catholics do not object to family planning, although we have some problems with family control, which is not exactly the same thing in my religion.

In conclusion, I would say that the whole cause of the problem with respect to poor people in our country today is the failure of our society to adjust to them. As mentioned in your brief, it is those with the largest families who are most deprived of things. What we must do now is to stop trying to run away from the failure of our society, to provide the ways and means for poor people to overcome their poverty, stop trying to adjust the population to the society and, instead, start adjusting society to the population.

That is all I have to say. I appreciate the efforts you people have made. I have read your brief and, although I disagree with much that is in it, nevertheless I think it bears some merit. Because of my own personal religious convictions I would rather not comment on some of the things I disagree with, although I can say there are many points left open for argument. Nevertheless, I appreciate and respect your opinion. Thank you.

Senator Cook: Mr. Chairman, I should like to say that I appreciate very much the delegation's coming before us and presenting this brief. It has made a profound impression upon me. My views are much along the lines of the brief in any event, but I did not have all this information before. That is all I wish to say.

The Chairman: On behalf of the committee may I say that in one respect you are unusual—you are a success story. It has taken a long time, but you have finally made it. You didn't have much luck under the guise of "birth control" but you seem to have made it, finally, under the aegis of family planning. Where once you had to whisper the message, today you can shout it from the highest mountain. You can come to the

Parliament of Canada and speak about it. The very fact that you are here this morning before this public forum is a form of support in its own way.

I tell you it is difficult for us to take this one problem aside and deal with it within dealing with the total problem of poverty, but your message has got across and you can rest assured that it will be high on our agenda for some form of recommendation, perhaps in the line of the suggestions made by you at the present time. The fact that your suggestions do not involve a great deal of expense might be a help in having them adopted.

Thank you very much for coming to us this morning.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

Organizations Presenting Brief

National Indian Brotherhood of Canada

The National Indian Brotherhood of Canada is a representative federation of all the provincial Indian organizations in Canada. Founded in February of 1968, it is the official body representing national Indian interest. The Chief of the National Indian Brotherhood is Walter Deiter and it has offices located in Ottawa and Winnipeg.

Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada

The Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada is a national citizens' organization which acts in a support role to native organizations and initiatives. Both native and non-native citizens within I.E.A. join in the partnership to recruit, educate and involve citizens. The president of I.E.A. is Walter Currie and it has offices located in Toronto, Edmonton and Yellowknife.

INTRODUCTION

Statistics describing the condition of the native people of Canada are abundant. This brief does not attempt new research. Nor does it offer a compendium of data now regarded as boring commonplace by most Indians and Metis. New research may be necessary before solutions can be found for some particular problems but the broad outlines of the plight of the Indian poor have been drawn.

This brief offers several definitions of poverty and of Indian poverty in particular. The conditions in which Indians live are described in general terms and then in some detail. An attempt is made to describe the significance of poverty to the poor, to Indians, and to all Canadians.

It is clear that Indians must lead the attack in their war on poverty. They will need help but they must determine their own goals and the methods of attaining them.

In broad terms the causes of poverty are known. Not so clearly known are the reasons for poverty in certain regions and particular peoples. Indians living on reserves, in rural Canada off reserves, and in the cities are considered in an effort to determine the peculiar causes of poverty in each case.

Finally, this brief offers a succinct list of proposals designed to enable Indians to chart their own future. Given the confidence and the tools, they will defeat poverty and finish the job.

DEFINING POVERTY

"Two centuries ago, Oliver Goldsmith not only accepted poverty as a fact of life, he idealized it as way of life:

'His best companions, innocence & health;
And his best riches, ignorance of wealth'.

Goldsmith was not alone in his praises of poverty for as late as 1901, Bliss Carman wrote:

'Thank God for poverty
That makes and keeps us free,
And lets us go our unobtrusive way,
Glad of the sun and rain,
Upright, serene, humane,
Contented with the fortune of the day!"

Very romantic, but there is nothing romantic about poverty as the Senate Committee has discovered.

The Indian who fishes, hunts, traps and generally lives for today with no worry of tomorrow, does not believe that he is poor. But by minimum Canadian standards he is poor. Unless he earns \$3,600 per annum, he is poor. The fact is, nearly half of Indian families exist on less than \$1,000 per year; three quarters earn less than \$3,000. But the national poverty line has been set at \$3,600 for a family of four.

The poor are becoming very vocal but we should remember that there are those who do not recognize that they are "poor". We must cultivate an awareness of the extent to which these people do not share in our country's wealth and opportunity. Once aware of the true nature of their condition, these people will indeed be able to help themselves. Then they will be able to tell other Canadians how to help. And only then can we attack the problem of poverty with a force which is meaningful.

This submission refers only briefly to statistical or other evidence of Indian poverty. The basic facts are well established and widely known. The majority of Indians on reserves and in the North are living at bare subsistence levels and a large number are living mainly on welfare. In several of our larger cities the problem is coming closer to home because, for the first time, Indians in large numbers are giving up the struggle for existence in backwater communities and

pouring into the cities. They arrive culturally ill-equipped and with little education and few skills. The expressed preference for city slum over reserve or northern outpost is eloquent testimony to how bad the home situation has become.

The real question is not whether poverty exists, but *why* Indians are poor. Too many Canadians are content with the ingorant, prejudiced and simplistic explanation, that Indians are poor because they are Indians. If we are ever to come to terms with the problem it is essential that we dig much deeper, examine the place which Canadian society assigned to the Indian and the nature of the opportunities presented to him. Among the reasons for Indian poverty are the limited economy on which the reserve system was based and the limited goals for Indians reflected in government programs.

Analysis of the so-called new approaches of the past few years reveals strong continuity with the past: paternalistic thinking, short-run goals, reluctance to spend. The basic failure is that the persons charged with the planning of the strategy simply do not understand what is wrong:

Unlike many submissions on the subject of poverty, the National Indian Brotherhood and the Indian-Eskimo Association have no recommendations for a full-scale investigation or research study. A great many studies concerning Indians have been made in recent years;¹ most of them contain excellent recommendations for action programs, and are largely ignored. This is not to deny that further research will be necessary in particular areas—for example, feasibility studies of economic opportunity, the merits of alternative programs. But the *broad outlines* of what has to be done are known now by Indian leaders and by non-Indians who have studied the problem. The great needs is to initiate effective action.

A basic poverty definition comes from the Economic Council: "The problem of poverty in developed industrial societies is increasingly viewed not as a sheer lack of essentials to sustain life, but access to certain goods, services and conditions of life which are available to everyone else and have come to be accepted as basic to a decent, minimum standard of living."

The "poverty level" was given approximate definition as "families with incomes insufficient to pur-

chase much more than the basic essentials of food, clothing and shelter": in 1961 dollars,

below \$2,500 (two person family)
below \$3,000 (three person family)
below \$3,500 (four person family)

Due to increased cost of living, the levels should be considerably raised to measure poverty in the early seventies.

Hawthorne Report

The 1964 survey of 35 "representative" bands* across Canada showed average yearly earnings per worker of \$1,361. Since this includes a few bands with highpaid workers in construction, forestry, etc. (all in B.C., southern Ontario and southern Quebec) the average for most bands would much lower.

distribution of employed males

earned less than \$3,000 . . . 82 per cent
earned less than \$2,000 . . . 62 per cent
earned less than \$1,000 . . . 23 per cent

Household income is somewhat higher, due to welfare. Nevertheless an Indian Affairs Branch Survey in 1965 estimated 78.5 per cent of Indian households had *total* incomes below \$3,000; 54 per cent below \$2,000 and 28 per cent less than \$1,000.

Another poverty definition comes from M.L. Upchurch and *Progress in Resolving the Problem of Rural Poverty* in the *Journal of Farm Economics*:

"But poverty is not just low incomes . . . it is poor housing and poor schools . . . inadequate plumbing and water supplies . . . fewer doctors and inadequate medical care. More important, it is discouragement in people, it is decline in the social and economic fabric of communities. These, in turn, breed continuing sub-standard education and levels of living in a cycle that is hard to break or reverse".

Another view from Herman J. Miller in *The Dimensions of Poverty*, N.Y. 1965:

"Poverty in its truest sense is more than mere want; it is want mixed with a lack of aspiration and this is very difficult to measure in any quantitative sense."

CONDITIONS

There are at present an estimated 247,000 status Indians, 250,000 non-status Indians and Metis, and

¹ Buckley, Helen (and others). The Indians and Metis of Northern Saskatchewan. Saskatoon, center for Community Studies, 1963.

Hawthorn, H.B., ed. A survey of the contemporary Indians of Canada. Ottawa, Indian Affairs Branch, 1967.

* selected to include the isolated bands of the north, those in close proximity to settlement and a few relatively advanced—i.e. with employment connections.

13,000 Eskimos in Canada. Together they constitute about 2.5 per cent of the population. They are the fastest growing group in Canada despite the highest infant mortality rate and shortest life expectancy. About 65 per cent of all Indians are under 25 years of age, compared to 50 per cent for the entire population. It is estimated that the Indian population will double within 15 years.

The Economic Council of Canada has conservatively estimated that one-fifth of the total Canadian population lives in poverty. The native peoples are the poorest of the poor.

Nearly 50 per cent of the Indian population is unemployed and living on relief; ten times the national average!

The average life span for Indians in 1965 was 36 years; for Eskimos 20 years; for all Canadians a little over 62 years.

The death rate for Indian children of pre-school age is three times the national average.

Less than 90 per cent of Indian children complete Grade 8; only 6 per cent complete high school compared with 88 per cent for the whole of Canada.

Canada's native peoples require immediate and special treatment because they form a unique group. Not only are they the poorest of the poor—they stand out from the others because of their skin colouring, their features, and their cultural background. Their position is comparable to that of the Negro in the United States; culturally alienated, economically handicapped, and socially deprived. The Economic Council refers to them as "citizens minus".

The desperate condition of Indian, Eskimo and Metis is well documented by economists, sociologists, anthropologists, health authorities and others. Few Canadians will dispute that something must be done to raise their living standards. Yet, it is obvious that at present very little is being done. For too long, the Indians, the Metis, the Eskimos and the poor generally have received only token attention.

The needs of the Indian are also the needs of the poor. Education, housing, health, economic development and social assistance stand out in the list of priorities. For the Indians these have been the areas given government attention. Few Indians will concede that the government agencies have been successful.

Government's failure to successfully meet the needs of the Indian people is in part a reflection of the public's indifference and apathy. However, a more important ingredient in this failure is government method. This failure is the government not allowing the native people to take positive and creative steps in alleviation of their own poverty. It has been a paternalistic top-down approach.

For the past century-plus the Indian has received tokenism. We ask for some discrimination in reverse. The Indian has certain rights. He also has special needs which must be met for poverty, unless arrested, is self-perpetuating.*

The poverty mentality must be changed. The programs that will change it must come from within. Government programs more often than not foster this mentality and other agencies, such as the churches and schools, also contribute to it. To alter attitudes, there must be assistance from outside, but the initial impetus must come from the people themselves in control of the change. New objectives and goals will be developed by the poor themselves.

The Significance of Poverty

The most significant fact about poverty in Canada at present is that it is unnecessary. It exists, not because it is unavoidable, but because we have not tried to avoid it. Consider the frightful waste involved. The waste in economic terms is shocking enough but there is an even greater waste in human terms. Another fact is that poverty cannot be solved by the urban industrial centre alone. All Canadians must be involved. Poverty must be fought in rural Canada and in the cities and towns. Poverty is a problem which must be attacked by Canada as a whole.

Poverty not only causes people to fall far short of their potential as productive and creative human beings, but it also results in a serious mis-allocation of physical resources. One example of such mis-allocation is urban slums in the heart of our cities.

Poverty causes Canada to suffer. It may be safe to say that technological and industrial progress suffers but what concerns us most is the neglect of valuable human resources. We should be concerned with the mental and physical disease, the frustrations, the discouragement and the apathy inflicted on the poor. These are all deterrents to Canadian progress. Canadians sometimes wonder if our welfare approach is worthwhile. Basically, people do not desire the welfare cheque and the harmful dependence it fosters. Housing and education for the poor are good, but tokenism in these fields is harmful. To give a man hope while leaving fulfillment beyond his grasp is cruel. Also unfair is the tax system which takes even from those on subsistence incomes. There are other ways to tax the poor.

Surely these things are true of poverty:

1. Poverty is significant
2. Poverty is unnecessary and avoidable
3. Poverty is wasteful in economic and human terms.

*Newstart programs would appear to be little more than tokenism or political windowdressing. The closing down of the Lac LeBiche New Start Program is a good case in point.

THE ATTACK ON POVERTY

Poverty is strongly resistant to quick, easy or inexpensive solutions. It is ridiculous to expect Indian people to believe there will be progress from poverty in a relatively short length of time with inexpensive programs. They have experienced the long-standing paternalism of the Indian Affairs Branch. If the Indian poor are to become productive and creative, a long range program must be developed and a lot of financial aid shovelled in. The war on poverty cannot be waged from a distance. Indians in their communities must have the authority to decide priorities and plans. Indians in the communities must have the resources at their disposal.

We offer general recommendations as the first step to progress and independence. Specifics will be part of a program designed to eradicate mass poverty and the poverty of this unique group—the poorest of the poor.

CAUSES

The situation of Indians today is a direct result of government policies of the last 50 to 100 years. The essential features are:

- 1. perpetuation of the separate society without regard for limitations of its economic base;
- 2. an education system with no relevance to reserve life and at the same time, wholly inadequate to permit Indians to find a place in the larger society.

The Reserve Economy

The original decision to create a separate society (the reserve system, special trusteeship) had some merit, including Indian wishes, and will not be argued here. What does matter is that the separation was only viable in the long run if the Indians could make a living on the reserve and in the northern woods. The difficulty was not immediately apparent because, in the North, the traditional life continued for many years; in the settled regions, an economy of sorts took shape: a combination of subsistence agriculture, a little hunting and fishing, and casual labouring jobs in the forests, on the roads, in the neighbouring towns. It is the collapse of this economy that explains the deteriorating position of the Indian over the past 20 years, the abject poverty of today.

Wage income, not hunting buffalo, was the mainstay in most reserves in the recent past. But wage income has been greatly reduced as the supply of casual labouring jobs diminished—and few Indians had the education to move upward in the labour market. Agriculture, with a few exceptions, is in a state of decay. It does not pay a man to farm in the old way and government policy never provided a way to move

from subsistence plots to modern farming.² In the North, the post-World War II era brought disastrous declines in fur prices and diminishing harvests. At the same time, in all areas, Indian population has been expanding rapidly. Improved health services appear to be the one achievement the government can claim in this period, yet the combination of growing population and diminishing jobs and income elicited no response on the economic front.

By the late "fifties" it was evident that the separate society could no longer survive unassisted. This was the time when Indian policy should have been completely overhauled—past mistakes admitted and real help brought to upgrade skills and improve access to jobs, whether on or off the reserve. But the easier course was chosen—simply to underpin the faltering economy with welfare.

Education for What?

Education policy was formulated in the days when life on the reserve still made some kind of economic sense. The objectives were very modest (a little religion, four or five grades of schooling) and the techniques crude (for example boarding schools to remove children from the bad influence of untutored parents; no attempt to make content meaningful to captive pupils). The results also were poor. Not merely that so few struggled through the system and on to higher education but the feeling so strongly conveyed that Indians and Indian culture were of little or no account. Of the Navajo's, an educator writes:

"We believe that in the process of getting an education, the Navajo lost his identity. The price the Indian paid was disintegration of his culture, broken homes, alcoholism."

The first serious questioning of the education system did not come until the late fifties, sparked by the horrible prospect of supporting Indians on welfare forever. Unfortunately, when reform came, the faults of the old system were too simply assigned to the segregated schools—as if "integration" (bussing

² The blame rests with the government because Indians on reserves cannot obtain bank credit (title being vested in the Crown) and are therefore dependent on government loans if they are to expand and modernize. Whether through lack of knowledge of farming or lack of faith in Indians, I.A.B. has defined credit needs in terms of \$500 or \$1,000—enough to buy a few cows or an old tractor but nothing for a man who seeks an economic scale of operation.

For documentation and an interesting example of Branch refusal to back Indian initiative in farming, see H. Buckley and S. Campbell, *The Farm Potential on Two Saskatchewan Indian Reserves*, Centre for Community Studies 1966; see also Helen Buckley *Farming for Canadian Indians*

children from the reserve to local schools) would supply equality of opportunity. But equality is not so easily conferred on an Indian child, with handicaps imposed by poverty, isolation, language, difficulty, limited aspirations—above all, the feeling that he is inferior to the white children. And provincial departments of education offer no special help for Indian students; the education system makes no adjustment to their presence. Text books, goals, subject-matter; all are quite irrelevant to the situation of most Indian children, and most of them drop out in their early teens at the grade 6 or 7 level.

Causes of poverty—Summary

Indian poverty today has its origins deep in the past. Although the reserve system did not necessarily imply a series of rural ghettos, failure to secure the economic base produced that result in all but a few cases where jobs were due to special circumstances. Agriculture was left to flounder for want of capital and training; the schools were poor, hindering access to off-reserve jobs. Cause and effect became obscured. Over long years Indian poverty was accepted as a natural condition. And when bare subsistence standards began to fall, as they did in the "fifties", through the drying up of jobs and increase in population, Canadians had nothing much to offer.

Ten years of heavy reliance on welfare have done nothing to improve employability (though much to undermine morale). Six or seven years of integrated schools have not greatly raised the average grade level of school leavers.

The problem of poverty in Canada among Indians, Metis and Eskimo as well as non-native Canadians will not be alleviated by tokenism that has characterized government efforts to this time. We contend that the Canadian government must recognize a number of basic assumptions before effective planning can begin:

Assumption No. 1

That as a result of over 100 years of tokenism, Indians have become discouraged and cynical. The Indian people, working together and with appropriate resources, can alleviate the apathy and mistrust that has developed.

Assumption No. 2

That there will be full and meaningful employment. It is not enough to leave this to free enterprise, based on the laissez faire concept of economic growth. We do not oppose the free enterprise system, but where it falls short, the Government needs to move with adequate planning and systems of controls to ensure that our resources are employed in the creation of employment opportunities for all able-bodied Canadians.

Assumption No. 3

That good housing is a basic human right. It is impossible to have healthy communities and a healthy nation where bad housing is allowed to prevail; no can the maximum be attained from educational programs.

Assumption No. 4

That education services must be relevant to the need of the people and their communities to ensure development of human and economic resources.

Assumption No. 5

That every Canadian has a right to the health service needed in the building and maintaining of an adequate level of physical well-being. It is not good enough that the illness of people, or fear of it, should be used as an economic resource for exploitation by insurance companies and the organized medical profession. It should be recognized that the health of the people is a major national asset.

Assumption No. 6

That for effective poverty programs, native people must have the opportunity to plan, organize and conduct their own programs. The paternalistic unilateral planning of civil servants, consulting firms and politicians will never produce the desired results.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation No. 1

We urge the Government of Canada to pay careful attention to the proposals that will be forthcoming from the Indian organizations of Canada this spring. We contend that responding positively to their initiative is the first step in dealing with the problem of poverty among Canadian native peoples.

Recommendation No. 2

We recommend that the Government of Canada combine the resources of its retraining programs with that of economic development to enable the native communities to initiate industries and employment. There is a ready market for authentic Canadian souvenirs in Canada, which at the present time are being manufactured outside Canada in Japan, Hong Kong, U.S.A., etc. often using Canadian Indian designs. Industries should be encouraged to locate auxiliary manufacturing plants on or near Indian communities. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development suggested a \$50 million dollar Indian Economic Development Fund to be used over 5 years. This is tokenism of the first order. It is recommended that a sum of \$500 million over 5 years be provided as a more realistic amount.

Recommendation No. 3

It is recommended that the Government cease to allow the tremendous need for housing to be a "Happy Hunting Ground" for land speculators and construction companies on the one hand and on the other hand as an instrument for controlling inflation and stabilization of monetary systems. Further, that the retraining and upgrading programs (New Start, etc.) and housing projects be brought together. The training program should teach the Indian people the art of repairing and building their own houses and in this process, the Indian people should participate meaningfully in the planning, organizing and conducting of the programs. Money now tied up in welfare and housing budgets needs to be combined with training money to permit buying of material, paying wages, etc. in one comprehensive scheme.

Recommendation No. 4

It is recommended that the Federal and Provincial Governments recognize that the present approach to education, based on cultural replacement or genocide, should cease. Further, that those responsible for the planning of education services be required to examine the successful programs that have been developed abroad in meeting the needs of indigenous national groups, for example the Danish approach to Eskimo education in Greenland; the Scandinavian approach to the Laplanders; and the Russian approach for their Eskimos. Immediate steps need to be taken to ensure Indian control of education programs in a way similar to the Navajo Community College and elementary demonstration school.

Recommendation No. 5

It is recommended that the Government move as quickly as possible in the establishment of comprehensive health services as provided in the Scandinavian and other highly civilized nations. The subsidization of insurance companies should cease. There are other legitimate functions for insurance companies which they should be encouraged to take.

Recommendation No. 6

It is recommended that the governments, both federal and provincial, supply funds to a team of Indian leaders and educators to enable them to travel to various countries where significant progress has been made by indigenous people in moving into the mainstream of modern life—economically, socially and politically. The team could profitably visit Greenland, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia and certain points in Mexico.

The success of the attack on poverty depends first on full awareness of poverty conditions. All Canadians must be made aware of the shocking extent of poverty in this country.

All Canadians must be made to realize that poverty is not to be idealized as a way of life—that poverty is unnecessary, avoidable and a waste in human and economic terms.

Poverty must be attacked in the area in which poverty exists. One mistake in the past has been trying to solve rural problems with urban resources.

APPENDIX "B"

"EVERY CHILD A WANTED CHILD . . .

Family Size And Poverty"

A Brief

For the Special Senate Committee on Poverty.

The Family Planning Federation of Canada, 1970.

Summary of Main Conclusions and Recommendations

The Federation points to family size as a cause of, and to family planning as one approach to the reduction of, poverty in Canada. The poor in Canada have more children than the non-poor, and many of these babies are unwanted. Recommendations centre on the need to democratize family planning in Canada, through the federal government's leadership in information, research, training and financial aid to the provinces, and through provincial governments' initiatives in the delivery of family planning services and in family life education.

I. Family Size and Poverty

The F.P.F.C. wishes to make a self-evident point. However large the material resources available to a family unit, the more members there are of that family, the less of these resources there are available to each dependent individual. The knowledge of, and means to practice, family planning put one of the two major parts of this equation into the hands of the parents, and give them some measure of control over many important aspects of their future family life. The effect of this control is not of course confined to the simple numerical equation between numbers of children and material resources, but has wider effects in the non-material aspects of family life.

The impact of family size obviously varies at different income levels and increases in severity at lower levels. The larger the family at lower income levels the greater the effect of poverty on the individual family member. To limit family size therefore mitigates poverty.

Unfortunately the effect of family size on the impact of poverty is not confined to a single generation, but is a further factor in the incidence of what is known as 'hereditary poverty', where the children of poverty become the parents of poverty in their turn. A large family limits the possibility for the parents to invest in each child as much as they would like to do, whether it is in schooling or training or whether it is in land, farm machinery, tools for a trade, or even adequate personal equipment like clothing. These

children of poverty are therefore handicapped, as others are not, by the lack of investment in their lives and cannot as easily provide for their children as they might have done. To break out of this chain of 'hereditary poverty' they too need to know how to limit their family size.

II. Poverty: Definition

II.1 It is a negative commentary on our society that we lack a total definition of poverty in theory. It is a positive commentary on our society that we now know we can't accept poverty in practice. The conviction that poverty can be eliminated is now very high on our value scale. In earlier times that scale maintained that poverty was inevitable for some people. Industrialization is marked by fundamental alteration in the rank of poverty in our value system. Where earlier there was passive acceptance, today there is a universal hostility to eliminate it.

II. 2 This hostility has been translated—notably in North America in the 60's—into vigorous efforts to dissect, define and defeat poverty. A very important output of these efforts has been the realization that a total definition of poverty cannot rest solely on economic indexes. We now speak of a "culture" of poverty; we divide poverty into material and non-material aspects. We attempt to balance economic indicators with social indicators and social system accounting.

II. 3 The Federation approaches the definition of poverty with the use of a traditional unit of analysis, the family. The family is our basic of social learning and social organization. As goes the health of the family, we reason, so goes the health of our Canadian community. The identification of poor families then hinges on answering the question: "Does the family possess a matrix of material and non-material resources adequate to cope fulfillingly with its environment?" From the materials side then, we look at both income and number of people in the family; from the non-material side we look at the socio-cultural aspects which we know contribute to, and follow from, the material situation.

I.4 In defining poverty therefore, we cite the family that *does not* possess a matrix of material and non-material resources adequate to cope fulfillingly with its environment.

III. Family Planning: Definition

III.1 Our dilemma with poverty in theory and practice is just the reverse when we consider family planning. We know a lot about family planning in theory, but—especially in Canada, a developing country in family planning—we have not yet fully made up our minds about family planning in practice.

III.2 In earlier times, large families were necessary for man's survival as a species. A large number of children had to be born every year to replace the many people who died. With industrialization came the possibility of providing man's minimal needs for food, clothing and shelter, and the diminished economic utility of children. The desire to limit family size came to be a common characteristic of all societies. But only in recent times have we had adequate technological answers to meet this common desire.

III.3 In defining family planning and its role in our society we know there exists for it a common desire. We know "Every child a wanted child..." is a hope we all share. We know family planning is *one* of those resources crucial to the ability of a family to cope fulfillingly with its environment. If every child is a wanted child, children are better cared for, both physically and emotionally. Mothers are subjected to lower health risks if births are spaced carefully. The assurance that another child won't come before it's wanted helps couples plan other material and non-material aspects of their lives with more confidence. And we know family planning—in the wide sense in which it must be defined—can assist some of the childless to bear normal, healthy babies. Family planning is not simply the insertion of an I.U.D. It embodies a careful calculation of family needs balances against family resources with the aim of happy, healthy, responsible family life.

III.4 Reviewing the definitions of poverty and family planning, it is obvious that family planning is not only a means of helping people who are already poor, but also a way of helping people avoid poverty.

IV. Family Planning and the Reduction of Poverty in Canada

IV.1 The Economic Council of Canada identified one in five Canadians as living in poverty. We have evidence that these poor have more children than the non-poor.

IV.2 In 1961, families with a university educated head in the 35-40 age group averaged 2.6 children and earnings of \$8,610 annually; family heads in the same age group with less than five years of schooling averaged 4.2 children and an annual income of \$2,467:

Schooling of Family Head	Average #'s of Children	Average Annual Family Earnings
University	2.6	\$ 8,610
Some University	2.4	\$ 6,610
High School 4th or 5th	2.4	\$ 5,961
High School 3rd	2.5	\$ 5,348
High School 1st & 2nd	2.7	\$ 4,792
Public School 5th — 8th	3.1	\$ 4,030
Public School, less than 5th	3.9	\$ 3,099
No Schooling	4.2	\$ 2,467

(DBS, Bulletin 2. 1-9, 13-1-64, Table 80, 1961)

IV.3 An ongoing study of Vancouver multi-problem poor families gives us a slightly wide picture of the number of children and poverty situation. It found that such families were larger than the Canadian average by 1.1 persons—and more significantly, that one-third of the families had one or more children over 15 years of age living apart from the family for reasons of adoption, placement, emotional treatment, or delinquency.

IV.4 It is not very useful, therefore, to look just at crude birth rate figures* for Canada and conclude that all families desiring to plan are doing so. We must look at the relationship between socio-economic status and use of the resource family planning. Our conclusion is that the non-poor are using family planning as one way of avoiding poverty—but the poor are not. We know that the practice of family planning declines rapidly from the top to the bottom of Canada's socio-economic ladder. The poor are still having the babies, many of them unwanted babies.

IV.5 This last bit of evidence, that Canada's poor are having unwanted children, is most important when we consider government efforts to reduce poverty. The Federation is not making an arbitrary judgement of the desires of Canada's poor—the desire is daily expressed to us through our work. We're merely passing it on. And in doing so, we're suggesting a goal for government efforts: *to democratize family planning as one way of reducing poverty in Canada, to offer to our poor the resources already available to the non-poor from private sources.*

V. Offering Family Planning to Canada's Poor: Guidelines

V.1 The Federation commend the following guidelines to the consideration of government:

1. The purpose of family planning programmes is to offer services, not impose them.

*Rate per 1,000 Population: 27.2 (1946), 27.2 (1951), 28.0 (1956), 26.1 (1961), 19.4 (1966)

2. Information about family planning should be offered to mothers confined for delivery in public hospitals and during post partum care.

3. Family planning services should be available to all regardless of income.

4. Eligibility requirements for family planning services should be liberal in regard to marital status.

These guidelines are by no means exhaustive, but they provide orientation points for the development and extension of family planning services of public sponsorship in Canada.

VI. 2 *Offering Family Planning to Canada's Poor: Recommendations*

From the perspective of public involvement and leadership in family planning, Canada started off 1969 as an underdeveloped country—and ended as a developing country. The long-standing Criminal Code prohibition on sale or information of contraceptive materials was removed. The Food and Drug Directorate issued a regulation allowing public advertisement of some contraceptives. The Canadian International Development Agency took the initiative of preparing for requests for family planning aid from developing countries. The federal and provincial governments began to study in earnest the implications of public involvement in family planning.

VI. 2 These are encouraging developments. But since the previous prohibition of the Criminal Code has prevented public and publicly-funded agencies from offering family planning to the poor, much remains to be done.

VI. 3 With the above guidelines in mind the F.P.F.C. urges the Committee to recommend the following:

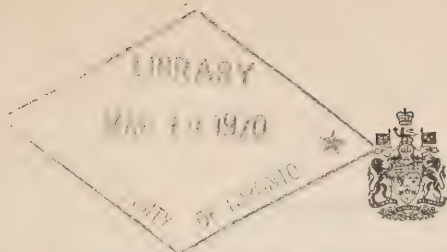
1. That all governments in Canada adopt the policy of *democratization* of family planning, withing their particular constitutional jurisdictions.

2. That the federal government assume responsibility for leadership: (i) in the *training* of health and welfare workers, both through the National Health Grants and the National Welfare Grants, and through the proposed Canadian Centres for Population Studies; (ii) in the family planning *research* area, both through the National Health Grants and the National Welfare Grants, and through the creation of at least one English and one French speaking Centre for Population Studies; (iii) in the *provision of funds for provincial delivery* of family planning services, initially guided by a National Conference on family planning, and through the existing provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan; (iv) in the family planning *information* area, through a national public information campaign.

3. That the federal government assume full responsibility for leadership in the delivery of family planning services to *Indians and Eskimos* wherever they are welcome and wanted.

4. That the federal government extend the existing regulations on public advertisement of all Food and Drug Directorate-approved contraceptives.

5. That the provincial governments: (i) assume full responsibility for the delivery of family planning *services* withing their existing primary constitutional jurisdiction over health and welfare. (ii) assume full responsibility for family life *education* including advice on contraceptives in the schools, through their exclusive constitutional jurisdiction over education.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament
1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON **POVERTY**

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 20

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1970

WITNESSES:

CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF CANADA: Mr. W. Breen Melvin,
President; Mr. J. T. Phalen, General Secretary.

THE COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES: Rt. Rev. Claude J.
Mulvihill, D. P. Director of Charities; Miss Ann Marie Quigley,
Executive-Director, St. Elizabeth Visiting Nurses.

APPENDICES:

"A":—Brief submitted by the Co-Operative Union of Canada.
"B":—Brief submitted by The Council of Catholic Charities.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> , <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, February 12, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*), Carter, Cook, Eudes, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, Lefrançois, MacDonald (*Queens*), McGrand, Pearson and Quart. (12)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF CANADA: Mr. W. Breen Melvin, President; Mr. J. T. Phalen, General Secretary.

THE COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES: Rt. Rev. Claude J. Mulvihill, D.P., Director of Charities; Miss Ann Marie Quigley, Executive-Director, St. Elizabeth Visiting Nurses.

(Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.)

The brief submitted by the Co-Operative Union of Canada, and that of the Council of Catholic Charities, were ordered to be printed as appendices "A" and "B", respectively, to these Minutes.

At 12.10 p.m. the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, February 17, 1970, at 9.00 a.m.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

W. Breen Melvin: Son of a United Church minister, W. Breen Melvin was born in Winnipeg and completed his elementary education in Manitoba. His high school courses were taken at Lethbridge Collegiate, and he graduated with a B.A. degree from the University of British Columbia in 1935.

After a year of teacher-training at U.B.C., he spent four years as principal of a rural high school at Invermere in the East Kootenay District. In 1941, after a year of postgraduate study at U.B.C., Mr. Melvin joined the Y.M.C.A. War Services as a programme supervisor in Victoria and later at Prince Rupert. He spent three years with the Y.M.C.A. and it was at Prince Rupert that he became interested in the fishermen's co-operatives through his close association with the Prince Rupert Fishermen's Co-operative Association. In 1944 he joined the staff of the Extension Department of the University of British Columbia and for two years was active in organizing credit union and co-operative study clubs on the Pacific Coast.

In May 1946 he was appointed Secretary of the British Columbia Co-operative Union, and in October of the same year the Co-operative Union of Canada asked him to come to Ottawa to organize the CARE programme in this country. During the 2½ years spent on this project, Mr. Melvin had occasion to travel across the country a number of times and to keep in close touch with the affairs of the Co-operative Union of Canada.

In the spring of 1949 he accepted the position of Research Secretary with the Co-operative Union and for three and a half years he worked in close association with the late A. B. MacDonald, who was National Secretary of the CUC. In March 1953, following the death of Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Melvin was named to succeed him as National Secretary and Treasurer of the Union.

In 1957 Mr. Melvin was appointed to the position of Secretary of Co-operative Insurance Services, Regina and since then has played a leading role in co-operative development work across Canada. He was elected to the board of directors of the Co-operative Union of Canada in 1961 and Vice President in 1963. At the Congress in Ottawa in May 1967, he was elected President of the CUC, becoming the fifth person to occupy the position since the founding of the national association of co-operatives in 1909.

Mr. Melvin holds positions in various church, community, and adult education organizations and is widely recognized for his leadership in organization, education and international development in co-operatives.

He is a member of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance and also serves on the Executive Committee.

J. T. Phalen: Mr. Phalen became General Secretary of the Co-operative Union of Canada in 1967. Before joining the staff of the CUC in Ottawa he was director of the Extension Services Branch of the Department of Co-operation and Co-operative Development, Government of Saskatchewan. In that position he was responsible for advisory and supervisory services to

agricultural production co-operatives and to the co-operative development program in northern regions and on Indian reserves. In addition he was responsible for the department's contribution to adult education programs, co-operative programs for young people and the development of training programs. He held this position for fifteen years after serving for two years on the fieldstaff.

Mr. Phalen is a native of Shaunavon, Saskatchewan and is a graduate of College of Agriculture, University of Saskatchewan. He served in the armed forces including overseas service in the second world war.

In 1963 Mr. Phalen served on a two-man team that surveyed the potential for the development of co-operatives in the Great Slave Lake area of the Northwest Territories for Co-operatives Everywhere and wrote the report on the survey. In 1966 he headed a three-man mission to Guyana, South America on behalf of the Canadian External Aid Office to study and make recommendations for the sound development of consumer co-operatives in that country. He is currently on the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance.

In Saskatchewan he served for a number of years: on the Executive of the Saskatchewan Association for Adult Education; on the Human Relations Council; and as chairman of the co-operative Youth Education Committee. He was closely associated with the development of new courses at Western Co-operative College for a number of years. Mr. Phalen served as secretary of Co-operative Fisheries Limited and a Northern Co-operative Trading Services Limited from their inception in 1959 until 1967 and as secretary of the Saskatchewan Federation of Production Co-operatives from 1952 to 1967. He is a member of the Agricultural Institute of Canada.

Right Reverend Claude J. Mulvihill, D.P., Director of Charities, Council of Catholic Charities of Toronto: Monsignor Mulvihill is a native of Peterborough. After his Ordination to the priesthood at St. Michael's Cathedral in May, 1942, he was engaged in parish work as an assistant and subsequently as an administrator until October, 1954.

In May, 1954, Monsignor Mulvihill was appointed Director of the Toronto Archdiocesan Council, Catholic Women's League of Canada, which post he held until October, 1960. In 1955, he was appointed Director of Immigration for the Archdiocese of Toronto, and from 1959 until January, 1965, he was Director of Catholic Family Services. In June, 1964, Monsignor was appointed Director of Charities for the Archdiocese of Toronto.

Monsignor Mulvihill is actively engaged in the field of social welfare and immigration. He is a member of the Board of Trustees and the Inter-Faith Committee, United Community Fund of Greater Toronto, and the Advisory Board of Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto.

In 1955, Monsignor Mulvihill was appointed Secretary to the Episcopal Commission on Immigration, established by the Apostolic Delegate. In 1961, he was appointed by the Canadian Catholic Conference as the Bishops' representative on the Board of Directors, Catholic Immigrant Services of Canada and also serves as a member of the governing committee. In 1932, he was

appointed a member of the Supreme Council on Immigration by the Sacred Congregation of the Consistorial in Rome. In October, 1967, Monsignor was elected a council member of the International Catholic Migration Commission and was subsequently appointed to its Governing Committee.

Monsignor is a member of the Committee on Migrants and Immigrants, Canadian Welfare Council, and a past president of the International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto. He is at present Chairman of the National and Ontario Region Inter-Faith Immigration Committees.

In June of this year Monsignor was appointed General Secretary of Catholic Immigrant Services of Canada.

Monsignor Mulvihill was appointed a Domestic Prelate by His Holiness, Pope John XXIII in August, 1962.

Miss Ann Marie Quigley, R.N.: A graduate of St. Michael's Hospital with a degree in Public Health Administration from the University of Toronto. Miss Quigley has been a Staff Nurse in St. Michael's Hospital, a Public Health Nurse at Newmarket, Ontario with the York County Health Unit and, for the past ten years, Executive Director with the St. Elizabeth Visiting Nurses.

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Thursday, February 12, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, the first brief we have for consideration today is that of the Co-operative Union of Canada.

On my immediate right is Mr. W. Breen Melvin. He was elected President in 1967, thus becoming the fifth person to occupy that position since the founding of the National Association in 1909. He is a member of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance, and also serves on the Executive Committee. You have his curriculum vitae in your copy of the brief.

Sitting next to him is Mr. J. T. Phalen. He is the General Secretary of the Co-operative Union of Canada and has held that position since 1967. You also have his biography.

I will ask Mr. Melvin to speak to the brief.

Mr. W. B. Melvin, President, Co-operative Union of Canada: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, we very much appreciate this opportunity to appear before you and to make some comments concerning the matter you have in hand in your hearings and your study.

In keeping with what I believe is your practice, I will present just a brief summary of the main points we are making in this longer document that came to you earlier.

I would say that we accept the Economic Council of Canada's contention that poverty is a major problem in Canada, and that it should not be tolerated in the midst of plenty.

The proposal of the Economic Council, in their Sixth Annual Report, which states that in regard to Canadian economic growth, special attention should be focused on the need to achieve a broad basis of participation in the future economic development of our country, and in our view, stand above question.

Proposals for solutions to the poverty problem by the Council which deal with developing human resources towards a more economic input into the productive process, appear sound and are worthy of support.

Disparity of income, which is at the base of the poverty problem, stems from returns to capital as well as return for labour input. If poverty is to be dealt with effectively it would seem necessary to examine the problem from both labour income and capital income base.

Co-operatives are one method of achieving a broad basis of participation in the segment of the economy that normally provides returns to capital invested. In a co-operative, people provide services for themselves instead of using the services that are otherwise established by people whose objective is to obtain a profit on the investment involved.

Co-operatives are involved in all types of activities. In 1968, 2,519 co-operatives had a combined membership of 1,688,000, assets of \$1 billion and volume of business of over \$2 billion. 4,663 credit unions and caisses populaires at the end of 1968, had a combined membership of 5 million, savings of \$3.2 billion, and loans outstanding of \$2.4 billion. This represents a broad basis of participation beyond labour input, and being consumers of as much of the products of our economic system that they could afford.

A great deal of experience has been gained in developing co-operatives in Indian, Metis, and Eskimo communities, areas in which the depth of poverty is not uncommon.

Progress in helping people help themselves in these communities is only significant where governments have undertaken a major responsibility for co-operative programs and have established the required supporting policies.

It seems to us, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that this is an extremely important point to be kept in mind. People in these circumstances require a great deal of assistance, and much of it must come from government sources.

Co-operatives are democratic organizations that put the onus on members to study their problems and initiate and participate in action to meet those problems. As such they are an invaluable educational device, as well as embracing the dignity implied in the self-help concept.

I might say that both Mr. Phalen and I have had an opportunity to work with Indian and Metis people in their co-operatives, particularly in northern Saskatchewan. Over a ten-year period the development that takes place in the people themselves, as well as in their economic circumstances, is really very noticeable and certainly encouraging.

The co-operative technique has not been a significant factor in the lives of the urban poor. Very little experience is available in this area, and it would seem that pilot projects should be undertaken.

If I may, I should like to just comment that the organized co-operative movement in Canada has, as I am sure you are aware, been traditionally an agricultural development. It started, as you know, with people like the grain growers and dairy people who wanted to find a better way of marketing their products. So, traditionally co-operatives have been developed in the agricultural industry. Our development into the cities in the form of consumer co-operatives has begun to take place more rapidly, but really our experience there is still very limited, and our attempts to work with the urban poor are still just being initiated, and we need experience and experimentation in this area.

Governments have taken direct action in the development of co-operatives in native communities, providing guidance, financing and general support with noteworthy success. The general problem of poverty is such that similar action seems warranted in other areas.

Co-operatives are active in serving members in many ways. A national program for co-operative housing is already being set up. Every one requires food and household items as they do shelter. Therefore, pilot projects of a consumer co-operative nature are recommended in our submission.

Finally, the active support of government people and voluntary organizations is required for such a program. Technical know-how that is being made available by co-operatives to co-operative development programs

overseas would be much more available for such programs in Canada.

One of the areas in which the co-operative movement is able to make a contribution overseas, and work with the Canadian International Development Agency, is in this area of providing technical people to go out and assist in the development of co-operatives in countries such as Guyana where we have done a good deal of work, and others as well. We know and we feel that if this development were to take place in Canada, if there were encouragement for them, we have people with technical knowledge who can give guidance.

Mr. Chairman, those are the principal points that are made in our submission, and I would like to leave my introduction at that, if I may.

The Chairman: Have you anything to say Mr. Phalen?

Mr. J. T. Phalen, General Secretary, Co-operative Union of Canada: No thank you, Mr. Chairman, I will just answer questions.

Senator Inman: I am wondering if it is your experience that the Indian and Metis people, as a rule, keep up their membership in these co-operatives in a satisfactory manner. Do you find that they stick to it after they have joined these co-operatives?

Mr. Phalen: I think the same kind of experiences have been the fact in this type of co-operative as in other types of activity in which people get involved. Different activities have a different level of experience. Generally speaking, where co-operative action has been initiated in Indian and Eskimo communities it has been associated with very great needs that the people have in terms of developing and marketing products, and in terms of getting supplies—this kind of thing—and the members are tied in pretty closely with that activity. The general experience is that the people find it quite useful really. This is one of the few opportunities that the people have to make a leadership input into the situation. Normally things are done for them, and they find it a new experience to have a say in economic matters in this kind of a situation, and there develops quite a bit of competition between people for leadership. Naturally, people get disgruntled with what other people are doing and they pull out, but then usually they come back in

again. There is quite a bit of this, but, generally speaking, we have found the interest to be quite positive.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I presume that your head office is in Ottawa.

Mr. Melvin: Yes.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Is it a union of all the co-operatives across Canada?

Mr. Melvin: In answer to that question, Mr. Chairman and Senator Fournier, I will say that the Co-operative Union of Canada embraces 25 or 30 organizations, some of which are commercial co-operatives operating on a regional or provincial basis, and some of which are educational and promotional organizations within the co-operative movement. They are direct members of this organization. We have our head office in Ottawa, as you say, and the term "union" is one we have used for the co-operative movement over a great number of years to describe federations of co-operatives. I wonder if that answers your question.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Yes, but to be a little more specific I will say that I am from New Brunswick. Is the Maritime Co-op part of your organization?

Mr. Melvin: Maritime Co-op Services is one of our direct members, as is United Maritime Fishermen. I am sure you are aware that the French speaking co-operative movement have a central organization of their own with headquarters also here in Ottawa.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Are they completely separate, or do they work jointly with your organization?

Mr. Melvin: We are separate as organizations, but we have a very helpful, friendly, and constructive relationship. We work together on a good many projects, but technically we are separate organizations.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I am interested in co-operative housing because in my home region some years ago eight houses were built by a small co-operative movement. It is the French village of Beaver Brook. It was a very successful project and although one house was lost through

fire it was covered by insurance. The co-operative is a great movement and could help many poor people. There were 16 families at Beaver Brook, two to each building, which made the units cheaper to build. A good community effort also helped. This provided homes for 16 families who would not have been able to build otherwise. The project was financed through our credit union, the Caisse Populaire and the co-operative.

There is a big co-operative in Edmundston for the county of Madawaska. I am very much in favour of these co-operative housing units. I wish we could do more, because it provides a means of supplying homes to a class of people who otherwise would not be able to build. A great deal of economy was realized through the whole of the construction. The building lots were cheaper because eight were purchased instead of one at a time. The sewer system and water supply also was economically built for eight units. The construction material was bought in bulk instead of for individual houses and savings were effected throughout.

These homes, which I presume would be valued at something like \$12,000 at the time, actually cost much below \$10,000 to build. We are now facing a problem in that the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation will not assist applicants for building loans in the country unless they are building in an area where there is already water and sewers. I think this is deplorable for many reasons. It has a tendency to group the people, which is against some of our policy. This grouping and moving of people into one area sometimes causes problems in rural areas. There are beautiful spots for homes in millions of places across Canada where water is available within a short distance and there are good facilities for drainage.

The applicants for homes are generally people with good incomes, such as school teachers and professors. There would be no problems as far as repayment is concerned, but they have to find financing, which Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation will not provide because they do not live near a particular area. These areas are in many cases already crowded and the house lots are more expensive for many reasons.

I have a place where eight lots have been sold to school teachers who want to build in a group, but Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation will not even talk to them. It is a

crime. This is just one case out of hundreds, but the principle of not helping the average Canadian who has a right to these lots, whether in the country or in the city, is a great injustice. Every time I have an occasion to speak against it I do so.

Senator Pearson: My question relates to Eskimos and Indians in the northern part of the country. The Eskimos are a nomadic race of people to a large extent. How does the co-operative affect them economically? Is there any real advantage to them in that area?

Mr. Phalen: The situation has to be looked at in the perspective that the nomadic way of life of the Eskimo is fading out.

Senator Pearson: It is still quite large though.

Mr. Phalen: There is a fair amount of moving around, but not nearly to the extent that has been the case. I expect most of the Eskimos now are living in settlements. They are coming into contact with the dollar economy and this creates needs for them as it does for other people. The Government is the main authority dealing with the problem, which is one of finding occupations that will bring in returns for the people, such as introducing new industries and equipping the people to work in them. The handicraft industry is the best example of what has been accomplished. Canadian Arctic Producers is an organization which was set up by the co-operative union of Canada in collaboration with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Mr. Melvin and I are directors of that organization. It is being held in trust, so to speak, for the Eskimos until they develop a solid enough local co-operative structure to take it over. Canadian Arctic Producers last year had sales of over \$1 million, most of which was returned to the producers. This is quite a substantial income.

Senator Pearson: Do you divide the money among those who actually produce the artifacts, et cetera, or among the whole group?

Mr. Phalen: It happens that the main return is to the producer, but the general structure of the scheme results in the local co-operative receiving the returns on behalf of the producer.

Senator Pearson: Why should he turn it over to his local co-operative?

Mr. Phalen: This is the machinery for assembling, grading and handling. First of all I should say that handicraft is a specialized kind of production. You must have a high standard, so the system needs some way of judging this. It is very expensive to send these products down to central Canada to be graded, so the logical way to do it is to have some kind of organization in the north. In our view this organization ought to belong to the people themselves. They set their own standards and find out that if their product is not good it does not sell and bring in returns to them. The co-operative is part of the economic and educational system.

Senator Pearson: With respect to the Indians, what particular line do they follow? Have they any other scheme than making artifacts, et cetera?

Mr. Phalen: I do not want to leave the impression that handicraft is the only co-operative activity. The Eskimo people have co-operative stores, providing themselves with consumer goods.

Senator Pearson: To be able to buy that, they have to produce something just the same.

Mr. Phalen: Exactly. Money is as hard to find in the north as anywhere else. They are involved in building houses for themselves with material provided by the federal Government. The situation among Indian communities—most of my experience has been in northern Saskatchewan, where they are developing the inland fishing industry and this is quite a part of their activity. There were 18 local fishermen's co-operatives and most of the members were Indian and Metis fishermen and the co-operative structure has allowed them to be part of the development of the industry. As Mr. Melvin told you, there is a really substantial income for quite a number of people. They also have co-operative stores and co-operative recreation facilities.

Senator Pearson: Have they means of transporting the fish out of there, or have they to do it on their own?

Mr. Phalen: They use normal carriers. The railroad into Lynn Lake is an outlet for the eastern part of the province. Refrigerating

trucks can now drive right into Loronge, Buffalo Narrows and Ballantyne Bay across the north. Roads have been built and the situation is quite a bit different from what it was. The other aspect of this is that transportation has improved, tourism is developing, the people come into contact with the cash economy rather suddenly and rather forcibly and by working together and getting considerable assistance in dealing with these things I am convinced the people have obtained a good deal of benefit out of this.

Senator Pearson: I understand that the current take in fur is very much lower than it used to be. Is there any co-operative working on that, to improve the output?

Mr. Phalen: In this respect, certainly in my mind one of the really good substantial programs was developed between the Department of National Resources in the prairie provinces and the federal department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. They set up a whole conservation system in such a way that the trappers themselves were involved in studying the conservation problems and making decisions how best to handle this. It is a fact that returns from fur is down. There are many reasons for this, the opening up of a country is a factor. One of the fortunate things in that northern area was that the fishery developed to complement the fur trade. One of the main activities of the co-operative stores is handling fur for the members. If you are in the retail business at all you are in the fur business in that area.

Senator Pearson: Thank you.

Senator Quart: May I ask one of these gentlemen when your Co-operative Union of Canada was set up?

Mr. Melvin: It was established in 1909.

Senator Quart: Quite a number of years ago the Antigonish co-operative had a housing project. We saw a house being put up and mostly it was labour. I did not know much about it at the time but it impressed me very much. Does that self-help method still exist—like the one in Antigonish?

Mr. Melvin: Yes, the housing development in Antigonish particularly still persists and is quite vigorous. These were called the "sweat-equity" co-operatives, because you really sweated. This was the equity part of it, you

put in, because the man's financial means were limited. This illustrates the point we have been making in this brief. They are developing in each different part. The Nova Scotia Government has a housing commission which encourages this kind of development, provides technology and research services and financial loans—not gifts, but loans—on a basis within their reach and the capability of people who need the homes.

This development continues. There is a feeling, especially in the larger cities that if there has to be housing of a co-operative nature it cannot be the sweat-equity type, because it does not fit in. It is in the smaller community or the rural community for the greater part. In places like Toronto or Montreal it is out of the question and another type of co-operative is necessary.

The answer to your question is that this development goes on. It has the support of the Nova Scotia Government and it is accomplishing a good deal.

Senator Quart: I understand that at one time they were counselled by Antigonish and that they did have something of this kind in Ottawa years ago, I remember hearing about it. That Fédération Co-Operative de Québec, is that part of your work or is that more commercial?

Mr. Melvin: You mean, senator, the Co-Operative Federée, which is a farm supply organization. It is not a member of the co-operative union of Canada, although we know their people and work with them occasionally.

Senator Quart: You mentioned the Caisses Populaires, do they come in with you? I wondered how they would work in with your group.

Mr. Melvin: The credit union movement in Canada is in two sections, the Caisse Populaire organization in Quebec and also in New Brunswick and there are some Caisses Populaires in Western Canada. Then there is the credit union movement which might be called the English speaking equivalent or counterpart. It is very substantial. The headquarters in Quebec are in Levis. The credit unions are federated into CUNA—the Credit Union National Association—which takes in the United States and Canada. CUNA is a member of the co-operative union of Canada. The Fédération des Caisses Populaires Desjardins is a member of the CCC. We have

divided organizationally on language lines, if you like, but this is merely a matter of expeditious operation and convenience. In terms of working together, this is very close.

Senator Quart: I think you have some of the credit unions now in Quebec City and Montreal?

Mr. Melvin: There is a credit union league of Quebec which has most of its members in the Montreal area, I believe. I am not intimately acquainted with it, but I think this is the case. I would think a few are in the Eastern Townships, and so on. But in Quebec the Caisse Populaire is the predominant and large development.

Senator Quart: Do you find any antagonism from the retail trade because of this co-operative movement? I do not know why you should.

Mr. Melvin: We are in competition.

Senator Quart: You are in competition, to an extent?

Mr. Melvin: Our economy is free enterprise economy and a competitive economy and undoubtedly sometimes the co-operative may dominate in an area and sometimes the private entrepreneur does.

Senator Quart: It was an unfair question, probably.

Mr. Melvin: It is a realistic question.

Senator Quart: Is there any particular set-up for war veterans?

Mr. Melvin: Not that I am aware of. There have been some special instances within the Forces, for instance, at Cold Lake in Alberta, where there is an army base. In fact, this is the second or third largest in Alberta, with quite a sum of money in its savings and assets, but only that kind of thing as far as I know.

Mr. Phalen: Except there is one activity in Saskatchewan, the Co-operative Farm Development. There is quite a number of veterans involved who found that after the war the re-establishment credits were fairly small to start in farming, so 8 or 10 or 15 of them got together and pooled their assets and are operating one large farm unit and are doing exceptionally well at it.

Senator Quart: Senator Fournier (Mada-waska-Restigouche) mentioned the teachers. I

would say the same thing applies to veterans and The Veterans Land Act and other legislation that is fairly restrictive. However, I was wondering if you have to be a member of the union to benefit from it. If I want to obtain the benefits of your co-operative movement how do I go about it?

Mr. Melvin: My understanding of your question is, if you wanted to get involved in the co-operative movement, how would you do it?

Senator Quart: Yes—join or benefit by it, actually.

Mr. Melvin: I think the first step is to discover what your particular need is, because co-operatives are formed to satisfy a need. For many people it is a need for a borrowing and saving facility, so they would become members of the credit union. In Regina I belong to the Sherwood Credit Union and I always seem to be borrowing, so that is a good place to go to borrow or to save. If I am unhappy about the consumer service available to me in a particular community, I do not like the store or I think it should be better, or something like that, I might join with others to establish a consumer co-operative and go to it to buy my groceries or whatever it may be.

If I am a farmer, as happened back in the twenties when the farmers were unhappy with the facilities available to market their grain and so on, I might do as they did; they established the Wheat Pools in the three prairie provinces.

That is the point: the essential thing is need. I think it is extremely important because if you have not the need you are not going to be very enthusiastic and are not likely to be a very substantial or helpful member. The two points are: the need; and what type of co-operative will satisfy that need.

Senator Quart: Say I come to you and say, "We need housing", and there is not actually a branch of your union where I live, do you encourage or counsel people to get together and form a branch?

Mr. Melvin: Yes.

May I take a moment, particularly in relation to housing, because it is a matter very much to the fore in everybody's mind, including ours.

The Co-operative Union of Canada has for a number of years had a joint committee with the Canadian Labour Congress. We call it the National Labour Co-operative Committee. We have a joint executive secretary who is engaged full-time on the job, and he has many tasks, but his principal one for the last year or so has been that of the field of housing because trade unionists and working people who are not trade unionists, in the cities specially, find housing a serious problem. So we are in the process of establishing an organization called the Co-operative Housing Foundation which will do what you are speaking of. It will provide advice, counselling and technical assistance to groups of people who wish to establish housing co-operatives.

Without being unduly long, in Windsor a development of this kind has taken place over the past year or so. There is a fairly large apartment block called "Solidarity Towers" of 20-odd stories. This is an organization, fundamentally of trade union members—mostly United Automobile Workers, because it is an auto city. They are building their own apartment block which they will own together. Actually, they are not limiting it to members of the union; others in the community who wish to become involved can join.

However, to get back to your first point: you have to join and play your part as a member in the co-operative.

Senator Quart: Might I ask how much the membership costs? I may join!

Mr. Melvin: It varies a great deal. With the farm marketing co-operatives it has tended to be something more substantial. A membership may cost \$5, paid once, but you are required to contribute capital to finance the project over the years. The membership might even be only \$1. It is usually a very small amount.

Senator Quart: It depends on local conditions?

Mr. Melvin: Yes, it is not set nationally.

Mr. Phalen: I think the structure is the point you are getting at, I think it is important to understand how it is set up.

Let us take the consumer co-operative movement. The people in the local community will organize a co-operative store. As more local co-operative stores developed they had a need for wholesale supplies, so these

individual co-operatives got together and set up wholesales. There are five major central wholesales across Canada, the Maritime Co-op Services being one. It, in turn, is a member of Inter-provincial Co-operatives. Inter-provincial Co-operative is involved in some manufacturing. They have quite an extensive labelling program; they test and label goods being supplied from the normal suppliers.

The three prairie wheat pools have gotten together with the United Grain Growers and have set up Canadian Co-op Fertilizers to supply fertilizer.

This is an apex kind of thing, with the individual member at the bottom.

The credit union system works in exactly the same way. There is the local credit union or *caisse populaire*. They have gotten together with the co-operatives and have set up credit societies which are intermediate organizations for accumulating capital and making it available. The organization has been set up on a national scale and they are involved in strengthening it.

There is the Canadian Co-operative Trust Company in which various co-operatives and credit unions have joined together. There are several insurance co-operatives. Mr. Melvin is secretary of one of the larger ones.

So, there is quite a system throughout the whole economic structure.

Senator Pearson: My first question is this: is movement in the Maritimes, in Nova Scotia, with regard to marketing and working in the fishing and farming industries, sales of farms and fish products, increasing or is it tapering off?

Mr. Melvin: The fisheries end of the sector is gradually increasing. Quite frankly, it has not grown as rapidly as many of us in the co-operative movement might have wished, but it is growing. The Maritime Co-operative Services is growing quite substantially and it has moved ahead particularly in the last number of years.

Senator Pearson: In Moncton?

Mr. Melvin: Yes.

Senator Pearson: You have dealt at length on page 7 with the co-operatives among the native people. I understand that the Indian Brotherhood or some other group representing the Indians believe that if they had \$500 million they could develop a degree of pros-

perity that they do not have at the present time. With your knowledge of co-operatives and of the native people would you think this would be a successful venture if it was undertaken?

Mr. Phalen: I will have to speak as an individual because this is a pretty loaded question and I would not want to go on record as opposing what is being proposed. In my opinion, what they are proposing is certainly in the right direction. Any substantial and lasting development has to be on their terms and sort of on their ground. It is difficult for us to transfer, from our background and experience, our plans for development to a reserve or a northern community setting. I would have to put it this way: it takes a good deal of organization and experience to achieve the kind of aspirations that they have. I would say that a good deal of structure would have to be set up so this can be organized and planned in depth.

Senator Pearson: I did not mean to load the question, and therefore I shall unload it. Would you say that the future of those native people depends upon the development of this sort of thing?

Mr. Phalen: I would heartily agree, because whatever place one makes in this world each individual does it in his own way and in his own time. I think it is important that the least possible obstacles be in the way of this happening with the people of Indian and Eskimo background. The Euro-Canadians are not in a very good position to judge how this ought to happen. The base has to be the people doing things for themselves. As we point out in the brief, where the co-operative fits in, it is a structure that sets up the sort of boundaries and conditions under which certain kinds of things can happen and also which governments and voluntary organizations can support. This is supporting a group, not individuals, who are thrashing about in their own way and to the extent that this can be developed by experience and there can be a substantial Indian-Eskimo input into the plan, they will develop personally as a result of being part of the activity. I think this is the way it should be done. If this had been an easy thing to do it would have been done a long time ago. It is difficult and we are saying that it will require quite a substantial input on the part of the people of Canada to allow these things to happen.

Senator Pearson: It seems to me that the development of the native people in New Zealand and along the coast of Greenland, as well as many parts of the world, have made progress through the development of this sort of thing sponsored by the government responsible for their care.

Mr. Phalen: Exactly. You have put your finger on the two most noteworthy developments in the world that I am aware of and that is New Zealand and Greenland.

Senator Cook: Mr. Chairman, I am greatly interested in the brief. There is one thing which is different from all other briefs that have been presented to us. On page 17 you say:

A degree of caution seems necessary in recommending the foregoing level of involvement by government in an essentially voluntary activity.

I have said that all other briefs urged us to get involved, whereas yours gives us a word of caution. I gather this comes from the fact that you cannot impose co-operation on people.

Mr. Phalen: Precisely.

Senator Cook: On that point, the first thing is to educate people as to the advantages that can be obtained from co-operation. How much of that education is going on in the Government sector and in the private sector? I heard you mention that you had organizations which assisted in the counselling and setting up of co-operatives. First of all, what is the Government doing in this activity?

Mr. Phalen: First of all, I think all of provincial governments across Canada will render services to co-operative movements and to people who wish to organize co-operatives. This service ranges from a full department in Saskatchewan to a branch activity in other provinces.

Senator Cook: Do you agree with this development?

Mr. Phalen: Let me put it this way: the most substantial development among native people has taken place in the Prairie Provinces where the Prairie governments have set up programs and really seriously supported programs, financial arrangements, provided field staff, educational devices and opportunities for the people. This development in northern Canada, among the Eskimos, has involved real and considerable input by the

federal Government. These are the only places where we have a substantial or even any development worthy of mention, where the Government has taken the initiative to develop people with the competence to work with people rather than working for them.

Senator Cook: As I read your brief, you have not made too many positive recommendations which you would act upon. You recommend an increase in Government services?

Mr. Phalen: By all means, I think this is stated in the brief, perhaps not in the recommendations but in other sections. As a matter of fact, recommendation No. 2 says that we wish to acknowledge the support given by governments involved and to urge others to study what has been accomplished and to establish similar policies and programs. This is definitely a recommendation.

Senator Carter: What you mean by that is, if I read it correctly, that you want the provincial governments to encourage this kind of work.

Mr. Phalen: Absolutely.

Senator Cook: We are on the educational side now. You would recommend that the provincial governments already doing it should extend it and those who are not doing it should get involved in it.

Mr. Phalen: Yes.

Senator Cook: What about the federal Government?

Mr. Phalen: Well, poverty is to a large extent a federal concern and it seems to me that it is appropriate for the federal Government to take the lead as the government in the United States is doing in their economic opportunity program. If the federal Government has a substantial program and the provinces can take advantage of this and act on it and develop it within their own jurisdictions, this would certainly be worthwhile. I think it is very similar to the ARDA program.

Senator Cook: We are talking about education now and you feel that for the native peoples the federal Government should expand what they are doing in the line of education?

Mr. Phalen: As far as the federal Government's responsibility is concerned, it really is

to the native people. There is a considerable amount of this going on in the form of cost-sharing arrangements with the provinces.

Senator Cook: You think that is a good program and should be expanded?

Mr. Phalen: Yes.

Senator Cook: Turning to the co-operatives themselves, what are you doing in the line of education as a union?

Mr. Melvin: Well, the provincial federations of co-operatives which are usually called co-operative unions work pretty closely with their governments in the development of programs, supplying personnel from time to time for specific purposes but not on a long-term basis. They made recommendations and sit on committees established by governments to look into the programs and to undertake projects and enterprises which need to be undertaken. The Co-operative Union of Canada for three or four years had a relationship with the federal Government, particularly dealing with Eskimos in northern areas whereby we participated in planning quite a number of projects. Just to cite one example, there is the view—and this has to be a long-term view because these things take time—to the establishment of a federation of Eskimo co-operatives to handle their own handicrafts, and these co-operatives would be owned by the Eskimos themselves. You will realize that the Eskimos are not sophisticated—at least they may be sophisticated in some respects, but in this particular area they are not sophisticated. The Co-operative Union of Canada with financial assistance from the federal Government gave the lead in calling two meetings in the north to bring together the leaders of these co-operatives to study the possibility, but it is going to be a while before that comes about as an actual fact. In other words, our role, as we see it, is one of supplying the people who have had experience and who are trained, and of supplying the techniques, making it known and promoting it and working closely with Governments.

Senator Cook: Could the union possibly use additional federal assistance and could the provincial co-operatives use additional provincial assistance to enlarge their participation in this work? I mean is there any shortage of funds?

Mr. Melvin: I think it would be correct to say for identifiable projects or undertakings

this is a very useful approach. Speaking again personally rather than for the union itself, I am not sure that the best thing to be getting involved in is an ongoing program rather than a funding or support program for the co-operative unions so that they could do these things. I personally favour the idea of saying "here is something that needs to be done right here and now" and then the federal or provincial authority would give the funds to the co-operative movement to give the leadership and assistance in getting it done. I am not personally strong on the idea of being involved in ongoing support. This is part of the cautionary note in here. The experience in other developing countries has sometimes been that if you have outside persons greatly involved in the programs, it takes that much longer to make it a program of the people themselves.

Senator Cook: Is there anything that can be done to assist in increasing the number of trained co-operative workers or leaders, and how do you train them?

Mr. Phalen: There is quite a bit of this going on right now. I think the centre that has provided the most training and most trained people to the co-operative movement across Canada is that which resulted from the activities at St. Francis Xavier University, the cradle of the Antigonish Movement, and they are still providing considerable training in the co-operative field. A number of other universities have co-operative courses; Sherbrooke has an active program and Sir George Williams in Montreal is developing programs, but by and large in universities and schools there is quite limited training. The co-operative movement in western Canada has set up an institute called the Western Co-operative College with quite substantial residential facilities, and they provide shorter courses for co-operative personnel. They are also providing training for overseas people and they have trained and are in the process of training quite a number of Eskimo people. Quite a number of Indian people have been sponsored by the government and have taken training there. Then there is the Desjardins Co-operative Institute in Levis, Quebec which was set up by the co-operative movement and is basically an adult education centre with quite a large co-operative component. Its aim is adult education. Then there is the Memramcook education rather than specifically co-operative Institute in New Brunswick which is develop-

ing quite a substantial program including services to Maritime Co-operative Service in Moncton. These facilities contribute quite substantially to training, but there is a need for training more people for this kind of work.

Senator Inman: Could I just ask how you find the co-operatives in Prince Edward Island? We have a lot of them over there.

Mr. Phalen: I am glad you asked that question. I think what is happening in Prince Edward Island now bears watching. It has real potential in that the economic development program which is shared between the Prince Edward Island Government and the federal Government is placing considerable emphasis on assisting the development of the credit union and co-operative movement. In the credit union field there is a quite substantial move towards amalgamating the smaller credit unions into fewer organizations with greater finances, and they will thus be able to better serve not only the members but the whole economic development process that is going on.

The marketing situation in Prince Edward Island is quite fragmented, and there is a real need for a producer-marketing organization and facilities for potatoes. The dairy industry is quite fragmented. There is a need for one or two really good dairy plants which are considerably more efficient than the ones that are there. I think there is a need for the development of one big central cheese making plant in the maritimes. These would make a tremendous difference in the return to the producers because the process would be much more efficient than what is carried on at the present time. As I say, I am really encouraged by what is developing in Prince Edward Island.

Senator Carter: Senator Cook opened up the area in which I was interested, and he covered most of it, but I would like to continue along that line. In your second recommendation on page 16 you say that although considerable progress has been made in some provinces, others have shown little or no interest in promoting and assisting self-help projects among the native people. Can you tell us more about this?

Mr. Phalen: Perhaps I can answer your question without going on record as knocking any individual province. I have before me comparative statistics in respect of Indian co-operatives for the year 1967-68.

Senator Carter: These are Indian co-operatives?

Mr. Phalen: Yes. Do you want the information a little broader than this?

Senator Carter: I am just interpreting your recommendation. You do not specifically relate it to Indians. You say:

Affairs and Northern Development has demonstrated its willingness to enter into cost sharing arrangements for co-operative self-help projects with the provinces.

I did not take that sentence to be related specifically to Indians. I thought it was a general statement.

Mr. Phalen: No, it was intended to refer to the program for the Indians. This was the intent there. I am sorry if it was not clear. The number of projects in 1968 that are operating in the various provinces are as follows: British Columbia and Yukon Territory, 2; Northwest Territories, 4; Alberta, 46; Saskatchewan, 42; Manitoba, 23; Ontario, 1; Quebec, 5; and the Maritimes, nil.

I should add that in the Northwest Territories there are the Eskimo co-operatives which are not included in these figures. As I mentioned before, the governments of the Prairie provinces have been quite active. Quebec has done a bit and, of course, the Northwest Territories has done very well, but the others have not done very much.

Senator Carter: Of course this committee is interested mainly in the problem of poverty, and our main interest in the co-operative movement at this point is as to what extent it can contribute to a solution to the problem of poverty among various groups. You have mentioned in this paragraph—and I think it applies to others—the work that is being done among the Eskimos. You have referred to the co-operative marketing of handicrafts and sculptures, and the co-operative marketing of fish. Do you know of any other areas where this kind of thing is not being done but where it could be done, among the native peoples?

Mr. Phalen: Ontario is a prime example. At the Co-op Union office we get several letters from Indian communities asking for help in setting up different projects.

Senator Carter: Give us some idea of what they are. What kind of other projects can be done that are not being done?

Mr. Phalen: Co-operative stores and the community service type of thing where the people run their own recreation facilities. I am thinking of these kinds of things. The position we have taken generally in the brief is that the co-operative movement just has not had that much experience with the hard core poverty areas. We are saying, in effect, that we need a method of supporting projects on an experimental basis, using the experience we have had principally with the native communities, and the experience which has been developed around the world, to sort of zero in on specific poverty areas, and in getting the people involved in doing things and planning for their own development. We are suggesting that since the people are all consumers, and this is a matter that is vital to them, that this would be the place to start an experimental approach.

Senator Carter: You said that you receive letters from groups of Indians pointing out a need that can be met by a co-operative undertaking. When you get such a request do you then send somebody there to see what is the position and how it should be handled? How do you react when you get such a letter? Do you take it up with the provincial Government? Do you make a survey of your own, or an assessment? Do you put a proposition up to the provincial Government?

Mr. Phalen: No, we are just not set up to go out and do that type of field work. Mr. Melvin mentioned a program which operated for some years, but the program itself ran into some difficulties in that the Government people were working in the northern part of Canada, and the Co-operative Union of Canada had people working there as well, and there was just too much room for conflict. It was difficult to approach it on a common ground. I feel strongly that the role of the co-operative movement is in support of the Government program, and is not an independent kind of program, because we have not the resources in the co-operative movement to fund the kind of program that is necessary.

Senator Carter: You are getting away from the core of my question, which was based on what you refer to as experimental work. The co-operative union itself is not in a position to do too much experimental work, but it is something in which you would normally expect the Government to assist. How do you go about it?

Mr. Phalen: If the request is from an Indian community I refer it to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Most of my experience was with the Department of Co-operation in Saskatchewan. This department had a field staff, which I directed for some years. Upon receiving a request we would immediately send a representative out to work with the people. The Government had supporting programs such as the Co-operative Guarantee Act which, on the recommendation of the department's staff, would make funds available for developing projects. We worked closely with the Co-operative Union of Saskatchewan, which is quite a substantial organization.

The provincial Co-operative Union in Ontario is not a strong organization. They have very limited finances and the provincial government has not any facilities or arrangements for this level of assistance to communities. Therefore it usually falls to the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to follow up the requests.

Senator Carter: You submitted a list which indicates that the Maritimes has one, Ontario one, Saskatchewan 42 and Alberta 46. Can you give us some idea as to why there is such a discrepancy, a rich province like Ontario only having one?

Mr. Phalen: It boils down simply to Government policy. In the Prairie Provinces the policy is to make a substantial effort in this area and they have provided people who are primarily educators and know something about the operation of these activities. As soon as any interest at all develops they are available to foster it. If it does follow through and the people continue to be interested, the advisory assistance that is required is fairly close.

Senator Carter: The request comes to you and goes from you to the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It is then up to them to take the matter up with Ontario or whatever provinces are concerned.

Mr. Phalen: No. I was referring to what I would personally do with a request in Ontario. It is a matter of judgment. The requests from Saskatchewan, Alberta or Manitoba do not come to Ottawa. They would go probably to the provincial government department that is responsible for this and

has the program to do it. In Ontario the program does not exist in this form. I would like to add to this discussion, in that one of the programs that we had in Saskatchewan involved working with farmers, helping them set up co-operatives to assist them in their production activities, co-operative pastures, feeding co-operatives, artificial breeding and a number of other such activities. At the moment there are 300 of these smaller type co-operatives functioning in the province. With the exception of a few in Alberta this is practically the sum total of so-called production co-operatives in Canada. The reason they are there is that when people wanted to do something the guidance as to what was possible and how it should be done would be available. People have to learn to work together; this does not happen automatically. In the event that there are too many problems and mistakes the effort disintegrates before they really get into it and learn how to handle it. The point I really want to make is that it is not only Indians and Eskimos who need this kind of help.

Senator Carter: Yes, I was going to come to other groups later. Are there any Indian marketing co-operatives for furs for example, like the Eskimos have for fish and handicrafts?

Mr. Phalen: There are a number of Indian marketing groups. In Saskatchewan the Northern Co-operative Handicraft Marketing Association markets a good deal of the Indian handicrafts for the northern part of the province. There is a handicraft production co-operative in one of the southern reserves which was started a couple of years ago. Team Products in Alberta was set up with financing from federal and provincial sources to market Indian crafts. The federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has done a great deal of work in trying to develop this kind of activity.

Senator Carter: With respect to fur marketing?

Mr. Phalen: Again I am more familiar with Saskatchewan, so you will forgive me if I concentrate on the experience there. There are 14 consumer co-operatives operating in the northern part of Saskatchewan, where the fur is produced. All of these consumer co-operatives also handle fur. There is a Government Crown corporation, the Saskatchewan Fur Marketing Service, that will market the

furs directly for the producers, but it is a long step from northern Saskatchewan to the fur marketing service. Traditionally, they have worked through the traders with their fur. Most of it is still handled through the co-operative store and passed on to the marketing service.

Senator Carter: With reference to co-operative housing, it was reported in last night's paper that the House of Commons Standing Committee on Public Accounts unearthed an item indicating that so many thousands of dollars were given to Indians. I am not sure if the funds were granted to more than one group, but there was not much accounting for them. That was a complaint of the Auditor General. My impression of this kind of co-operative housing that takes place on the reserves is that it is not really strictly co-operative. They help one another to build, but it would not be organized as a housing co-operative; is that correct?

Mr. Phalen: Yes, this varies. When I speak of co-operatives I speak of co-operatives that have a charter which are registered and supervised. There are a number of housing co-operatives in Indian and Eskimo communities, but most of the activity is not by a legal organization.

Senator Carter: Self-help?

Mr. Phalen: Yes, it is a form of self-help, but not a registered base.

Senator Carter: Apart from the native people there are two other groups that we are interested in: one is the working poor and the other is the welfare group. Let us take the welfare group. Are there any buying clubs among welfare groups?

Mr. Phalen: There is some activity in this area. There is a group in Lower Town which we refer to here that has just recently started working on this. I understand that facilities are available...

Senator Carter: When you say "facilities are available," I have had some experience with buying clubs and we did not need any facilities except for somebody's garage. Everybody came together and placed an order and these orders were consolidated. One person wanted two cakes of soap, and by and by had enough orders to make up a whole case of soap. We took the consolidated order down to the various stores and let them bid

on it. It was surprising how they went out of their way for an order of up to \$200 or \$300 a week. It was delivered to one person at one address and we shared it. We did not need facilities.

Mr. Phalen: Sir, may I answer the question quickly in this way? The history of buying clubs in Canada is fairly short in duration. These activities tend to come and fade out. There is a recent development called Direct Charge Co-operatives, which is an arrangement by which the members get their groceries at wholesale and pay so much a week to cover the cost of whatever service is involved. This provides a structure where the people can decide for themselves how much service they want and how wide they want their aisles or the lighting.

Senator Carter: The people on welfare do not have such a choice do they? They want to get the best buy that they can and they certainly want the minimum overhead. Once you start providing facilities or somebody to do the work for them you are running into overhead that they are unable to afford.

Mr. Phalen: They are already affording it. They are paying for the overhead now and helping to pay for rather substantial facilities.

Senator Carter: What kind of facilities are you talking about?

Mr. Phalen: Supermarket facilities. For the most part they are buying in supermarkets or the corner store and helping to pay the overhead costs. Sort of the crux of what we are recommending in the consumer field is that resources be made available to do some experimenting on expanding this buying club base into an organized base with minimum facilities which will provide groceries at less cost, assuming the operation is efficient.

Senator Carter: Are you assuming that they can go to a chain store and get better business then they could by going to where the chain store gets their produce? I understand there is a co-operative wholesale in Ottawa.

Mr. Phalen: There is the United Co-operatives of Ontario.

Senator Carter: Even so, they are wholesale houses. People that sell soap and sugar and whatever, buy it wholesale.

Mr. Phalen: We are saying that within the co-operative system there are opportunities that we ought to explore.

The Chairman: One question from Senator Fournier and Senator McGrand and then we have got to complete this hearing.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): My question was on education and it has been pretty well discussed during the last half hour. My experience has been that the problem of successful co-operatives depends on how you educate your group. If you have the wrong education and the wrong ideas and keep away from the spirit of being a co-operative you are getting into trouble. I am sure today that if you were to organize a co-operative among the Indians and Eskimos you would have less of a problem than if you were to build a co-operative among the white Indians. They would ask themselves: what will the co-operative do for me and not what will the co-operative do for my community?

In order to make a long story short, we had a tremendous experience 30 years ago when building a co-operative home. It was built with the idea that at the end of the year it would be getting a—I do not know the English word for it—*ristourne*. It means profit sharing. It was built on that basis. We built a large co-operative and at the end of the year we did not get that *restourne*. It was kept in shares to build up the institution. This was good, because a lot of us agreed and were co-operative minded, but there has been a tremendous lack because we have had difficulty to survive during the last 30 years because our formation was wrong. I hope you are not making those mistakes. Nobody knew anything about co-operatives. That is all I have to say.

Mr. Phalen: There is a good deal of experience available now that was not available 30 years ago and I hope that we can take advantage of it.

Senator Pearson: What happened to Earl Grey? They built up a beautiful co-operative and all of a sudden it disappeared.

Mr. Phalen: That was in Saskatchewan. I suspect its proximity to Regina and the change in the trading area affected it.

Senator Pearson: Such as larger farms?

Mr. Phalen: Most of the Earl Grey people now do most of their shopping in Regina.

Senator McGrand: I have a question and all I want is a short answer. Poverty is on the increase among the native people, and co-

operatives are growing somewhat. Do you feel that there is any evidence that this venture in developing the co-operative can close the gap between the poverty of the native people and their needs? You are just on this question of housing. In Ottawa and in many of our cities there are a great many people living in slum housing. Many of the houses are in poor repair with broken windows, ill-fitting storm windows, and so on. The landlords have their problems just as the tenants have. I wonder if it is possible to organize the skill of these tenants, who have not got any tools of their own, so that they could do a lot of the repairs on these houses themselves. There are broken toilets, doors that are not tight, and that sort of thing.

Mr. Phalen: I am sure that this kind of thing can be done. I would be in favour of a good deal of study being done in that regard.

Senator McGrand: You are talking about organization to make the skill available.

Mr. Phalen: In the case of building houses in Nova Scotia years ago, the same thing applied, organizing the skill.

Senator McGrand: Is the equity position in property getting worse; is it something the people can overtake?

Mr. Phalen: Let me put it this way, co-operatives are instruments which can be helpful. Co-operatives themselves are not going to close the gap. We are talking about making better use of available resources, making use of these on a group basis.

Senator McGrand: Thank you. You have answered the question.

Senator Carter: You mentioned that everything starts with need. If you see a need, how do you make the people aware of it? The need may be there but how do you go about making people aware of it? Is that a function of your co-operative or of the extension department or the provincial government? Where does it fit into this missionary work that is being done?

Mr. Phalen: We are not involved in much missionary work. We may, in time, but at the moment we are not.

Senator Carter: If you see any need to be met, do you take any action or do you leave it to someone else?

Mr. Melvin: We passed information on to the United Co-operatives of Ontario in Toronto that there was a group here in Lower Town that was interested in this type of co-operative. Their employee who is working on this type of development came up and attended a meeting with the group here. So, the co-operative movement is doing something on this, but really is not covering all the field. This is built up by personal contact with the leaders of the community or by another method, getting as many of the community as possible to meet and become interested.

The Chairman: On behalf of the committee, I say to you that we appreciate the broader and wider understanding you have given us of the co-operative movement generally. We are very thankful for what you do for small people in providing access to loans at reasonable rates for various aspects that you undertake, particularly in those provinces where the need is great. You have made your point this morning as to the need for the co-operative movement and for its extension. We appreciate that and we thank you.

Honourable senators, we have a brief from the Council of Catholic Charities of Toronto, which is represented by the Right Reverend Claude Mulvihill, Director of the Charities. You have his biographical sketch, which hardly does him justice. Nevertheless, it gives you some idea of what he has been doing. Sitting next to him is Miss Anne Quigley, Executive Director of the St. Elizabeth Visiting Nurses Association, where she has been for ten years. She is a graduate nurse of St. Michael's Hospital and has been on the staff there. She has also done public nursing. Her present position is executive director of the St. Elizabeth Visiting Nurses Association and she has been so for ten years.

Monsignor Mulvihill: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, I should like first to give you some idea of the role we play here, to back up some of the things said in the brief. The Council of Catholic Charities co-ordinates and is responsible for the overall delivery of services in the Metropolitan Toronto area.

We have in total 14 agencies and institutions members of the Council, as well as predominant organizations also in the diocese who are members of the Council. Within this context we attempt to meet every need in the community, on a request basis and as well we have ongoing programs.

However, for the purposes of the brief, rather than trying to touch all bases we have concentrated in putting out material concerning three of our agencies only, because in these three agencies we feel we are touching particularly the sore points one talks about on poverty. One of these is the visiting nurses, which is home visiting nursing service. With this kind of service we are getting right into the home, seeing people in their own surroundings and drawing from that information for proper recommendations. The Catholic Family Services, which is a family counselling agency with a professional staff, has an immigration department which gives special services to immigrants in the community. So, we are covering all angles in the area.

There is also the Catholic Children's Aid Society, the second largest on the continent, the other being a counterpart in Toronto itself, the Metro Children's Aid.

For the purposes of the brief we have used statistical information, as well as drawing from our own experience, to make some recommendations. This is the broad background.

Perhaps we are going to put a little different stress on this question of poverty than has been made in some of the other submissions you have received—not that we can come up with anything new. However, we think that in dealing with this question of poverty people can become far too engrossed in trying to equate things in terms of material substance or the lack thereof.

We are stressing that poverty is not by any means simply a lack of material things, and that if we are going to be constructive in launching any kind of poverty program for the welfare of the citizens of Canada, we are going to have to take into consideration not only material assistance that will alleviate the difficulties and hardships as a result of the material lack, but we are also going to have to take into consideration the other factors that lead to poverty. The point of this is, as stated in the brief itself, that poverty can be viewed as a relative matter, not only relative by comparison but also relative in the sense that there are different levels of poverty and we have to know what level we are talking about to make a judgment as to whether a particular case is a case of poverty or not.

The first recommendation, therefore, is one that you have received many times already in your proceedings, namely, that there should

be a guaranteed annual income. However, we have added a rider in making this recommendation by saying that such income should be set with flexibility for readjustment to relate at all times to the current consumer price index.

We did not attempt, because we could not, in any way to deal with how this is going to be administered because we are aware that whoever tries to do so will have a tremendous problem to grapple with. We do not feel that this is going to be a complete cure by any means because poverty is not always something that has a purely economic basis.

In dealing with this question in so far as it relates to our community, the first question we dealt with was that of the aged in the community and I direct your attention to that part of our brief where we have dealt with this subject and have given some very strong supportive evidence. We point out that in the case of over 5,000 homes visited, 15 per cent required completely free services but were ineligible because they do not become eligible under the existing legislation. I am talking here about the group that is not identified as being in poverty in the community. They could have a liquid asset up to \$1,000. For example, the aged in many instances fall into this category and they need this money to give them a sense of security, and in many cases they regard it as being necessary to have it to bury them. They cannot afford to pay anything for the services because their expenses when we sat down and did some budgeting with them were actually in excess of what they were getting. A large percentage of this group are those who according to our present scales are asked to pay something and this can be a sliding scale for a home-nursing visit, 25 cents to \$1.50. This is only a small fraction of the actual cost per visit which is approximately \$5. Furthermore, when these people—and here I am speaking of the aged in the community, those who are over 65—require services, as a matter of pride they want to pay something but at the same time in many instances they cannot afford even that small amount of money.

Here I would mention that under the Council of Catholic Charities we operate one of the largest homes for the aged on this continent. There are over 700 residents in the home and over 50 per cent of these people are unable to pay their way. This has been discovered after a very thorough examination of their assets. It follows that no efforts are being made to

help the aged people to continue to live in the community. We are not anxious to put these people into homes for the aged where they will get institutional care but at the same time there are so many gaps in existence. That is the reason for the recommendation in the brief that supported community services for the aged poor be incorporated as a high priority in any program to combat poverty. In this context the type of service we are talking about is, for example, better home-making services for the aged in the community. The program for meals-on-wheels is a fragmented program at the moment. There is not a real organized attempt to serve the aged in the community by this program—there are simply bits and pieces. I think there is a necessity right across Canada for this kind of program. Then there is the need for counselling which is something else we do not have for the aged group in the community. There are some agencies who are attempting to get in touch with these people to give them counselling services but they are still not available on an adequate scale at the moment. What we are talking about here are new imaginative services and programs for the aged in the community.

Coming now to the area of family services, in the lead-in to the recommendations we have done once again what so many others have done; we have made the distinction between the welfare client and the working poor. In many instances the direct services to the working poor are such that this is frequently a heavily penalized group in the community. We say "penalized" because in so many instances the working poor do not even have the entree or availability to services that the welfare group have in a community. We regard this as a question of serious concern, and even lay it on the line that this is a question of social justice in that the working poor are really a group that needs a high concentration of assistance and services in one way or another.

There is a statement in here that you may perhaps want to challenge; that is in respect to immigrant groups. We say there "we are not aware of significant differences in poverty concepts or extensive experience in poverty by a division of ethnic groups." That statement may seem a little contentious, I will admit, but by and large, as far as I am concerned, it does stand. There is one point I would like to make in this regard and that is that when you are adjudicating the question

of poverty in respect of immigrants, you need to look at and remember the background of the various immigrants we receive into this country and the living conditions from which these people have come. In the first instance, particularly in talking about immigrants, we do them an injustice and make some very false conclusions if right off the reel we begin to judge their living conditions and material situation on the same level as our own. I say this because many of them have come from depressed areas in other countries and their standards of living here, while we may judge them to be poor, are about 100 per cent better than what they come from. We find as a result of working with immigrant groups over many years that with very little expense this is one group that is able to upgrade itself better than the native Canadian.

We have also made a statement regarding the Canadian Indian, a subject which has been flogged to death, but we are very much aware of the need that exists in this area. I would particularly stress this from the family-service point of view because since our family service agency is set in downtown Toronto, many of our clients fall into this group. For example, the single Indian person finds his way into social agencies downtown, so we are dealing with this problem and are aware of their needs.

We would like to stress that in dealing with families we must in the service identify the individual needs, and our programs must be designed to maintain and strengthen the family as a unit. In other words, we have to find new ways of seeing human needs and meeting them without, as indicated in the brief, computerizing these needs and without generalizing on them.

As indicated, we submit that because we have failed to recognize these needs and to meet them, our present public and subsidized programs have not met or really dealt with the problem of poverty in our society, and that as a result much of the continuing poverty in our society, in our communities, exists because we have not met these needs.

With regard to our experience in family counselling, again we are talking about the low-income level. Out of better than 4,000 families, our average case rate, 61 per cent of our clients we deal with on a day-to-day basis are either from welfare-recipient family groups or the low-income poor groups in the community.

The thing we would like to stress here is that there is a tradition in the delivery of services across Canada. Your family agencies are private agencies which are delivering services that are community based, and yet there has been very limited involvement by government at all levels in the planning of any kind of so-called poverty program. This is a plea that there should be greater partnership and involvement with the private sector.

The recommendations we have made are as follows:

The first is that a home service corps be established consisting of a cadre of para-professional workers, not necessarily with MSW's, but who have had some kind of training in social schools. I am thinking of such institutions as Ryerson. We should have this type of worker who would instruct families in nutrition, meal planning, marketing, budgeting and allied areas of interest.

From personal experience, over a period of better than ten years I was situated and stationed in a parish right in the heart of downtown Toronto. I have climbed garret steps to attic rooms; I have dealt with families who have been living in this kind of situation. I think it is clear to anyone who has had any experience with and has been close to these people that they need the very thing we are talking about in this first recommendation. I am thinking of how many houses you go into—and these are not necessarily homes of the aged but some are young couples—and the house is a complete shambles. No wonder there is trouble in the family; there could be no peace and contentment. I have gone into houses you could not sit down in because things were so cluttered and dirty. This is the sort of thing we are talking about here. I must say in fairness that these things have been done on a single-project basis. At the moment in Regents Park a special committee has been set up to do this very thing. This is a broad problem and I do not think it is isolated to any one area.

The recommendation is that a broad program of this kind of education in nutrition, budgeting assistance and so on, be arranged in order to assist these people to help themselves, in the final analysis. In most instances, many problems arise because they do not know how to do these things.

The second recommendation is perhaps a further development, and it is a plea for greater support for the launching of an on-

going program of family life education. Again, we feel this is a very great need in our communities, a very great need in order to assist these underdeveloped or underprivileged groups we are talking about today.

The third is a plea in the form of a recommendation, for official recognition of the role of the voluntary family service agencies. There is the further connotation, we feel, after years of experience, that there are areas of service in which we can deliver better. In most instances we do not have the money to launch these programs, and, therefore, we have introduced into this recommendation the strong suggestion that there should be, in building these programs, a question of the purchase of services to community agencies who are qualified and able to deliver the services that are needed. Plus the fact that our argument is that we are community-based, we already have community involvement. The other thing that is of importance here is that it is natural and easier for the voluntary agency to be accepted by many of these people. Many of them feel they are threatened if you talk about a government agency or an official welfare worker. If they happen to be on welfare they see it as a threat to their welfare payments, and so on; but they do not if the work is done through a voluntary agency.

The fourth recommendation—and this is mentioned again later, in another context—is in regard to day-care centres, that they be increased in number and that necessary specialized services such as head start programs be supported and encouraged in these centres.

We are doing experiments in the voluntary field. We have opened up two new parish-based day-care centres but, again, this has been a very slow and tedious type of program to launch because there is no support. In the broad community there is no program that will encourage these voluntary groups to do this sort of thing. Therefore, if you have the money being saved you can get off the ground. In this context we are pleading: Give us some help to deliver this needed service.

The last area is that of child care. We are talking here about the second largest Children's Aid Society on the continent. The figures are here to show you the volume of cases that is carried. As a result of the study in preparation for the presentation of this brief, I think some very significant figures have emerged. We are talking of poverty here not only on the economic level, but also in

psychological and emotional terms. In working with children and rescuing them from situations such as the Children's Aid does, this I think is where we see that if we only look at poverty as being an economic problem we are not really tackling the real problem of poverty in our society. The break-down of families is something that is of considerably higher incidence in the child-care area. Again, the figures will show that the highest incidence, at least 50 per cent of Children's Aid cases—and, again, I would point out to you that we are dealing with some 4,000 families, with better than 6,000 children, a year—are directly related to poverty situations in which there arises child neglect and, in some instances, the need for a Children's Aid Society to officially move in for a rescue operation.

In this area too there is a real concern in respect of educational facilities for ex-wards of the Children's Aid Society. There is an alarming number who we feel need additional assistance in order to become valuable citizens in our community. Granted, they join their brothers and sisters in the school drop-out area, but these are children who have been through a more trying experience because of broken homes, a series of unfortunate foster home placements, and that sort of thing. Some of these children have had psychiatric treatment all the way through. When they get to be 18 they can no longer be wards, and they are on their own at a time when their education is not finished. So, the plea in the first recommendation is for more mobility so that more training can be aimed at this particular group.

We have introduced a little different approach here, and this concerns another group that we see from our experience. As a result of what we call the culture of spending we have a new group of poor in our community. These are people who are immature, and who spend themselves, as we describe it, into a corner. Financial pressure causes distress, which leads to marital problems, and which, in the end usually lead to parent-child problems. We identify these people in dealing with them in case work as having personality disorders. They are unable to restrain their spending. They cannot discern the priorities or the needs. As a result they get into tremendous debt situations which, in turn, causes all the stresses that they are unable to bear, and this in turn causes the breakdown of the family, and finally, as we say, there is

the takeover of child neglect. Families on welfare are also caught in this same culture of spending vice which is part of our society. Therefore, the recommendation is one that we feel carries a great deal of weight. The recommendation is that equivalent mass media time and effort be directed to conveying other values, particularly non-material values around family life and child rearing.

We have added a note to this that we think it can be done via the information services at the federal and provincial levels of government. When we speak of equal time we are referring to the spot announcements on radio and TV which could emphasize family values and family information in just the same way as the value of a brand new car, or other things that these people cannot afford to buy, is emphasized. It is because of such pressures, and because they are the people they are, that they get themselves into these situations.

The next point again shows where we have failed in our concept of service, and our concentration on service, to people in need. I am not talking now of just Metropolitan Toronto, but the whole of Canada. Our social agencies have been giving service, as described in the brief, on a "picking up the pieces" philosophy. All we have been doing is going around and putting out the fires. Therefore, the plea is that there be some definite consideration given to the launching of a kind of anti-poverty program that would have a great deal of heft, and that would go into such things as true preventive services. We are thinking of a program, in other words, that will prevent the family breakdown before the breakdown takes place.

In that area we would stress such things as, for example, some kind of process of early education aimed at the prevention of conditions that lead to neglect.

We have mentioned in the brief some of the things we are trying to do in this area. Last year our Children's Aid Society assisted 231 families that were in these situations that I have described. We have held those families, with over 900 children, together by giving service in their own homes. This is a preventive type of thing, but again it is almost a "too late" proposition.

Therefore, in the recommendation in this respect we urge that there be additional community-based programs for home life; that there be early education on difficulties through such programs.

Further—and this is a very sore point, I know—we are recommending that the concepts of social right be spelled out more clearly in the application of policy at the welfare worker level. The aim of such clarification must be the prevention of family breakdown by early intervention through flexible interpretation and use of emergency funds.

I emphasize the words "flexible interpretation" because the way in which things are structured now makes our attempts to assist the poor very difficult. I know that you are very well aware of this. This is happening because of hidebound regulations, and because of the need to define who is eligible and who is not eligible within the context of our assistance program at the moment. Often a real need for service or help is not given because the person does not qualify. We are asking that there be greater flexibility so that a judgment can be made and the real need determined. We do not care whether the person comes under the regulations or not. We want to deliver service to them, and very often we are not able to do that because of the present system.

The last point deals with the single parent situation. I know much has been said about it. We have backed up what we say here with figures, and we are recommending that a form of income subsidy be provided on the basis of need for those sole-support women who require day care for infants and children younger than presently accepted in day care centres.

When a child is small it needs its mother, and by means of an income subsidy we would be able to give additional support to the mother so that she may look after her child until such time, at least, that she can meet the basic needs.

The second recommendation on this aspect is that recipients of family benefits be given more incentive to work, and not be penalized if they seek employment to supplement their allowance.

I think you are aware that right now our system is extremely punitive. If a woman is in this situation, and if she earns in excess of \$36 a month by doing extra work, then she loses everything.

Finally, we recommend that flexibility in the consideration of individual situations and a choice of options be built into the family benefits programs. Again, we are very much

convinced of the need for this particular recommendation.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I should like to mention that I came across something the other day that sort of wraps this up, especially if we think we are dealing with something that is new. St. Augustine in the 5th century said:

You give your bread to the hungry, but it would be better if nobody was hungry and you did not have to give. Your clothe the naked; would to God that everyone was clothed and that this necessity had not to be thought about.

We are wrestling with the same problems today.

The Chairman: The problem has not changed from St. Augustine's time. Have you anything to add, Miss Quigley?

Miss A. M. Quigley, Director, St. Elizabeth Visiting Nurses' Association: No, Mr. Chairman, but I shall try to answer questions.

The Chairman: Senator Carter?

Senator Carter: This is a very helpful brief, and it covers a great many points, but I shall ask you to expand on one or two. You have mentioned official recognition of voluntary services. What form of recognition do you have in mind? Are you referring to recognition by the provincial governments, or by the federal Government, or by both?

Monsignor Mulvihill: Sir, I would think there should be recognition at all levels of government. In other words, this refers particularly to the family agencies, I think, more than to any other service group in Canada. The Voluntary Family Agency has no official standing as an agency, and is not in the position of the Children's Aid Society, which is officially recognized and which operates under the act. Many of our institutions do the same thing, operating under the charitable institutions act. A family agency is by itself in the sense that it does not have this kind of official recognition of which we are talking. One of my suggestions is, is it feasible that there would be an official licensing of a family agency, giving it that kind of official standing?

Senator Carter: Such as a provincial licence.

Monsignor Mulvihill: Or if it involves co-operation with the federal-provincial program that recognition should be at all levels.

Senator Carter: How would such an agency benefit as a result of receiving a licence from a municipality or the provincial government?

Monsignor Mulvihill: The best way to answer is to illustrate our present situation. We have been attempting through the family agencies in the Province of Ontario to negotiate with the family service departments in the province, because there has been no official recognition as such. It has been a very difficult arrangement to work out and to meet with the Government officials in order to become part of that total programming for the community.

Senator Carter: You are really saying that these voluntary agencies in the field should be regarded more or less as auxiliary services to the governmental agencies?

Monsignor Mulvihill: I do not say auxiliary. I say let them be partners, I do not like the term auxiliary. They are both serving the same group of people. Let them get together and do it on a constructive basis. Services are fractured everywhere.

Senator Carter: You desire a closer association with the Government.

Monsignor Mulvihill: Yes, but I do not think we can attain it without official recognition of the agencies as such.

Senator Carter: You mentioned a better concept of social rights, particularly as it is shown in the application of policy at the worker level. I presume you mean that you want the individual welfare workers dealing with persons to inform them more adequately of their social rights as they exist now, or do you think that the social rights as recognized by the Government are not adequate?

Monsignor Mulvihill: I am referring to the fact that the individual welfare workers within a federal or provincial department, or anywhere else, are trained to recognize the social rights of the individuals with whom they are dealing. Because of that training they are given the flexibility to apply those rights in individual cases in determining need and the kind of services required. This is as opposed to orders coming down from the top as to what the regulations, categories, et cetera, are to be, and only if these are met can you do anything. In other words, I consider that we are tying the hands of many very sincere workers, with the result that because of regulations nothing can be done.

Senator Carter: I thought you knew of some cases where social rights had been ignored by workers at the welfare level.

Monsignor Mulvihill: No, I am not making an accusation by any means.

The Chairman: What you are saying in effect is that social rights are not met because of these stringent regulations. We have heard that dozens of times in this committee.

Senator Carter: Yes, I wanted to clarify it because I was not quite sure.

Senator Fergusson: We had a committee on the aging in the Senate and it is something in which many of us are interested. On page 3 of your submission it is stated:

It is obvious therefore that our welfare programs are totally inadequate in caring for the aged (60 years or over) in our urban communities.

Have you any suggestions as to how we could give them better care?

On the next page you make a recommendation:

We would recommend that supported community services for the aged poor be incorporated as a high priority in any program to combat poverty.

Who do you think should give this? Should it be the voluntary organizations you speak of, or Government agencies? In any case, who would be eligible to receive the services? Who makes the decision?

These questions are all in the same area: you speak of meals on wheels and say it is a fractured program, which I am sure it is. It is growing through Canada, but it is very spotty. In New Zealand it is operated under government control, although there are volunteers who help with the delivery. Do you think that is a method we might employ?

Miss Quigley: May I enlarge on that, because as Monsignor Mulvihill says it is true that a very large percentage of our case load as a visiting nurse service is in the over 60 age group. We find that very often a visiting nurse is the only person who gives these people any care in their own homes. They are trying to maintain themselves at home as long as possible.

Senator Fergusson: When you speak of visiting nurses do you mean the V.O.N. for instance?

Miss Quigley: The V.O.N. and ourselves in Toronto, the St. Elizabeth Visiting Nurses Association. I am sure you are familiar with the role of the visiting nurses, which is to go in on a visiting basis, give a piece of care and go to the next home. She may be in the home an hour to an hour and a half, or 20 minutes, depending on the requirement. Actually, a visiting nurse is not really the complete answer. They require more care than this. We do what we can, but we then have to leave. They really need somebody who should stay longer, even on a part time basis. This could be a homemaker, but it should be scheduled to maybe three days a week, or every morning for two or three hours. This would ensure that these people have a meal and their shopping could be done for them, and so forth.

With respect to meals on wheels, it is very fractured inasmuch as there are very limited areas in which meals on wheels are available. There are boundary lines. When I say a very poor person I am talking about the person who is living in a rooming house. The person living next door will share. For instance, they will share a tin of soup. It is really this person who is trying to maintain himself on a very limited income, is not eligible for any Government assistance and has only a reduced income or a very limited pension. They end up living on tea and toast and really finding it difficult to carry on maintaining their own home.

Senator Inman: Do they call them voluntary homemakers?

Miss Quigley: Visiting homemakers, yes.

Senator Inman: Would they be any answer to part of this?

Miss Quigley: They are an answer, but again it is limited in the numbers of homemakers that are available and the number that work on this part time basis.

There was a trial area in Toronto where the visiting homemaker worked on a part-time basis and set up homemakers. She would go to a Mrs. Brown on Monday, Wednesday and Friday mornings and to Mrs. Jones in the afternoons. It worked out well but it was limited. There is really a great need here. Our great concern is for the individual who is trying to maintain himself in his own home as long as he can, but he just does not have the wherewithal and is not getting adequate care.

The Chairman: When you say the "where-withal," do you mean that they need income and then services?

Miss Quigley: Yes. Their income is limited; they are on a pension. They are not eligible for government assistance and that kind of thing.

The Chairman: That is our job here. The poverty line of the Economic Council is considerably above the Old Age Security line. The members of the committee are thinking in terms such as that—the adequate income, as you put it.

Let us deal with services and the Canada Assistance Act for a moment. You know the Canada Assistance Act as well as any of us. Under that act we have the obligation to meet the needs. "Need" is the word, and, as you know, in many parts of Canada that need is being imaginatively met. You are speaking more specifically of family needs in Toronto. Why can't that need for services—I am talking of Ontario only—be met by these various governmental organizations within the context of the Canada Assistance Act?

Monsignor Mulvihill: We are talking about more than just that. We are talking about the type of imaginative program that is concerned with more than just the welfare need of the individual. This involves a question of maintaining life and dignity. There has got to be concern for these people, that somebody cares whether they are living or dead. I do not think this sort of thing can be met by any kind of a governmental welfare setup. This is where the involvement of the volunteer sector comes in—to find those people who express that kind of concern.

The Chairman: Do the members of the committee recall that in Prince Edward Island the Catholic Family Organization sold services to the Government of the Island?

Monsignor Mulvihill: Yes.

The Chairman: They went out and bought and paid for their services and they were doing the things you are talking about.

Senator Cook: I visited around with Sister Jones and Mr. MacPherson.

The Chairman: Not only do we learn from you, but you are learning a little from us. There is an example of what can be done by a small province which is anxious to do something. What you are saying makes sense to us.

It is a fact that nobody ever sees these people or visits them. Their greatest complaint is loneliness, not money. Why isn't this sort of program introduced in other provinces by knowledgeable people such as yourself? It is being done well in one province without great expense; why hasn't it been followed through in other provinces?

Monsignor Mulvihill: Is it easier to do this in a smaller province?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): There is the answer; it is easier to do it in smaller provinces than in large provinces or even large cities like Toronto.

The Chairman: It is easier to do in smaller provinces. You have got three large agencies in Toronto, and this one is the largest and strongest and is very well run. An agency of that size could easily, working along with the Protestant and Jewish agencies, bring pressure to bear. Others are doing it, and the Province of Ontario can afford it.

Senator Cook: As I read the brief I cannot find anything in here to criticize. On the one hand it makes a plea for more money, and we all agree on that. On the other hand, it makes an equally strong plea for the involvement of many tens of thousands of people. Money without service and money without interest, for tens of thousands of people, would not mean very much. I agree particularly with your recommendation on page 6. We have been told over and over again to leave the poor alone, to give them money and they will look after their own problems. In my opinion that is nonsense. I agree wholeheartedly with this brief. I say that if the Canadian people are going to attack the problem of poverty they have got to do it in two ways. They have to provide money, and they have to become personally involved.

The Chairman: Senator Cook, I am sure the members of this committee agree entirely with every word you have said. Will you elaborate for one minute as to what you mean by being personally involved. What you are saying now is community participation.

Senator Cook: Yes. I do not care if it is through the churches, the service clubs or the Boy Scouts. They have got to have some interest.

Senator Quart: One of my pet theories is this recommendation that family members be given more incentive to work and not be

penalized if they seek employment to supplement their allowance. Coming back to voluntary service groups, I thoroughly agree that there is a serious shortage of homemakers. As to this idea of "meals on wheels," I know that in Woodstock the VON serve about 75 such meals per day. However, it is a little outside their area of service.

Would you agree that it would be logical to have some sort of co-ordinating council, even in parishes and districts, for social service work? It is much easier to do this in smaller communities where different voluntary organizations could be set up to do some specific job. I believe these people would measure up to the task set out for them.

In Sillery, Quebec, the Women's Auxiliary of the Catholic Church and the Women's Auxiliary of the Anglican Church are doing excellent voluntary work. They have a visiting committee whose members go around and visit the old and the sick. However, old people do not want to be disturbed sometimes. So they have a telephone committee, and once or twice a day they will call up the old and ask how they are and if there is anything the worker can do for them, such as shopping. This is particularly useful for the mother of a family who cannot get out. This system is working very well.

Would you agree that a co-ordinating council is needed so that poor people can find out where they can get such service?

Senator McGrand: Who would organize it?

Senator Quart: The women.

Senator Fergusson: There are such services in a great many parts of Canada at the present time.

Monsignor Mulvihill: This is in regard to smaller centres where everybody knows everyone else. It is easier there to do it on a volunteer basis. But in the big cities where first and foremost you have to find out where the people are, the greater work is still done by volunteers but to keep a volunteer program live and viable one must have a professional co-ordinator. This is where the voluntary agencies are concerned, because of the lack of funds they cannot employ a professional person to do the job. In that respect we know we are not meeting the need. In some places where people know one another it can be on a parish level. However, we know we are not completely doing the job.

The Chairman: We are agreed that the first need is income. You have said that and we go along with that. I want to make sure I understand the second point. You say it is services. I understand you to say that there are certain kinds of services which the Government is incapable of delivering, that voluntary agencies might better deliver that type of service and that the Government should take advantage of this and buy those services from the voluntary agencies. Is that what you are saying?

Monsignor Mulvihill: Yes.

The Chairman: That is what I thought you were saying. Are there any questions on that particular aspect? Do we all understand what Monsignor Mulvihill is suggesting. I think it is going to become important to us as we go more along in our hearings.

Senator Cook: There has to be a good supply of volunteers.

Senator Carter: When you have a group of voluntary agencies is there competition between them; do they overlap and get in each other's way, or do they notify each other? Is there concerted action?

Monsignor Mulvihill: In some instances—they may be remote instances—people make the mistake that because there are parallel services they think there is duplication. There is not. Each service deals with a specific thing. It looks on the surface as if they are doing the same thing as another agency but really they are not. It is a question of talking about parallel services versus competition.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I want to follow up Senator Quart's comments, with which I agree entirely, and the chairman's remarks.

The Chairman: He is not a witness.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): When you speak about an adequate income, I believe that there has never been an adequate income for a certain group of people. We talk about a minimum income, with which I am in agreement and I hope it will come about some day. We started at \$4,000 for this year. Next year this group will seek \$5,000, and the following year they will want \$6,000. I will leave that alone.

All governments—federal, provincial and municipal—are aware of the poor around the country and try to do something by giving

more money to the poor. The nation has become afraid of this kind of welfare. It is welfare without participation—that is where the mistake lies. It started with unemployment insurance, welfare without participation, where people can stay at home and get a cheque for doing nothing but filling in a form. We have spoiled people, so much so that many are complaining now about having to go to an office to get their cheque. They complain that there are no facilities at the office, that they have to wait three hours to get their cheque. They complain that there are no chairs to sit on and no music to listen to, and no cafeteria where they can buy a hamburger or hot dog.

I believe very strongly that welfare should have some participation element in it, or it will be a waste of effort and spoil a lot of people. There can be participation by the pick and shovel. There are all kinds of ways in which they can participate. Welfare is being handed out on a silver plate, and it is ruining the nation.

There has been talk about slum housing. We have seen a lot of it not far from home. About 60 houses were built for low income people a few years ago, and five or six of them are really slum dwellings now because the people who moved in were used to living in slum areas all their lives. There was no authority in the house. The children chopped the walls with axes, and the furniture was broken. These are exceptions but it makes things bad for many people. When a person visits the area he will not say anything about the 50 homes that are still beautiful. He will remark on the five or six which have become slum dwellings.

There are many consumer problems which arise in the area of social welfare assistance. For instance, if you give one woman \$50 for shopping she will do an extremely good job. She will go to a shopping centre to buy food and will save pennies here and there and come out with \$50 worth of food and groceries for the family. Another woman will spend \$25 on something that is valuable and the other \$25 on something that is useless. This is an unfortunate situation, but it is a situation that the committee has to face.

Monsignor Mulvihill: I agree completely. If I may go back to the recommendation on page 6 of our brief, this is exactly what it amounts to. We say that you cannot solve these problems simply by giving them money. They will

have to be trained how to use the money effectively. That is exactly what our recommendation amounts to.

Senator McGrand: I want to follow up Senator Quart's question. I asked Senator Quart who would organize this type of work she was referring to and she said that women would. But I have a feeling that these old people to whom she was referring who get up in the morning and are called by somebody who asks "what can we do for you today?" are socially a step above the real poor who seem to be neglected and without any friends.

Earlier today I asked the question of those who presented another brief if tenants in slum-housing areas could make their houses more liveable by repairing the blocked toilets and the broken windows and by plugging up the rat holes they complain about by organizing their own talents, with the landlord giving them a portion of the rent money to improve their houses which would be for the benefit of themselves and for the landlord.

Now, if that is possible, is it not possible to help the widows and the deserted mothers to become organized to provide better and cheaper clothing, for example, for their children by the use of the talents available within the community? As it stands today, as far as I can see, most of these unfortunate women do not know how to sew a seam. Therefore my question is; is it possible to utilize the talent of a few to develop the talent of the others? I won't ask you to answer that question, because I presume you are not too active with a needle and thread.

Monsignor Mulvihill: I think I can answer the question because I do know how to sew on a button. I think what you are talking about is the development of leadership within these indigent groups. This is the target, but then we come back to first principles and to the question of who will develop the leaders who in turn will develop the leaders. We have to have someone in there to develop this kind of leadership.

Senator McGrand: Among these people there are some others who, while they may be poor, may have a little talent and perhaps that could be organized toward the community. We have had the situation here in Ottawa recently where the tenants on a certain street formed an association to row with the landlord. I suggest that something could be done along the same lines by organizing the talents

available in these communities. Women could be trained to make clothing for their children and they could be trained in good housekeeping. It is not necessary to go to the Home Economics Department of Toronto University to get them to do that if the talent is already in the neighbourhood.

Senator Inman: We had a group before us in Vancouver who did just that.

The Chairman: Is there anything you particularly want to say to enlighten us about the number of tenant groups in Toronto?

Miss Quigley: If I may reply to this, Mr. Chairman, there is a group that has started recently, an experimental group doing this very thing in one of the very low income groups in Moss Park. We heard about it through one of our nurses who works in the area who in turn was told by a patient what they were doing. They had a home economist coming in to discuss nutrition, the buying of the best values available and to encourage the women to pool their resources in this very type of homemaking you are speaking about. As I say, it has just started in a very limited group. When our nurse was told of it she was very interested and she said she would drop in because she was particularly interested to see who would turn up. Unfortunately the situation is frequently that it is the people who are already a little better versed in these things who do turn up at these meetings. However, this has only happened within the last week so we are not in a position to see whether it is successful or not.

Senator Pearson: The cities of Toronto and Montreal have now become so large that they have become a burden on this country particularly because of the type of degradation that is being built up in those areas. Do you think there will ever be a possibility of getting ahead of the system or of curing poverty in the cities? I do not care whether you give them a guaranteed income, because if everybody gets \$3,000 then those with the bare \$3,000 will be the poor anyway. Toronto is a city where there are tremendously rich people and tremendously poor people. Will we ever get ahead of the system?

Monsignor Mulvihill: Well, senator, I am not a pessimist, but I do not think we will ever cure poverty. It does not matter what kind of program you launch, you are still not going to beat it. I think our aim must be to

alleviate some of the dreadful stresses and problems caused by poverty and to come up with some programs to eliminate its worst effects. But to say that these things are going to cure poverty completely, no dice.

Senator Pearson: In smaller areas the problem would not be as difficult.

Monsignor Mulvihill: I think it is easier to identify a problem and get at it in smaller areas. But in larger areas while you are looking at one problem over here, two new ones crop up over there, and that is where you have the difficulty.

Senator Carter: I was most interested in your suggestion of greater use of the mass media to emphasize the non-material values of family life to strengthen the family as a unit. However, the thought that came to my mind when I read that was; is that realistic? Are the people you are trying to reach the ones who will read the paper or listen to programs that will help to do this?

Monsignor Mulvihill: The very people who are the victims of this mass media pressure on buying are getting this pressure through their televisions. All we are saying is "give us equal time to get across to them the real concepts and values". After all, if what they see on television rubs off as being the concept of a good life, then there is no reason why the concept of true family life should not also rub off. All we ask is that they give us an equal shot at this thing.

Senator Carter: I can see that for people who have television and radio.

Monsignor Mulvihill: They all have television and radio.

Senator Carter: But if you come to the very poor group where families are breaking up, are you saying they are because of what they see on television, on radio and in the newspapers?

Monsignor Mulvihill: You go to one of the worst shacks in any city and you are going to find a television set in there.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): A colour television.

Monsignor Mulvihill: I do not know about that, but certainly there is television in there.

Senator Cook: You cannot blame them either.

Monsignor Mulvihill: I am not blaming them; they have the right to it; but if we want to get at them, let us use the medium through which we can get at them.

Senator Cook: Don't you think it is more the programs? I was looking at the "Pink Panther" last night on television and there were ski lodges, they were having a great time and driving expensive cars—I would like to have one myself. I think it is the programs, and the advertising that sort of zooms in after the program is over. That is what happens really.

Senator Carter: How would you get these people to look at that type of program, to motivate them?

Monsignor Mulvihill: We are not suggesting it on the basis of a one or a one-and-a-half-hour program, but we are saying: Throw it at them in spots, the same as you do advertising. They would not sit and watch a General Motors ad for an hour, but they sure do the two-minute blurb between programs.

Senator Fergusson: Do you think the Government should buy those kinds of blurb and put them on?

Monsignor Mulvihill: I would see that provision was made for equal time. I do not care who pays for it. The assessment of the program cost is based on the advertising cost. I think the big corporations should give some time for this sort of thing.

The Chairman: How would you handle it—after the automobile ad, say, "Don't buy that car!", or something like that?

Monsignor Mulvihill: No, I think that is too negative. I am not suggesting it would be negativism because that is defeatism. I think it is the positive concept we need here, and do it in that kind of spot.

The Chairman: Would you say, "If you buy that car it will cost you so much in principal and interest"?

Monsignor Mulvihill: No, this is truth in advertising. What we are talking about is true family concepts, the true family concept of child rearing, information flows of how people can better themselves by a better philosophy of living, and so on.

Senator Cook: It worked out with Lucky Strike: "Reach for Lucky Strike instead of a sweet!"

The Chairman: Is anybody doing it?

Monsignor Mulvihill: You have service announcements, and that is in much the same area; except rather than have service announcements, let us do this.

The Chairman: I am thinking of the American educational television system. I sometimes see their programs in Toronto from the American stations. Are they doing anything that is new or interesting?

Monsignor Mulvihill: Not in line with the recommendation. This is relatively new. I have not seen it done.

The Chairman: While we are at this, you gave us figures about female heads of families. You have a figure of 283,000.

Monsignor Mulvihill: Yes.

The Chairman: Our figures are almost the same; we are talking about 300,000. Have you any idea how many children they have?

Monsignor Mulvihill: I can give you an idea of that.

The Chairman: I do not think that figure you gave on Toronto is very large. This is on page 10.

Monsignor Mulvihill: This is a breakdown of those getting service immediately. I do not have those figures with me, but I can get them for you.

The Chairman: Not just for Toronto, but for the country. That is what we are interested in. Our average is 1.9—say that 2 is the average. You are not too far out.

Monsignor Mulvihill: Let us take a figure we have on page 10:

Over 30 per cent of women receiving family benefits in urban centres are unmarried mothers; 28 per cent are deserted wives.

So there is a total amount of 58 per cent.

The Chairman: That is not the way we are looking at it.

Senator Cook: There are 592 children—

The Chairman: No, that is in a month in day care. The way we look at it, we take the widow, the deserted wife, the separated and the divorced. They are women heads of families. Then we take a look at the children. We find about 300,000 women in those categories,

almost the same as your figure. Then we ask ourselves how many children they have. We find out they have about 600,000 children, or approximately that number, in their care. They are a special problem, and we are giving it special attention.

They have children and the question of whether they are working or not we will not discuss today. The question of whether they want to work or not we will leave for the moment. We are concerned with the children at the moment—though, in fact, we are also concerned with the parents. How do we keep those children in school? That is the one thing we ought to do for them above everything else. How do we induce those children to stay in school? Keeping in mind what you have told us about what you know of families that are poor—dressing them and their needs—what do we do to keep them in school?

Monsignor Mulvihill: This would have to be aimed at the individual child in each circumstance.

The Chairman: Yes.

Monsignor Mulvihill: If you are talking about continuing education, then it is a supplementary income because in most instances what we are saying is that the reason for the stoppage of education is financial need.

The Chairman: A drop-out?

Monsignor Mulvihill: Yes.

The Chairman: We are trying to avoid the drop-out.

Monsignor Mulvihill: Yes.

The Chairman: How do you say we can do that?

Monsignor Mulvihill: It would have to be an individual subsidy to the individual education of the child.

The Chairman: Of the individual child?

Monsignor Mulvihill: Yes. I think it is a question of determining the situation and circumstances that child happens to be placed in.

The Chairman: We had asked that same question of Tom Kent, and he came up with the same answer.

Senator Fergusson: I am harkening back to what Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigou-

che) had to say, Monsignor Mulvihill, about people going into subsidized housing and some becoming slums even in two years' time. While on some of our trips we learned about a lot of these places and we visited some. Many people told me that families were just delighted they were going to move in, but some of the wives had never seen the inside of such a house as that. They had no idea of how to take care of it. Not only did they not take care of it properly, but the fact of being there actually upset the women to the extent that they were having nervous breakdowns. This led to trouble in the family because the husband could not understand why his wife was not doing as good a job as someone else's wife. I can understand this, if you had lived in a house where there were not even chairs, such as you mentioned, and were suddenly put into such a house as this.

I tried to bring this matter up before Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, but they rather brushed me off. I admit that I did not go into it as much as I am going into it with you, but I am wondering if it could be made a requirement that training be given to persons before they go into housing like that. That training could be conducted by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and the mother or the oldest daughter, or whoever the housekeeper is going to be, would have to take that course of training before having a place assigned to them. Is it reasonable that such a thing might be done? I am sure that if that were the procedure the women in question would learn how to run the house.

While in Prince Edward Island someone told me of a man who had gone home to find his wife in an almost mental state because she did not know what to do with the coat hangers that were hanging in the closet. That may seem to be ridiculous, but the person telling me this was trying to make the point that there were things in the house that that woman did not know how to use.

Monsignor Mulvihill: I agree with you completely, and I think we have to approach this from the point of view of human nature. It is when these people are waiting for their accommodation that they are best acclimatized to take whatever course is necessary, because it would then become a qualifying factor, and they are going to do it. It may be a pressure of sorts, but at the same time the purpose is to help them.

Senator Fergusson: Yes, would it not be a practical thing to do?

Monsignor Mulvihill: It sounds very practical to me. I think what you have said is true across the board. I have seen the same things. We seem to have the idea that if you give a person good housing you sort out his or her problems. If people are not able to carry on in a good housing situation, and continue it as such, then certainly we have to teach them how to do it.

The Chairman: You have talked about the working poor, and have said that they are a particular problem. You also mentioned the fact that earnings are deducted to the extent of 100 per cent from the welfare recipients. That is so, is it not?

Monsignor Mulvihill: Yes.

The Chairman: Then I will tell you something that you can take back to Toronto with you. In at least four provinces, all of which are poorer than Ontario, the welfare departments, through the Canada Assistance Act,

keep the working poor off relief by subsidizing them so that they may continue to work and stay off relief. In Ontario and other provinces the rules are such that you are either on relief or off relief. In some provinces they have been experimenting with the concept that if a man needs some help while he is working then he receives that help and stays off welfare.

Monsignor Mulvihill and Miss Quigley, I thank you on behalf of the committee. You have added to our knowledge and understanding. I think we have done a little for you too. This has been a fair exchange.

It is a comfort to us to know that the poor people in parts of Canada have such as yourselves in their corner trying to help them in some way. We too are trying to help. It gives us confidence to hear of what you are doing. We appreciate very much your coming here today.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

BRIEF
to the
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
on POVERTY
presented by
THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF CANADA
OTTAWA
February 12, 1970

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Introduction

The Co-operative Union of Canada, a national association of English language co-operatives in Canada, welcomes the opportunity to make this presentation on behalf of its member organizations to this Special Senate Committee on Poverty.

At the outset we wish to say how pleased we are that this senate investigation is taking place. In a society that is progressively growing more complex one of the real needs is to obtain a clearer description, a more thorough analysis and a better understanding on the part of all citizens of major issues. From this base solutions with greater potential and a better basis of support are likely to emerge. The devoted and thorough approach of your committee, coupled with the notable interest on the part of the multitude of organizations and individuals who are responding to the request for views and comments, cannot help but be an important factor in clarifying the poverty issue and developing a broader understanding of its implication and importance. Hopefully too, suggestions put forward and subsequent discussions may well lead to

approaches and programs of significant merit. It is in this vein that the following observations, comments and proposals are made.

Problem Definition

It is not our intention to attempt to define the term poverty nor is it within our competence to chart the incidence of poverty in Canada, however it is defined. For the purposes of this presentation we shall fall back on the publications of the Economic Council of Canada as ample indication that a serious poverty problem exists in the midst of Canadian plenty. In particular, we are motivated to re-emphasize the Economic Council's contention that program emphasis should be on eliminating poverty rather than simply helping the poor. Also, that the problem of poverty is social and physiological as well as economic and therefore the relative position of people in terms of access to levels of living must be a guideline in understanding the problem.

From our point of view the thought that even one fellow human being is deprived of an opportunity to lead a full and meaningful life is sufficient cause for great concern. When the fact is not one but millions of individuals, we accept the guilt that falls to all Canadians who have lacked sufficient will to redirect skills and resources towards eliminating a totally unacceptable situation.

An Added Dimension

Without detracting from the fine work of the Economic Council of Canada in recent annual reviews, which outline a number of important approaches to eliminating poverty, we wish to add one more dimension to the perspective from which proposals for solutions are launched.

The Sixth Annual Review, introducing a chapter on Poverty, states: "Special attention

therefore should be focused on the need to achieve a broad basis of participation in the future economic development of our country." The chapter goes on to deal with proposals for increasing the amount and the value of labour input which are put forward as viable possibilities for most of Canada's poor.

Disparity of income in our society stems not only from the value of personal effort and skill but also from investment returns. It seems to us that any discussion that bears on *'the need to achieve a broad basis of participation in the future economic development of our country'* must be broader than labour contributed. It could be argued that the very fact that people are poor eliminates any hope of this group being involved in any aspect of investment returns and that their only hope of getting so involved would be by virtue of an unlikely windfall or as a result of savings accumulated through substantial labour earnings.

We submit that there is an alternative that if fully understood, properly applied and carefully nurtured has real potential for involving people beyond simply contributing labour to economic development.

The co-operative approach is the alternative being proposed.

The Co-operative Idea

In the western world the title of "Father of Modern Co-operation" is usually attributed to Robert Owen, the English industrialist 1771—1858 who recognized the power inherent in the industrial revolution and felt that the workers should share directly in the responsibilities and benefits involved. He set up a weaving industry in Lanark and established an organization that involved the workers in operating decisions and in profit sharing.

Modern co-operative principles were formulated by a group of workmen in Rochdale, England in 1844. It is the application of these principles which distinguishes a co-operative (in business to provide members with a service) from the ordinary commercial company (usually in business to obtain a profit for shareholders). The main principles are: *one member one vote* which means that control is spread equally among the membership; *open membership*, which means that all who can make use of the services are welcome to join; *limited return on capital*, which means that those who provide the necessary funds receive only a fair return on invested capital;

and *surplus (profit) returned to the members in the form of patronage dividends*, which means that if the members are paying more than is needed to pay for the services performed, the resulting surplus will be returned to them in proportion to the use which each has made of the organization.

The fact that people get together to provide services for themselves means that they must work together on a mutual self-help basis. The concept of working together has achieved a good deal of esprit-de-corps on the part of co-operatives around the world and has given rise to a distinct world wide co-operative movement.

Inherent in the process of working together to do things for themselves is the need to learn a good deal about many things such as how a business is organized, financed and operated and how decisions are made democratically. Education of members has been a major operating principle of the co-operative movement throughout its history.

The Co-operative

A co-operative is an organization of people with a charter which provides the group with the authority and a legal basis for carrying on business. The purpose of the business is to serve needs of members. Agricultural co-operatives are owned by farmers, fisheries co-operatives by fishermen, co-operatives for savings and credit by those who want to borrow and save money, housing co-operatives by those who live in the houses, student co-operatives by students, and of course consumers' co-ops by consumers.

At first capital in some form and in varying amounts is required depending on the size and nature of the activity. Basic capital is subscribed by members for the purpose of providing the service not to make a return on the investment. Additional capital for growth and expansion comes from earnings of the business which are credited to the members but retained by the co-operative and from the sale of additional shares or bonds.

Control of a co-operative rests with the annual meeting of members. The members decide what services are to be offered and how the business is to operate. They also elect a board of directors which is responsible to the members in properly called meetings. The Directors make decisions, have a manager and supervise his performance.

Co-operative Growth

When local co-operatives were established it was soon learned that such an organization could only go so far and at an early stage in the history of the movement (as early as 1863 in England) local co-operatives learned to work together in wholesale or federated associations. This pattern has been followed in Canada as elsewhere. The result is that some of the largest co-operatives in this country are apex organizations, offering to the local member organizations such services as central marketing facilities, wholesale supplies, manufacturing and the provision of credit. Within this federated structure the individual member of a local co-operative has considerable economic strength.

The latest detailed statistics published by the Federal Department of Agriculture indicate that in 1967, 2519 co-operatives reported in Canada. These had a combined membership of 1,688,000, assets of \$1 billion and volume of business in 1967 of \$2,179,000,000.

At the end of 1968 there were 4,663 credit unions and caisses populaires with a combined membership of 5,098,567, savings of \$3.2 billion and loans outstanding of \$2.4 billion.

Although the figures on business volume are small compared to the economy as a whole, it does mean that a very large segment of the population are involved in economic activity in addition to contributing labour to the economic processes.

The Development of Co-operatives in Canada

Perhaps the most widely known of Canadian co-operative activities is the development that centred around St. Francis Xavier University at Antigonish, Nova Scotia. Known as the Antigonish Movement, this activity combined adult education with economic action to spur development of both human and natural resources. Names like Father Tompkins and Dr. M. M. Coady are well known around the world where the adult education and co-operative action which uplifted the farmers and fishermen of the Maritimes is being adapted to innumerable development situations.

In the Prairies, western farmers quickly adopted co-operative methods to control the marketing of their product when exploitation and abuse developed in the service available to them. Financial co-operatives have made tremendous strides in Quebec and in other parts of Canada. Farmers' co-operatives in

Ontario are a significant element in returns to farmers in the area they serve as they are in other parts of Canada.

Co-operatives Among Canada's Native People

In recent years the concept of community development has been universally accepted as the best approach to encourage economic and social development in underdeveloped areas. In this approach people are encouraged to study their problems and to seek solutions that involve a large proportion of their own efforts. Through group action, supported by resources made available by government and other sources, the community learns to deal with its own problems. In many of the community activities some form of legal business structure is required. The philosophy, the legal basis and the operating experience of co-operatives all suggest that the co-operative form is the most appropriate for the purpose intended. The ownership and benefits are widely dispersed among the people and control is democratically administered.

A good deal of experience and some encouraging results have been achieved in the development of co-operatives among Indian, Metis and Eskimo people in Canada. Significant development has only taken place when the government, within whose jurisdiction the welfare of the group fell, established development programs and made resources available to assist the people involved to set up and operate co-operative activities.

Eskimo Co-operatives

The development of co-operatives among Eskimo people is a fascinating story both from the point of view of the people and of the government administrators and others who provided technical assistance to all aspects of the development.

At an International Labour Organization conference, dealing with the The Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries, held in Geneva in 1965, the Hon. Ron Basford in a statement on behalf of Canada said: "The Federal Government has helped to develop production and marketing co-operatives for several groups of Eskimos in northern Canada. This innovation has been, in some instances, responsible for saving a northern area from destitution. Co-operatives have proved to be valuable institutions to their members, allowing the Eskimos to retain con-

trol over their own activities, thus strengthening their traditional independence and personal pride."

At the end of 1968 there were 35 co-operatives and three credit unions operating in the Canadian North, in addition a number of other groups are working towards incorporation. An estimated 1,600 northern families derived economic and social benefits from participating in these co-operatives. Members equity amounted to \$898,000, sales for that year totalled \$2,438,000 and savings returned to members \$126,000.

A significant aspect of development in the north has been the emphasis placed on co-operatives as a basis for developing northern industry. The handicraft industry in particular is one in which local co-operatives play an important role in production and central marketing agencies are being developed to operate on a co-operative basis. One of these, Canadian Arctic Producers Limited had sales of over \$1 million last year.

Co-operatives Among Indian and Metis People

The Second National Statistical Report on Co-operatives Among Indian People in Canada 1968, published by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, indicates that there were 123 co-operatives in this category with total membership of 7,756 and sales of \$5 million. Members equity totalled \$1,207,000. This level of investment must be much greater to represent an important factor in the economic pursuits of Indian people but it does represent the only economic investment outside of personal equipment that many of these people have. More important it does suggest that significant development of this type is capable of achievement.

111 of the 123 Indian co-operatives are located in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta where the Provincial Governments have established policies and set up a full program of encouraging co-operative development among Indian and Metis people. Cost sharing arrangements were drawn up to cover the Federal Government's share of responsibility.

A significant development took place in Saskatchewan in 1959 when two crown corporations—The Saskatchewan Fish Marketing Service and Saskatchewan Government Trading—were converted to the co-operative form. At that time the Saskatchewan Government

had \$600,000 invested in these two organizations. All but a few thousand dollars of this has been repaid to the government and the assets are now fully owned by the members.

The Co-operative Contribution

Co-operatives have held a place of varying importance in the lives of many thousands of Canadians. History would support the contention that some of these individuals have been able to stay above the poverty line because they associated themselves with one or more co-operative activities. Primary producers in particular have utilized the co-operative technique to own, control and operate their service, supply and marketing businesses and thus improving their standard of living.

In the overall, co-operative techniques have not been widely accepted by Canada's poor. The reasons for this are many and varied. To attempt to list and analyze these reasons would be largely speculation on our part. It does seem appropriate, however, to re-emphasize the fact that where government policies and government programs have been directed to assisting a special segment of Canada's poor, native people, to help themselves, notable progress has been made. This would seem to justify careful study of the potential of co-operatives as an instrument for other segments of the disadvantaged.

In addition to economic considerations that have been referred to, perhaps the greatest contribution that co-operatives make is that they provide a basis for people to study their own problems and involves them in decisions that affect them. It is essential that people are able to face their problems with dignity and confidence. Group action has a tendency to create such feelings even in the most difficult situation. Another important aspect of co-operative action is that governments and other interested parties can in many circumstances provide assistance with such things as education, financing, technical advice, etc. much more effectively and efficiently to groups of people than they could to individuals.

Additional Considerations

I. Another aspect of how well people are able to live is related to how effectively available income is utilized.

(1) There appears to be considerable evidence to indicate that generally speaking less well-off people get less for their money. This

situation stems from the fact that they know the least about the market, they generally have fewer opportunities available to them because of such factors as transportation and because of overall poor spending habits.

There are at least two ways in which co-operatives potentially have a contribution to make in meeting this problem.

(a) Consumer education is an obvious answer but it is difficult for educators to get the consumers who need it most in a position where they can learn what they need to know to become discriminating purchasers. A consumer co-operative which builds consumer education into its normal activities could be an effective way of meeting this need.

(b) Properly organized and operated a consumer co-operative could do a great deal about analyzing and selecting "best buys" and making these available to members at minimum cost.

(2) Services in our society are generally geared to providing essential services without the more affluent citizens. Those who would prefer or who require more utility and less frills have limited opportunity to meet their needs. Here again consumer co-operatives geared to providing essential services with elaborate packaging, extensive services and costly customer indulgences could provide a real service to less affluent customers.

Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires

II. It appears well established that the poor pay more for their credit needs than the more affluent. Credit unions and caisses populaires have made a notable contribution in providing saving opportunities and loaning services to members. In many case counselling services have been developed to advise people in regard to their borrowing. To the extent that the poor have joined credit co-operatives, they have not been required to pay more for their credit needs. However, this type of co-operative action has not had a great appeal to the poor. Much more effort is needed to make these co-operatives instruments of the poor.

Co-operative Housing

III. A discussion on co-operative activities would not be complete without including a few comments on housing. A good deal has been written about co-operative housing as a method of housing many Canadians. The Co-operative Union of Canada made a presenta-

tion to the Task Force on Housing last year which is available if additional information is required by the Senate Committee.

Many low income people in the Maritimes have provided themselves with houses on a self-help basis. A sound government program in Nova Scotia coupled with advisory service from the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University contributed to the building of from three to four thousand homes over the years.

Recognizing the advantages accruing to the participants that are inherent in the co-operative approach the present minister in charge of housing, The Honourable Robert Andras, and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation have agreed to a substantial contribution to the National Labour-Cooperative Committee (maintained jointly by the Canadian Labour Congress and the Co-operative Union of Canada) to assist with establishing a national structure for promoting and assisting with the development of co-operative housing. Arrangements have also been made for a limited number of co-operative pilot projects under the section of the National Housing Act dealing with low income people.

It is being proposed that this general approach be extended into the consumer field.

A Specific Proposal

A good deal more information appears to be needed before a comprehensive approach to co-operative self-help programs can be formalized. At present we lack experience with co-operative action among the urban poor. Many of the lessons learned from working with native people can be adapted but an experimental approach to programs for the general disadvantaged in our society seem warranted.

One thing that we all have in common is that we are all consumers. The low income group spend a large portion of their income on food and household items. Our economic system generates profit from serving the poor as it does from serving all citizens. This profit finds its way into the hands of the high income earners and contributes to the disparity of income for the rich and the poor.

The suggestion contained in this proposal is that if this group of consumers were properly organized, they could participate in the benefits derived from some of the economic activity carried out on their behalf.

In addition to the many features of co-operation, such as built in education and involvement, a co-operative approach to consumer spending would keep the earnings made from providing services to themselves in their own hands. If a good deal of these savings are used to build up assets over time, the approach could lead to a significant degree of participation of this group in our economic system.

There are three main features of a co-operative that require special attention if a promotional program is contemplated; the members and their organization, capital and management.

When a group of people organize a co-operative business they are saying in effect that they can set up and operate a business themselves rather than have someone else do it for them. If a promotional program is contemplated it must be recognized that at the outset and for a considerable period they will require a great deal of help until they learn to do it themselves, including making decisions as a group and standing behind those decisions.

Anyone who sets up a business must finance it and a co-operative business is no different. The people we are concerned about have very little capital. This means that the sponsoring organization must be sure that sufficient capital is available. In this regard part of the finances for Eskimo co-operatives has been supplied through the Eskimo Loan Fund.

The item of management is as important to co-operatives as it is to other forms of business. Co-operatives of the type being proposed usually start small and the difficulty of maintaining adequate management is a problem. The sponsoring organization again must insure that adequate management is available. Management advice from co-operatives and other forms of business is available but this contribution must be properly built in to the activity.

Where production potential is available that could be developed by group action, this form of co-operation will more directly benefit those involved. In most circumstances of the urban poor such opportunities may not be available and therefore an experimental approach for consumer co-operation is being suggested.

Specifically the proposal is that assistance and encouragement be given by the appropri-

ate levels of government to a few selected areas where experimental consumer co-op projects can be developed in order to gain experience to guide a more comprehensive co-operative program as soon as sufficient information is assembled.

At the present time there is a group in Ottawa's "Lower Town" who are working towards establishing a direct-charge consumer co-operative to serve low income families. In this type of co-operative the members pay a weekly service fee to cover operating expenses and obtain their groceries and other household needs at wholesale prices. To the extent that the members are prepared to accept minor inconveniences such as limited store hours, less costly space and lack of carry-out service; are prepared to accept a smaller brand selection; and are able to forecast supply needs which can reduce inventory costs, considerable savings can be made. In order to make savings and provide a basic service, a high level of efficiency is required. Assistance and guidance to maintain efficiency is required.

Recommendations

1. Initially we would urge all people in the lower income bracket to seek out and join existing co-operatives that are available and could serve some of their needs. If the co-operative is not at present offering the type of service desired or required perhaps by participating in decisions, changes could be brought about to more effectively meet the needs of people in poorer circumstances. If a co-operative does not now exist there are presently some sources of help in organizing and financing co-operative activities.

2. The Federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has demonstrated its willingness to enter into cost sharing arrangements for co-operative self-help projects with the provinces. Although considerable progress has been made in some provinces, others have shown little or no interest in promoting and assisting self-help projects among native people.

We wish to acknowledge the support given by governments involved and to urge others to study what has been accomplished and establish similar policies and programs.

3. A hard core of the poverty problem exists in urban centres. It is recommended that the Federal Government take the neces-

sary steps to initiate a program whereby experimental projects are set up directed towards the establishment of consumer co-operatives in areas where concentrations of Canada's urban poor reside. The rationale for using the experimental approach is to gain much needed information and experience before launching a comprehensive program.

The collaboration of provincial and local governments would be required as well as the full support of public and voluntary organizations that have an interest and role in the various communities. This is the type of project that might be considered by the "Coalition for Development" (sponsored by church groups and receiving considerable support from a wide range of voluntary organizations) if the organization of this body is completed.

Supporting policies covering such things as financing and advisory assistance are needed and should be built in at the appropriate level.

4. A degree of caution seems necessary in recommending the foregoing level of involvement by government in an essentially voluntary activity. There is a real danger that government administrators may seek to deal with the co-operative as they do with direct instruments of government policy and begin to dictate decisions and behavior of the co-operative group.

The same dictation is possible from other groups that undertake active support of co-operative projects.

An educational program may be necessary to inform all who seek to help, that they can by their own behavior hinder more than help the free development of people and their organization. In this case it is possible to develop a successful co-operative business without corresponding growth and development of the people involved. Without this essential aspect of human development the

co-operative would lose much of its appeal as an instrument for development.

General

The co-operative approach is being applied in developing situations around the world. Major international organizations such as the United Nations, its Food and Agriculture Organization, and the International Labour Organization strongly support programs which seek to apply co-operative techniques to problems of disadvantaged people wherever they may reside. The Canadian Government through the Canadian International Development Agency is providing technical assistance and other support to co-operative projects in developing countries.

Individual and social development as well as economic progress is inherent in the co-operative method. Where such activities did not develop naturally, it has been considered legitimate and appropriate for governments and other organizations to do the necessary things to promote co-operative development where the circumstances of people inhibited their own initiative in this regard.

In Canada a number of low income people are benefiting from involvement in co-operative activities. Important programs of co-operative development have been initiated by various levels of government (usually in consultation with the existing co-operative movement) to assist native people to own and control the business activities essential to their welfare.

It is being proposed that a similar program, initiated by government and supported by appropriate policies and assisted by co-operatives and other voluntary organizations, be established for other low income earners. It is further suggested that the program be initiated on an experimental basis and involving consumer co-operatives at the outset.

APPENDIX "B"

BRIEF ON POVERTY

Introduction

The Council of Catholic Charities wishes to thank the Senate's Special Committee on Poverty for the invitation to present this brief.

One of the major roles of the Council of Catholic Charities is to co-ordinate and strengthen the services given by its member agencies which operate in the Archdiocese of Toronto. These services encompass areas in the health, welfare and recreation fields and the Council has been offering these services for more than sixty years. During this time the concern for people who have been the victims of poverty with all its facets has caused us to develop programmes, etc. to assist in coping with this problem. Through the agencies in the Council service to all segments and all ages in our community has given us, we feel, the knowledge to speak of the incidence of poverty as well as developing some definite convictions that would aid in alleviating it.

Due to the fact that the bulk of our work and service has been to the people in the centre core of Toronto, we are drawing our facts for this brief from an urban and high density of population from which the caseloads of our agencies are comprised. We have sought the co-operation of agencies offering service to children, families, single individuals, immigrants as well as native born clients. They represent agencies and institutions offering this wide spectrum of service in our community. The statistical information gathered from these agencies reflects as well all aspects of poverty. In many cases the poverty is not only economic but includes as well social and cultural deprivations and these characteristics more often than not exist at the same time in the poor we serve.

Definition

Poverty must be defined in negative terms. It can only be considered as a lack or want of something. This, therefore, is a direct opposite to the concept of wealth which is the possession of something. In this sense, then, we would be prepared to confirm your committee's understanding that poverty can be viewed from a variety of points, including the

economic, cultural, social, psychological and political perspectives. Further, and in the same sense, poverty can be viewed as a relative matter for it is difficult to assess how much a person hurts from a lack of something. So while beauty is in the eye of the beholder, poverty is in the ken of the one who feels it.

Having suggested that there is a concept of relativity within the nature of poverty, no one can deny that there are certain minimums to which every person has a right in developing and enriching their lives. Please note the last comment which has to do with enriching. We would presume that one of the worst forms of poverty, stemming from whatever source as described in the foregoing, economic, cultural, etc. is the hopelessness that may be attached to improving one's lot in life and enriching their life experience as a member of the human race.

Recommendation

We support and add our recommendation that provision be made for a guaranteed annual income for all citizens and that such income be set with flexibility for re-adjustment to relate at all times to the current consumer price index.

To quote a recognized economist: "But a cure for poverty in any fundamental sense, the guaranteed income clearly will not be."¹ It is with this in mind that in the brief we are recommending service to the poor that will do more to alleviate the causes and hopefully if these services are effective even cure some causes. To substantiate this need we will present statistics from our service records that indicate and, we feel, prove this need for supportive services.

1. The Silent Ones—Aged

Using just the report of one of our agencies whose programme is that centered around home visits we find that in a year, 7,075 visits were made to homes that fell into the level of poverty existence. This represents 20 per cent of the caseload. Those are families with no

¹ D. L. McQueen, Professor of Economics, York University.

income or with an income too low to meet their health requirements, etc. From this same agency, 5,342 visits or 15 percent of the caseload were made to the homes when because of economic deprivations completely free service had to be offered. What is significant in these figures is that 55 percent of the total caseload the recipients of service were to clients sixty years of age or over. It is obvious therefore that our welfare programmes are totally inadequate in caring for the aged (sixty years or over) in our urban communities. This is perhaps only supporting evidence for information already evident through other presentations that Canada needs much more supportive programmes for the indigent aged and to support the activities especially in the voluntary field to care for the elderly, infirm aged in our communities who are forced at present to exist in sub-standard economic conditions. We could produce even more statistics from the records and application of a large home for the aged which is also a member of the Council of Catholic Charities. One such figure is sufficient to support the above and that is that this residence of over 700 more than 50 percent must be subsidized because of lack of personal funds. The tendency today is for the aged to remain in the community as long as they are able and yet we do need new and imaginative services to help them maintain life with dignity and a measure of security.

Recommendation

We would recommend that supported community services for the aged poor be incorporated as a high priority in any program to combat poverty.

2. Family Services

(1) In the area of services to families it seems much more apparent that there is a distinction to be made between the welfare client and the working poor. Much has already, we know, been written and said of this distinction. But it is of continuing note to us in the direct services to families that in many instances the "working poor" are often penalized in relation to the availability of services in medical and dental care, in the legal areas and in many other ways, in relation to the availability of such services to those who have established eligibility for welfare programs on the basis of practical destitution. We wish primarily to confirm that this is a matter of serious concern and a matter

that requires attention in terms of social justice. Since we offer service to native born as well as to the immigrant groups we are not aware of significant differences in poverty concepts or extensive experience in poverty by a division of ethnic groups. The one major exception is so obvious that we do not feel it requires elaboration. The Canadian Indian is, of course, the ethnic group to which we have reference. We can meet basic needs in food and shelter by large regional programmes and even national standards. We beg to emphasize that this is not sufficient to maintain individual identity and family strengths. We need to deal with families as individual units and we think that this is one of the major challenges of our culture. We need to define completely new ways of seeing human need and meeting it without computerizing it into automation and making every family conform to a machine whose fuses are established in this amperage in Ottawa or in Provincial legislatures. We humbly submit that because we have failed to recognize these needs and to meet them that our present public and subsidized programmes have not met or really dealt with the problem of poverty in our society.

We believe that the essence of vibrant democracy calls on participation of all its members. We must not stop, as we have, in thinking that such participation is answered by purely vocal groups to which media react in interesting coverage. The responsibility of government is to provide means so that leadership to participants is present and to encourage the developments of the segments which make up unity rather than unity which destroys the segments.

(2) Our experience in family counselling in Toronto is hardly encouraging. Families reach us with a wide variety of problems and often not emphasizing financial need even when it exists. If we use income level as a criteria, we are aware that 61 percent of the families who reach us have an income of less than \$5,000 a year and this percentage figure attains for the approximately 4,000 families a year in just one of the two agencies offering family casework. To date, we are clearly aware that the private service sector has had limited involvement with government in planning so-called poverty programs. Yet our tradition is that delivering services to families is a shared responsibility by both public and private agencies. The concept of self advancement through education and training obviously should be available to our total community

including those who may be considered poor. One of the major problems of our present welfare programmes is that they have many built in liabilities such as bureaucratic structures and policies with which our poor are unable and ill equipped to deal. If we are to offer and, we must, not only guaranteed income, we must also devise a system to overcome the present great inequalities of opportunity. To the poor who sincerely want to work we must give them the opportunity to develop their human productive potential and match it with work that will produce remuneration and satisfaction.

Recommendations

(1) Home service corps be established, a cadre of paraprofessional workers who would instruct families in nutrition, meal planning, marketing, budgeting and allied areas of interest.

(2) That appropriate sources at all levels of government increase their support of family life education which would provide parents with information and understanding of the principles of child care including nutrition, family relationships and home management.

(3) Recognition officially of the role of the voluntary family service agencies and the value of even purchased services to enable these agencies to develop more community based and community involved services to alleviate poverty and its causes.

(4) That day care centres be not only increased numerically to meet the demand but that necessary specialized services such as head start programmes be supported and encouraged in these centres.

3. Child Care

The final area of service that we would like to draw upon is that of service to children who for one reason or another come into temporary or permanent care of the Children's Aid society. Granted that we have in Ontario the most enlightened legislation for child care, it is the causes for the large number of children requiring care of this nature that reflects yet another end result of poverty in our society.

The figures for 1968 show that in a year, 3,685 families with 6,275 children required attention and help; 2,004 unmarried mothers and 2,098 children were in care for this period. The gamut of problems which are the daily workload of 200 staff members are the

problems of poverty whether it is considered in economic—statistical terms; or the psychological—emotional terms. The major portion of work with children centres upon “the poor” since they comprise 50% of the figures for the year as stated above. This portion of the clientele of the agency requesting help with family problems or requiring intervention because of actual or potential neglect of children are from those families who are recipients of General Welfare Assistance and Family Benefits or fall within the low income vulnerable group of poverty risks. The large number of children coming into care either because the child has been released by the parent or the courts have judged him neglected reflect the complete family breakdown in very high incidence. This is yet another proof of steps that need to be taken to deal with poverty and prevent what happens as a result of it. The normal time for crown wards to graduate from care and responsibility is when the child attains 18 years of age. The plight of many youths released from guardianship is similar to those in the community at large who are without a true parental home, are school drop-outs. They join the growing number of unskilled and untrained employables.

Recommendation

There must be expanded re-training and rehabilitation mobility programs of the Canada Manpower to help families and individuals escape from low-income circumstances.

As a result of a culture of spending, there is a new group of poor. People who are making reasonable salaries but due to their immaturity, ignorance of their particular needs, spend themselves into a corner. This financial pressure once again causes distress reflecting and magnifying marital problems which often come to an agency because of resulting serious parent-child problems. People with personality disorders are unable to restrain their spending or discern priorities or needs. They often overspend with tremendous debts accumulating to pressure already limited capacities to eventual breakdown and possible further neglect of their children. Families on welfare surrounded and bombarded with our spend culture become very discouraged and frustrated in their already depressing situation. These parents feel neglected when they are unable to maintain their children up to standards set by mass media.

Recommendation

That equivalent mass media time and effort be directed to conveying other values, particularly non-material values around family life and child rearing. This could be achieved, we think, by a combined approach to the Information Services of the Federal and Provincial governments geared to public education.

It is unfortunate that almost all services both in the public and private domain in the past have concentrated on "picking up the pieces" philosophy. It has generally been only after family breakdown, etc. that services are offered and these only to alleviate somewhat an already serious poverty situation. In this context, the protection of children in their own homes and a commitment to preserving family life involves a process of early detection and prevention of conditions leading to neglect. In 1969, 231 families were assisted with a total of 973 children and the service was to children in their own homes. To qualify for the service the children must be received within the context of neglect or potentially neglected. The consumers of this service fall into the welfare recipient and the low income family. Much more of this type of service which is preventive in nature needs to be offered as a means of combating poverty and family dissolution.

Recommendation

(1) Additional government support to community based programs for home help becomes a vital part of a poverty programme so that true preventive services can be made available to those unable to cope with their problems.

(2) Further, it is recommended that the concepts of social right be spelled out more clearly in the application of policy at the welfare worker level. The aim of such clarification must be the prevention of family breakdown by early intervention through flexible interpretation and use of emergency funds.

The problem of poverty for the sole-support parent, particularly for women who are heads of families is recognized nationally by the estimate that there are 283,000 single female head families and that 50% of families headed by women belong to the low-income group. In Ontario, unmarried mothers have increased by 10% in the last ten years. Over 30% of women receiving Family Benefits in urban centres are unmarried mothers; 28% are deserted wives. The major consumers of Children's Aid Society services are in this category and statistics show that they are the major users of day care centres. The December, 1969 figures indicate that of 592 children in 13 Metro operated centres, 480 were from sole-support parents.

Recommendation

(1) A form of income subsidy be provided on the basis of need for those sole-support women who require day care for infants and children younger than presently accepted in day care centres.

(2) That recipients of Family Benefits be given more incentive to work and not be penalized if they seek employment to supplement their allowance.

(3) That flexibility in the consideration of individual situations and a choice of options be built into the Family Benefits programs.

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